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THE
VALLEY OF VISION;
OR
THE DRY BONES OF ISRAEL REVIVED.
AN ATTEMPTED PROOF
(FROM EZEKIEL, CHAP. xxxvii. 1-14)
OF
THE RESTORATION AND CONVERSION
OF THE JEWS.

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EXPOSITION OF EZEKIEL, CHAP. xxxvii. 1-14.

THE VISION.

- 1 THE HAND OF THE LORD WAS UPON ME, AND CARRIED ME OUT IN
THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD, AND SET ME DOWN IN THE MIDST OF
2 THE VALLEY WHICH WAS FULL OF BONES, AND CAUSED ME TO PASS
BY THEM ROUND ABOUT : AND BEHOLD THERE WERE VERY MANY IN
3 THE OPEN VALLEY ; AND LO, THEY WERE VERY DRY. AND HE SAID
UNTO ME, SON OF MAN, CAN THESE BONES LIVE ? AND I ANSWERED,
4 O LORD GOD, THOU KNOWEST. AGAIN HE SAID UNTO ME, PROPHECY
UPON THESE BONES, AND SAY UNTO THEM, O YE DRY BONES, HEAR
5 THE WORD OF THE LORD. THUS SAITH THE LORD GOD UNTO THESE
BONES, BEHOLD, I WILL CAUSE BREATH TO ENTER INTO YOU, AND YE
6 SHALL LIVE : AND I WILL LAY SINEWS UPON YOU, AND WILL BRING
UP FLESH UPON YOU, AND COVER YOU WITH SKIN, AND PUT BREATH
IN YOU, AND YE SHALL LIVE, AND YE SHALL KNOW THAT I AM THE
7 LORD. SO I PROPHESED AS I WAS COMMANDED : AND AS I PROPHE-
SIED, THERE WAS A NOISE, AND BEHOLD A SHAKING, AND THE BONES
8 CAME TOGETHER, BONE TO HIS BONE. AND WHEN I BEHOLD, LO,
THE SINEWS AND THE FLESH CAME UP UPON THEM, AND THE SKIN
COVERED THEM ABOVE : BUT THERE WAS NO BREATH IN THEM.
9 THEN SAID HE UNTO ME, PROPHECY UNTO THE WIND, PROPHECY, SON
OF MAN, AND SAY TO THE WIND, THUS SAITH THE LORD GOD : COME
FROM THE FOUR WINDS, O BREATH, AND BREATHE UPON THESE SLAIN,
10 THAT THEY MAY LIVE. SO I PROPHESED AS HE COMMANDED ME,
AND THE BREATH CAME INTO THEM, AND THEY LIVED, AND STOOD UP
11 UPON THEIR FEET, AN EXCEEDING GREAT ARMY. THEN HE SAID
UNTO ME, SON OF MAN, THESE BONES ARE THE WHOLE HOUSE OF
ISRAEL : BEHOLD, THEY SAY, OUR BONES ARE DRIED, AND OUR HOPE
12 IS LOST : WE ARE CUT OFF FOR OUR PARTS. THEREFORE PROPHECY
AND SAY UNTO THEM, THUS SAITH THE LORD GOD ; BEHOLD, O MY
PEOPLE, I WILL OPEN YOUR GRAVES, AND CAUSE YOU TO COME UP
OUT OF YOUR GRAVES, AND BRING YOU INTO THE LAND OF ISRAEL.

13 AND YE SHALL KNOW THAT I AM THE LORD, WHEN I HAVE OPENED
YOUR GRAVES, O MY PEOPLE, AND BROUGHT YOU UP OUT OF YOUR
14 GRAVES. AND SHALL PUT MY SPIRIT IN YOU, AND YE SHALL LIVE,
AND I SHALL PLACE YOU IN YOUR OWN LAND : THEN SHALL YE KNOW
THAT I THE LORD HAVE SPOKEN IT, AND PERFORMED IT, SAITH THE
LORD.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

No one of the ancient prophets has more explicitly announced the restoration of Israel, in the latter days, than Ezekiel. However large a proportion of his oracles is devoted to the fortunes of his people during the period of their captivity in Babylon and their subsequent return to their own land, it has almost never been doubted by commentators that the closing chapters of his book refer to their ulterior destinies, in a remote period of the Christian dispensation. Even when it is granted that there is a primary allusion to the restoration from Babylon, still the admission is freely made that there is at the same time an involved and inner reference to a final recall of the Jewish race from their prolonged dispersion among the nations, and their reinstatement in the land of their covenanted heritage. But it may safely be affirmed that this event is announced in many passages not as the secondary, but the primary burden of the prophet's oracle, and the chapter immediately preceding the present, viz. the thirty-sixth, is among the most distinguished of this class of predictions. Its grand scope is to announce, under the form of a bold apostrophe to the mountains, hills, rivers, and valleys, of the land of Israel, the return and resettlement of the exiled tribes all over the length and breadth of the desolate wastes and the forsaken cities, which had been so long "a prey and a derision to the residue of the heathen round about." In a tone of burning rebuke against the proud usurpers who had exulted in their possession of the "ancient high places" of the chosen race—who had, "with the joy of all their hearts and with spiteful minds," appropriated the hallowed territory to themselves—the Most High addresses the desolate soil itself, and declares that the period

of its barren sabbatism is drawing speedily to a close, that it shall be redeemed from its dreary depopulation, and shall bear the shame of the heathen no more. "Behold, I am for you, and I will turn you, and ye shall be tilled and sown. And I will multiply men upon you, all the house of Israel, even all of it; and the cities shall be inhabited, and the wastes shall be builded; and I will multiply upon you man and beast; and they shall increase and bear fruit; and I will settle you after your old estates, and I will do better unto you than at your beginnings; and ye shall know that I am the Lord. Yea, I will cause men to walk upon you, even my people Israel; and they shall possess thee, and thou shalt be their inheritance, and thou shalt no more thenceforth bereave them of men."

This is no other than the definite form of the purposed fulfilment of the promise elsewhere recorded, "And I will remember the land;" and while, on the one hand, the language is of such a nature as absolutely to forbid any kind of spiritualizing interpretation, so, on the other, the obvious purport of several of the clauses goes to ascertain the *time* of the accomplishment as utterly incompatible with that of the literal return from Babylon under the decree of Cyrus. The announcements bear nothing more unequivocally on their face, than that this re-establishment in the land of Canaan shall be *final* and *permanent*. It shall be succeeded by no subsequent rooting out and dispersion; "Thus saith the Lord God, Because they say unto you, Thou land devourest up men, and hast bereaved thy nations; therefore thou shalt devour men no more, neither bereave thy nations any more, saith the Lord God. Neither will I cause men to hear in thee the shame of the heathen any more, neither shalt thou bear the reproach of the people any more, neither shalt thou cause thy nations to fall any more, saith the Lord God." We do not see how any thing can be more express than this. If words have meaning, it certainly assures us that the return predicted is not to be followed by disasters to the inhabitants such as the land had witnessed for ages before. Yet what fact is more notorious than that subsequent to the return from Babylon the land has again been emptied of its occupants—that they have wandered as strangers in every clime—and that the hostile hoof of Arabian and Turkish coursers has bruised the flowerets of Esdraelon

and trampled in the dust the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valley? We are, therefore, as we conceive, inevitably shut up to that construction of the prophecy which makes its fulfilment still future. That land of hallowed memories is yet to receive again its ancient tenants, and to yield its teeming riches to the old age of the same people whose infancy was nurtured upon its maternal bosom. The tears of a profound and heart-stricken penitence are yet to mingle with the dews of Hermon in fertilizing its barren vales and its deserted hill-tops. The olive and the vine shall again spread their honors over the mountains once delectable, but now desolate, the corn shall yet laugh in the valleys where the prowling Bedouin pitches his transient tent—and joyous groups of children, the descendants of patriarch fathers, shall renew their evening sports in the streets of crowded cities, where now the ruinous heaps tell only of a grandeur that has passed away.

It is with the prophetic intimations of these events that the XXXVth chapter is occupied, and the ensuing chapter, which we propose to illustrate, is to be viewed in the closest relation with that which precedes. Both constitute in fact one extended series of predictions, taking hold of the very period of time to which we have now arrived. The former portion announces the *fact* of the restoration, the latter the *manner* and *means* of it. To determine the era of the one, is to determine that of the other. This is to be borne distinctly in mind in every stage of the ensuing exposition. Without assuming to fix with absolute precision the day or the year which the counsels of Providence may have assigned to the fulfilment, we are still confident that we incur no hazard in saying, that the most accurate researches in prophetic chronology, as well as the pregnant signs of the times, afford abundant warrant for the belief, that we are now just upon the borders of that sublime crisis in Providence of which the restoration of the Jews to Syria, and their ingathering into the church, is to be one of the prominent features.

Under the full persuasion that this event is announced in the chapter before us, I propose to enter upon the minute exposition of the vision with which it opens. My design in this, is to endeavor to disclose, from the purport of the prophecy, the probable course of Providence in relation to the conversion and restoration of the

Jews. This twofold order of events forms the subject of the present emblematic prediction. They are not indeed very studiously discriminated in the imagery employed, and I have accordingly, in the course of the ensuing exposition, spoken of them in terms that do not perhaps very accurately distinguish the one from the other. They are evidently designed, by the Spirit of inspiration, to be viewed in very intimate relation with each other, though it cannot be doubted that, in the order of occurrence, the return to Palestine will, as to the bulk of the nation, precede their ingrafting into Christ. If I have not mistaken the genuine drift of this prediction, it details more strikingly and precisely the order of events which is to usher in the grand result, than the Christian world have for the most part supposed; and if the progress of the commentary shall suggest new and interesting views of duty on the part of Christians, in reference to this desired consummation, the object will at once have approved itself abundantly worthy of all the labor expended upon it.

The chapter consists of two distinct visions, the first respecting the dry-bones in the valley, the other respecting the junction of the two sticks into one, indicating the union of the two houses of Judah and Israel after their return to their own land. It is to the consideration of the first of these that the following pages are devoted. The burden of this vision is so strictly defined by Jehovah himself, as intended to set forth, in a figurative way, the restoration of Israel from their long dispersion and captivity, from their political degradation and moral death, that I have not deemed it expedient to dwell upon those spiritual or *christianized* applications of it, which have been usual in all ages. The imagery employed undoubtedly possesses a striking inherent adaptedness to illustrate certain prominent features in the native condition of man, and to set off with signal effect the display of that omnipotent grace which can alone triumph over the deadness of the sinner's heart, and awake him to the appropriate functions of spiritual life. We deem it entirely according to the analogy of the sacred writers themselves to make such an accommodated use of the striking symbolical scenery of Scripture, while at the same time it cannot be doubted, that the tendency is to cause the interpreter to lose sight of the primary drift of such representations, and to make that sense sub-

ordinate which is in truth principal and paramount. So it cannot be questioned that many of the symbolic shadows of the Apocalypse are often employed in references foreign to the original scope of the inditing Spirit, although the doctrinal positions which they are brought to establish may be in themselves true. Thus, for instance, when the words—"the smoke of their torment ascendeth forever,"—are understood of the punishment of the wicked in hell, although this may be in itself the fact, yet it is certain that this is not the primary purport of the passage, which alludes to the doom, not of the lost portion of the race at large in another world, but of a certain antichristian power in this. Other instances of a kindred character might easily be cited.

I trust, then, that it will not be attributed to any overlooking or disesteem of this mode of interpretation, that I have seen fit to confine myself exclusively to what the Holy Spirit has himself designated as the true meant design of the present mystic procedure. "Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel," &c. This declaration of the burden of the vision is too unequivocal to allow of doubt respecting it. By it every just exegesis must necessarily be governed. The only question of which the matter can admit is, in respect to the *time* when the predicted restoration is to be understood as taking place; whether it was the return from Babylon, or a similar event yet future. On this head we have adduced the grounds of our belief in a preceding paragraph. We are, for ourselves, satisfied of the futurity of the accomplishments here shadowed forth, although persuaded that the period is at hand when their incipency is to be anticipated; and we look upon this and every kindred attempt at the thoroughgoing exposition of this class of prophecies, as themselves among the significant *indicia* of their speedy fulfilment. It will be seen, if our ensuing exposition is built upon good grounds, that whoever rightly unfolds the prophecies respecting the restoration of Israel, is in fact prophesying over the dry bones of the valley of vision.

It is obvious that in this, as in every other region of biblical inquiry, our conclusions are of no value except so far as they are sustained by a fair and unimpeachable exegesis of the sense of the original. I shall therefore deem no apology necessary for the array of the Hebrew text, with that of several of the ancient versions at the head of my expositions. The Scriptural argument which I design to present, frequently rests, in some of its important points, on the just application of single words and phrases, and this can seldom be compassed without exhibiting the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers in their own language. Adequate translations, however, accompanying the originals, will put the mere English reader nearly on a level with the learned Hebrician as to advantage in understanding the force of terms.

For the sake of my less literate readers I may observe in regard to these versions, that the Greek is that of the Septuagint or *Seventy*, so called from its being said to have been accomplished by *seventy* individuals appointed by Ptolemy, King of Egypt, for the purpose. The word *Targum* signifies *interpretation*. The *Targum of Jonathan* is an ancient paraphrase made in the Chaldee language by a person of that name, and published, together with the Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, in the Polyglot Bible of Walton. It is very free, but throws occasionally important light upon the meaning of the prophets, especially by translating the language of symbols into a simple and more literal diction. Of this I have deemed it sufficient to give an exact rendering, without inserting the original.—The *Vulgate* is the usual designation of the Latin version of Jerome.

THE PROPHECY.

VERSE I.

HEB.

חַיְיָהָ עָלַי יַד יְהוָה נִוְצִיאָנִי
בְּרוּחַ יְהוָה וַיְנִיחֵנִי בְּתוֹךְ
הַבִּקְעָה וַיְהִי מִלְאָהּ עֲצָמוֹת׃

GR. OF LXX.

*Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐμὲ χεὶρ Κυρίου,
καὶ ἐξήγαγέ με ἐν πνεύματι Κυρίου,
καὶ ἔθηκε με ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πεδίου,
καὶ τοῦτο ἦν μεστὸν ὀστέων ἀνθρώπων.*

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

The spirit of prophecy from before the Lord settled upon me, and he brought me in the spirit of prophecy which had settled upon me from before the Lord, and placed me in the midst of a field which was full of the bones of men.

ENG. VERS.

The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out in the Spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of the valley which *was* full of bones.

ENG. VERS.

And the hand of the Lord was upon me, and the Lord brought me out in spirit, and placed me in the midst of a plain, and this was full of human bones.

VULG. VERS.

Facta est super me manus Domini, et eduxit me in spiritu Domini; et dimisit me in medio campi, qui erat plenus ossibus.

COMMENTARY.

The hand of the Lord was upon me. Heb. חַיְיָהָ עָלַי יַד יְהוָה. The usage which employs "hand of the Lord" for "power of the Lord," or supernatural illapse of the Divine Spirit upon the mind of the prophet, is of frequent occurrence with the sacred writers. Thus ch. 33. 22, "Now the *hand of the Lord* was upon me in the evening." Ch. 40. 1, "In the self-same day the *hand of the Lord* was upon me, and brought me thither." The Targum of Jonathan, given above, discloses its true import; "The spirit of prophecy from before the Lord settled upon me." The precise manner in which this influence was exerted upon the prophets, it is not necessary to determine. They were, by a supernatural power, brought into an entranced condition similar to that of Paul, when he says of himself, that he was caught up into the third heaven, and knew not whether he was in the body or out of the body.

And carried me out in the Spirit of the Lord. Heb. וַיִּצְיָאֵנִי בְּרוּחַ יְהוָה. The grammatical construction is here subject to some doubt. According to our version, which is derived from the Lat. Vulg., it is the *hand of the Lord* which leads the prophet forth, but this does violence to syntax, as it makes "hand" to be both masculine and feminine in the same verse. The Greek, doubtless, represents the true construction of the original; καὶ ἐξήγαγέ με ἐν πνεύματι κύριος, and *the Lord led me out in Spirit*. This the Hebrew will readily admit, and indeed the position of the accents requires it; "The Lord carried me out in spirit." Here, again, we have the true clue to the sense afforded in the version of the Targum: "And he led me forth in the spirit of prophecy which had settled upon me from before the Lord." It was not a *real* but a *mental* leading forth to the scene of the vision. Such an influence came upon him as to transport him in spirit to the place described. It is the usual phraseology for expressing the condition of prophetic ecstasy or trance, in which the subject is often in body in one place and in spirit conveyed to another. In this peculiar psychical state, the laws of which are but imperfectly understood, the unreal becomes to the beholder for the time real, and he is surrounded by scenery which is to him invested with the character of *bona fide* existence, and which in his waking moments, and in his normal state, he describes just as it was presented to his mind's eye. This entranced condition seems to have been repeatedly the lot of Ezekiel, in the course of his discharge of the prophetic functions to which he was called. Thus, ch. 8. 1—3, "And it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the Lord God fell there upon me. Then I beheld, and lo a likeness as the appearance of fire: from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire: and from his loins even upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber. And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem, to the door of the inner gate that looketh toward the north; where was the seat of the image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy." So again, ch. 11. 24, "Afterwards the spirit took me up, and brought me in a vision by the Spirit of God into Chaldea, to them of the captivity."

Altogether similar was the state into which Daniel and John were brought in the reception of these divine communications which were made to them relative to the future destinies of the church and the world; nor do we suppose that eminently good men in other ages have been wholly strangers to supernatural illapses very

nearly akin to those of the prophets. That this state has often been simulated by religious enthusiasts, and bold claims put forth to extraordinary revelations, which were prompted solely by a spirit of delusion, must indeed be admitted; but this is not sufficient to disprove the fact, that genuine influences of this nature are occasionally vouchsafed to the pious in all periods of the church. The spurious and the counterfeit rather argues the existence of the true and the real, and the fact that Satan may transform himself into an angel of light does not invalidate, but rather confirms, the doctrine that there are angels of light whom he would fain personate. The source of such alleged spiritual phenomena must be judged of by their accordance with the general tenor of Scripture, and by the practical teachings and deportment of those who lay claim to them. Nothing of this nature must be admitted for a moment to be of God which in any manner goes to contravene or supersede the obvious import of the written word; and in the case of the prophets, it is probable that a certain ineffable self-evidencing power went with the disclosures accorded to them, which put their divine origin beyond question.

And set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones. The original word for *set down* (יָרַד) signifies properly to *cause to rest*, and implies a *gentle demission* or *alighting*, as from an aerial flight. It would seem that the prophets in their ecstasy conceived themselves to be borne by a sailing motion through the air, and the term here employed is peculiarly appropriate to the easy and gentle lighting down of a winged being from the atmosphere. Thus, ch. 40. 2, "In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and *set me* (יָרַדְתִּי) *and made me to rest*) upon a very high mountain." This was a similar transportation in the spirit to that which we are now considering.—The Heb. בְּקָצָה, from קָצַע *to cleave*, has primarily the signification of *valley*, as formed by the *cleaving* of mountains, but its more frequent sense is that of *plain* (πεδῖον), as rendered by the Greek and Syriac. The Arabic has *solitude* or *desert*. The Heb. usage will be seen from the following examples. Gen. 11. 2, "And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a *plain* (בְּקָצָה) in the land of Shinar." The site of Babylon is well known to be an extensive plain. If we suppose a primary allusion in the prophecy to the condition of the Jews in Babylon, the propriety of the proposed rendering is still more apparent. So, Ezek. 3. 22, 23, "And the hand of the Lord was there upon me; and he said unto me, Arise, go forth into *the plain* (בְּקָצָה), and I will there talk with thee. Then I arose, and went forth into *the plain* (בְּקָצָה); and behold, the glory of the Lord stood there, as the glory which I saw by the river of Chebar: and I fell on my face." This is probably the import of the term in the present connexion. The "bones"

spoken of are not expressly said to have been human bones, but this is the natural inference, and such is the actual rendering of both the Chaldee and the Greek. These bones, as if the remains of numerous unburied corpses, were strewed in every direction over the surface of the plain, and in the midst of them the prophet is in imagination set down.

VERSE II.

HEB.

וַיַּעֲבִירֵנִי עֲלֵיהֶם סָבִיב סָבִיב
וַיְהִינָה רַבּוֹת מְאֹד עַל-פְּנֵי הַבִּקְעָה
וַיְהִינָה יְבֹשׁוֹת מְאֹד :

ENG. VERS.

And caused me to pass by them round about ; and behold *there were* very many in the open valley ; and lo, *they were* very dry.

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ περιήγαγέ με ἐπ' ἀντά
κυκλόθεν κύκλω, καὶ ἰδοὺ πολλὰ
σφόδρα ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ πεδίου,
ξηρὰ σφόδρα.

ENG. VERS.

And he led me round about in repeated circles upon them, and behold exceeding many upon the face of the plain, and exceeding dry.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And he made me to pass in circuit about them, and behold there were very many upon the face of the field, and behold they were very dry.

VULG. VERS.

Et circumduxit me per ea in gyro ;
erant autem multa valde super faciem campi, siccaque vehementer.

COMMENTARY.

2. *And caused me to pass by them round about.* The original is here rendered peculiarly emphatic and expressive by the duplication of the term rendered *round about* ; “He caused me to pass by them, סָבִיב סָבִיב *around, around,*” as if required by repeated circuits to make the most intent survey of these mournful mementoes of mortality—these accumulated relics of what had once been a multitudinous host of living men, fresh in the strength of manhood, acting, hoping, fearing, loving, but now sunk down to a mere ghastly residuum of dried and withered bones ! The image of the lonely traveller or the meditative sage walking to and fro amid the ruins of an ancient city, pondering upon its dilapidated palaces, tracing out the course of its crumbling walls, or deciphering its dimmed inscriptions, comes upon the spirit full of sombre and affecting impressions. But what is this compared with the effect of which we are conscious, when called to contemplate ideally a scene like the present ? Here is a prophet of God standing, not in the midst of mouldering pillars, arches, and towers, but of the ruins of man himself ! It is not the relics of the work of his hands which he surveys, but of the hand of his works ! The temple may be

built again—the prostrate column may be re-erected—the ivy-spread arch may be restored to its grandeur—but what power can re-build the builder? What resurrection can await the fragments of that glorious structure to which all other structures owe their origin? This is the paramount prompting in the midst of such a scene. This is the grand problem now presented to the mind of the seer. “Son of man, can these bones live?”

And behold, there were very many in the open valley; and lo, they were very dry. The original for “in the open valley,” is *עַל פְּנֵי הַבִּקְעָה*, upon the face or surface of the plain. Over this they appeared to be spread in such profusion as to indicate that they might have been the bones of a numerous army slain and lying unburied on the spot, while the bleached and arid aspect which they presented evinced the long period that they had lain exposed to the action of sun and wind. The condition of the bones was such, moreover, as to indicate in the highest degree the hopelessness of their restoration to life. They were not only bare of flesh, but void of moisture. Dried, marrowless, disjointed, and scattered promiscuously here and there, what could be a more expressive type of the triumph of death and dissolution! What conviction more spontaneous than that the very dust on which they reposed might as soon be expected to become animated and formed into living men as the whitened masses spread around? Nothing short of the same Almighty fiat which originally reared the fabric of the human body from the clay could be competent to their resuscitation. Nothing less than the power which forms the skeleton can endow it with life. So far therefore as this symbol was intended to represent a subject upon which a reviving influence was to be put forth, it clearly exhibits the state of that subject as hopeless, helpless, desperate, to the last conceivable degree; and nothing is more evident than this from the question which follows.

VERSE III.

HEB.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵי בֶן־אָדָם הֲעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה נָא אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
אֶתָּה יָדָעָה׃

ENG. VERS.

And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? and I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest.

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με, Τὶς ἀνθρώπων, εἰ ζήσεται τὰ ὀστέα ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα, Κύριε, κύριε, σὺ ἐπίστη ταῦτα.

ENG. VERS.

And he said unto me, Son of man, whether shall these bones live? and I said, Lord, Lord, thou understandest these things.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

VULG. VERS.

And he said unto me, Son of Man, can these bones live? And I said, O Lord God, it is manifest before thee. Et dixit ad me, Fili hominis, putasne vivent ossa ista? Et dixi, Domine Deus, tu nosti.

COMMENTARY.

3. *And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live?* That is, can they live again, can they be revived? Dost thou deem it possible that such an event can occur? Such is the genuine force of the original. The Hebrew חַיִּים, *to live*, imports in frequent connexions *to live again, to be revived*. The same is the force of the Greek ζᾶω in the following and numerous other instances: Mat. 9. 18, "My daughter is even now dead; but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she *shall live* (ζήσεται);" i. e. shall live again. John 5. 25, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour is coming and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear *shall live* (ζήσονται);" i. e. shall be revived, or quickened. John 11. 25, "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet *shall he live* (ζήσεται);" i. e. shall live again. The more usual term for expressing this idea is ἀναζᾶω, *to revive*, but ζᾶω is employed in the same sense, and this sense it has in Rev. 20. 5, "And the rest of the dead *lived not again* (ὁὐκ ἔζησαν) till the thousand years were finished," where many copies exhibit a corrupt reading, ἀνεζήσαν. The question is proposed to the prophet merely for the purpose of exciting attention and putting his mind into a posture that should enable him to appreciate more adequately the immense display of power which the emergency demanded. This is, in repeated instances, the design of the interrogations propounded by God to his servants. He asks, not to inform himself, but to inform them. A sluggish, inobservant state of mind is eminently unsuited to the striking and gracious exhibitions of the divine glory, and therefore he usually sees fit to dissipate all torpor and awaken a vivid attention before manifesting his might. The response of the prophet—"O Lord God, thou knowest"—implies a becoming recognition of the resources of omnipotence. It is as if he had said, "I am a child, a simpleton, a fool. To human view such an event would seem impossible. But I know that thy power is commensurate to thy purposes, and thy purposes are known to thyself. Here my answer must end." Both in his word and in his providence God often poses his people with questions to which they can return no other answer than, "Lord, thou knowest."

VERSE IV.

HEB.

ENG. VERS.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הַנְּבִיא עַל־הָעֲצָמוֹת
הָאֵלֶּה וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם הָעֲצָמוֹת
הַיְבִשֹּׁת שְׁמַעִי הִבְרִיחָהּ׃

Again he said unto me, Prophecy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye bones, hear the word of the Lord.

GR. OF LXX.

ENG. VERS.

Καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με, προφητεύσον
ἐπὶ τὰ ὀστά ταῦτα, καὶ εἰπῆς αὐ-
τοῖς, Τὰ ὀστά ξηρά, ἀκούσατε λό-
γον Κυρίου.

And he said unto me, Prophecy upon these bones, and thou shalt say unto them, O dry bones, hear the word of the Lord.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

VULG. VERS.

And he said unto me, Prophecy upon these bones, and thou shalt say unto them, Dry bones, receive the word of the Lord.

Et dixit ad me, Vaticinare de ossibus istis; et dices eis, Ossa arida, audite verbum Domini.

COMMENTARY.

4. *Again he said unto me, Prophecy upon these bones.* Heb. וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הַנְּבִיא עַל־הָעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה *upon or over these bones*; *de ossibus his*, as Junius and Tremellius, Polanus and Piscator, render it. He was to prophesy concerning the bones, and at the same time he was to direct his address to them, as if they were capable of hearing and acting according to the burden of the prophetic call. It is thus that the heralds of the gospel are to proclaim the message of heaven to their fellow-men, who are dead in trespasses and sins, and who, having eyes, see not, and ears, hear not. As to the Hebrew נָבִיא, *prophesy*, from the root נָבָא, *to prophesy, to discharge the functions of a prophet*, it is worthy of remark that the verb in this sense never occurs in the active but always in the passive form, as if the prophet, in the execution of his office, only acted as he was acted upon. The intimation therefore is clearly conveyed in the original word that the speaker was simply an organ through which the divine afflatus uttered itself. So in the Hebrew word נִשְׁבַּע, *to swear*, the form is passive, indicating that a person in taking an oath was in a recipient state, or, in other words, *was adjured*. This fact, in regard to the present term, goes far to refute the notion that the inspired prophets were completely *sui juris* in their predictions, merely uttering the product of their own intelligence going forth in sagacious anticipation of the future. It is pre-eminently in prophecy that "holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

But a remark of far more importance upon the term before us is one that regards its symbolical rather than its grammatical import.

We believe there are adequate grounds for understanding "prophecy" in this connexion as equivalent to *explaining prophecy*. But in order to evince the soundness of this interpretation, a previous remark is requisite relative to the office sustained by the ancient prophets. It is, we think, unquestionable, that this class of men frequently enter themselves, as an essential element, into the symbolical transactions which they describe. In other words, they sustain a typical character, representing the persons of those who in subsequent ages should hold a relation somewhat similar to theirs to the mystic events of their visions. Thus, it is expressly affirmed by Isaiah, ch. 8. 18, "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts." This is rendered, by some commentators, "for signs and for *types* in Israel"—and the force of the original undoubtedly warrants the construction. This representative character is illustrated, Is. 20. 2, 3, where the prophet is commanded to walk naked and barefoot for three years, "for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia," i. e. to shadow forth symbolically the captivity of those nations. Of Ezekiel himself it is expressly said, in reference to his performance of certain emblematic actions, ch. 12. 6, "I have set thee for a sign unto the house of Israel;" and again, v. 3, he was commanded to say to the people, "Thus saith the Lord God, This burden concerneth the prince in Jerusalem, and all the house of Israel that are among them. Say, I am your sign; like as I have done, so shall it be done unto them: they shall remove and go into captivity." Thus too on a subsequent occasion, ch. 24. 24, "Ezekiel is unto you a sign; according to all that he hath done, shall ye do." So also in the visions of the Apocalypse we recognize John not only as a spectator, but an actor, in which he represents his fellow-members of the church living and acting at the time when the events thus scenically portrayed actually transpire. Upon this Daubuz remarks, that "John appears acting on these occasions, not in his private, but in his public capacity or office, as a representative of his fellow-brethren. He is ordered to receive the vision and to transmit it to the catholic church, to serve through all its periods; and therefore he represents its members through every period, and on every occasion, wherein he acts in the vision."

With these instances before us, we feel abundantly warranted in regarding Ezekiel as acting in a representative character in the present vision. The office which he is commanded to perform is virtually that which is to be performed in subsequent ages by those sustaining a somewhat similar relation to the people of God. An order of men whose office it is to minister to the edification of the church by unfolding the sense of the prophetic oracles, has always been a part of the divine economy. In the apostolic days of Chris-

tianity we find the term prophet used in this sense, or as denoting those who were inwardly prompted, by an inferior kind of inspiration, to expound the purport of the Old Testament prophecies, 1 Cor. 14. 2-5: "For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries. But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort. He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church. I would that ye all spake with tongues, but rather that ye prophesied: for greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying." As we find no evidence that there was any class of men in the primitive church whose stated office it was, in their religious meetings, to act the prophet in the sense of predicting *de novo* events that were future, though the apostles occasionally discharged this function in their epistles, we seem to be shut up to the conclusion, that the essence of their vocation was *the expounding of prophecies already uttered*. Indeed, we doubt not that the truth will be found, upon accurate research, to be, that the New Testament contains *very little* of this nature which goes beyond the development of the inner import of the ancient predictions as they bear upon the spiritual genius and the prospective fortunes of the gospel of Christ. Even the Apocalypse itself, as is indicated by its title—"The Unveiling"—is scarcely any thing more than an inspired exposition of the shaded and mystic announcements of the Hebrew canon.

We cannot hesitate, therefore, to regard Ezekiel as acting on this occasion in a typical capacity, and as called to perform a duty which is by no means confined to himself personally. It is one which devolves also upon all those who, in the latter day, may be called to exercise the prophetic function, in the sense now explained, for the spiritual behoof of the churches of the faithful. As the prospective reach of the great burden of the vision extends down to a distant posterity, so has the agency of the prophet himself a like stretch of significancy. Let it once be admitted that the event itself is future, and we see not how it is possible to avoid this conclusion. The prophesying here mentioned is obviously related to the revival of the bones, as a means to an end. It is a means operating at the very time when the effect takes place. Is it not plain, then, that the futurity of the event, in reference to the stand-point of the prophet, necessitates the futurity of the agency by which the event is to be brought about? The import of the vision is in nothing more obvious than in the fact, that Ezekiel's prophesying was to be the direct means of the resuscitation of the bones: But if we suppose the prophecy to have been uttered two thousand

years before the event, how does it tend to produce the event, except by being applied at the time by those who may be competently endowed for the work?

The burden of the prophecy is the reviviscence of the dry bones. It is the utterance of an imperative declaration to this effect that produces the actual result. Ezekiel, then, has furnished his share of the matter of the announcement which his official successors are to repeat over the contents of this visionary charnel-house or Golgotha, as the ordained means for waking the mass to life and action. Is it not, then, a perfectly tenable position, that it is by the exposition of prophecy that spiritual life is to be imparted to the subject of the symbolical prediction, and that whoever, at this day, rightly discloses the tenor of the various prophecies respecting the restoration of the Jews, does in fact perform the very duty here enjoined upon Ezekiel in his representative capacity? The important practical consequences which grow out of this view of the subject will be dwelt upon in the sequel.

VERSE V.

HEB.

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
הָאֵלֶּה הֵנָּה אֲנִי מְבִיא בָכֶם
רוּחַ חַיִּים:

ENG. VERS.

Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live.

GR. OF LXX.

Τάδε λέγει Κύριος τοῖς ὀστέοις
τούτοις, Ἴδὸν ἐγὼ φέρω ἐπ' ὑμᾶς
πνεῦμα ζωῆς.

ENG. VERS.

These things saith the Lord to these bones: Behold, I bring upon you the spirit of life.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

These things saith the Lord to these bones, Behold, I will send in to you spirit, and ye shall live.

VULG. VERS.

Hæc dicit Dominus ossibus his, ecce ego intromittam in vos spiritum, et vivetis.

COMMENTARY.

5. *Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live.* Heb. הֵנָּה אֲנִי מְבִיא בָכֶם רוּחַ חַיִּים, *behold I (am) bringing (or will bring) into you spirit.* The original word (רוּחַ) signifies both *breath* and *spirit*, as the external act of respiration is the visible index of the indwelling vital spirit which animates the body. For this reason the Latin *animus*, *soul*, is supposed to be derived, by a slight change of form, from *anima*, *breath* or *wind*. The declaration is more fully expanded in the ensuing verse, where it is announced, that the infusion of the vital breath shall be subsequent to the reconstruction of the frame

and its investiture with sinews, flesh, and skin. The present passage is a mere general intimation of the final issue of the divine potency put forth upon the bones of the vision.

VERSE VI.

HEB.

וְנָתַתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם גִּידִים וְהִעֲלֵיתִי
עֲלֵיכֶם בָּשָׂר וְקָרַמְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם עוֹר
וְנָתַתִּי בְּכֶם רוּחַ וְיָדְעִיתֶם
כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה׃

ENG. VERS.

And I will lay sinews upon you,
and will bring up flesh upon you,
and cover you with skin, and put
breath in you, and ye shall live;
and ye shall know that I am the
Lord.

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ δώσω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς νεῦρα, καὶ
ἀνάξω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς σάρκα, καὶ ἐκ-
τενώ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δέρμα, καὶ δώσω
πνεῦμα μου εἰς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ζήσεσθε,
καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγώ ε�μι Κύ-
ριος.

ENG. VERS.

And I will give upon you sinews,
and I will bring upon you flesh,
and I will stretch over you skin, and
I will give my spirit within you,
and ye shall live, and ye shall know
that I am the Lord.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And I will give upon you sinews,
and will make to grow upon you
flesh, and will superinduce upon
you skin, and will give to you spirit,
and ye shall live and shall know
that I am the Lord.

VUL. VERS.

Et dabo super vos nervos, et suc-
crescere faciam super vos carnes, et
superextendam super vos cutem; et
dabo vobis spiritum, et vivebis, et
scietis, quia ego Dominus.

COMMENTARY.

6. *And I will lay sinews upon you.* Heb. וְנָתַתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם גִּידִים, *and I will give upon you sinews or tendons.* Gr. νεῦρα. Lat. nervos, of the same import. As the original root has the sense of *binding*, the word denotes those parts of the frame which serve as *ligatures* to unite and firmly bind together the whole into one compact structure.

The following is the comment or paraphrase of Jerome upon the words before us: "First the bones are compacted together by the ligaments of the sinews; they are then filled with flesh; and finally, for the sake of beauty, a skin, which should veil the unsightliness of the naked flesh, is spread above over the whole."

And I will bring up flesh upon you. Heb. וְהִעֲלֵיתִי עֲלֵיכֶם בָּשָׂר, *and I will cause to ascend upon you flesh.* From the particularity with which the several stages of the process are described, it would seem impossible to doubt that something analogous is to be recognized in the order of the fulfilment itself. Indeed, when we turn from the shadow to the substance, nothing would seem more probable than that the spiritual regeneration of the Jews will be

effected in a singularly gradual manner. The influences adverse to their recovery are so numerous and multiform, that it is doubtless no more than a rational anticipation, that they will come by slow and hesitating steps to the position which they are destined to occupy in the kingdom of the Messiah.

And cover you with skin. Heb. קָרַמְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם עֹר. The Heb. term קָרַם occurs only here and v. 8, and is variously rendered in the versions by *induce*, *superinduce*, *crust over*, &c., which undoubtedly give the true sense, as Gesenius traces its use to the description of the process by which melted metals are superinduced upon statues or other substances. In this view Michaelis agrees. (*Lex. Suppl. in voc.*)

And put breath in you, and ye shall live. This crowning act of animation is all that remains to be done to transform the fleshly fabrics to living men. Till this is effected, they are merely advanced to the condition of Adam when fashioned from the clay, but before the Lord God had breathed into him the breath of life by which he became a living soul. Indeed, the slightest glance suffices to evince, that the whole process here described is accurately conformed to the account of the creation of Adam in the opening of Genesis. The gradual stages of the vivification are portrayed with a continual allusion to that magnificent work, and that doubtless with the design to intimate, that nothing short of a power absolutely creative was competent to the purposed result. The omnipotence which originally reared the human body from the dust—which “fenced it about with bones and sinews”—which “formed the eye and planted the ear”—is alone competent to build again the ruined fabric, and endow it with vital properties. Such an exhibition of Divine power would indeed lay a basis for the acknowledgment that was to follow;—“And ye shall know that I am the Lord.” An overwhelming demonstration should thus be made of the wonder-working energies of Jehovah. It would be impossible to ascribe the effect to any other than the true cause. And at such an end does the Most High invariably aim in all the signal manifestations of his glory. He has determined to make himself known to the children of men in the plenitude of his sufficiency, and in nothing more than in those marvellous puttings forth which are to result in the recovery of his chosen people from the long captivity to which they have been subjected for their rebellion and unbelief. See the confirmation of this in the Notes on v. 13.

Those who are at all versed in Jewish lore are aware that this passage has been understood by many of the Rabbins as predicting a *literal* resurrection at the time of its fulfilment. Rab. Johanan says, that the valley here mentioned was the valley or plain of Dura, where the image of Nebuchadnezzar was set up, and that

these bones were the bones of those who had been slain by the Babylonian monarch, to whom a resurrection is promised in the present prophecy. Rab. Eliezer says, that the dead, who were quickened by the prophetic word of Ezekiel, stood upon their feet, sung a song, and died. Another Rabbi of the same name affirms that these quickened multitudes, after their resurrection, went up into the land of Israel, married wives, and begat sons and daughters; and of one of the ancient Rabbis it is asserted, that "he stood upon his feet and said, I am of their children's children, and these are the *Tephilim* (frontlets) my father's father left me." (*Tal. Bab. Sanhed. fol. 92. 2.*) But these are fictions savoring too strongly of Talmudical extravagance to be deserving of particular notice. In maintaining that the whole transaction is of a purely symbolical character, designed to shadow forth the future restoration of Israel, we answer both the Jews and those Christian expositors who have adopted the opinion that a literal resurrection is at least latently taught in the oracle before us. It is not perhaps necessary to deny that there is some color of reason in the suggestion, that a *figurative* resurrection supposes a *literal* one—an idea which is much insisted on by Tertullian and several of the ancient fathers in their comments on the passage. Still we recognize no *necessity* for such a covert allusion, nor does the question proposed to the prophet—"Can these bones live?"—strike as so natural when proposed to one to whom the idea of a literal resurrection was familiar, as on the contrary hypothesis. The conception of a previous state of decay, dissolution and death, followed by a revival and recovery from that state, has nothing of difficulty in it, even were the doctrine of a real resurrection of the dead body utterly unknown. On the other hand, if it *were* known, it is not easy to conceive how the question proposed should have occasioned any surprise or hesitation on the part of the prophet; as the revival of a mass of bones, heaped up in a single valley, would be as nothing to that power which was to raise from the dust of death the whole human race. The evident scope of the whole scenical transaction, as well as of the question built upon it, is to intimate the most unlikely deliverance from a state depressed, wretched, and desperate to the last degree. The figures or emblems used to denote such an interposition of omnipotence would obviously possess a force and energy proportioned to the strangeness and newness of the process which was chosen to represent it; and such a process would be that which should prompt the exclamation of the Psalmist, Ps. 88. 11-12, "Wilt thou show wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee? Shall thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave? or thy faithfulness in destruction?"

Yet it may still be admitted that the secret meaning of the

spirit of inspiration may be contemplated independent of the personal belief or intention of the writer; and if any one shall choose to maintain that such an occult allusion as we have mentioned is conveyed in the imagery here employed, we know not how to gainsay it. All that we would affirm is, that it is not *necessary* to the object had in view in delivering the oracle, nor can it be demonstratively shown to be involved in it.

VERSE VII.

HEB.

וְהִנָּבֵאתִי כְּאֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי וְהִיָּתָה קוֹל
כְּהִינָּה וְהִתְהַדְּבֹשׁ וְהִתְקַרְּבוּ
עַצְמוֹת עַצְמָן אֶל עַצְמוֹן :

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ προσεφίτευσα καθὼς ἐνετεί-
λατό μοι καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐμῇ
προφητεῦσαι, καὶ ἰδοὺ σεισμὸς, καὶ
προσηγγαγε τὰ ὀστά ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς
τὴν ἄρσυσιν αὐτοῦ.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And I prophesied as was com-
manded me, and there was a voice
as I prophesied, and behold a shak-
ing, and the bones approached each
to his bone.

ENG. VERS.

So I prophesied as I was com-
manded: and as I prophesied, there
was a noise, and behold a shaking,
and the bones came together, bone
to his bone.

ENG. VERS.

And I prophesied as he com-
manded me; and it came to pass
as I prophesied, and behold a shak-
ing, and he brought together the
bones, each to his fitting.

VULG. VERS.

Et prophetavi sicut praeceperat
mihi; factus est autem sonitus, pro-
phetante me, et ecce commotio; et
accesserunt ossa ad ossa, unum-
quodque ad juncturam suam.

COMMENTARY.

7. *So I prophesied as I was commanded.* Undeterred by the apparent hopelessness of the result, and confiding implicitly in the power of Him who had given the command, the prophet enters at once upon the duty assigned him. An unbelieving spirit would have remonstrated upon being charged with such a strange commission. It would have brought up and pleaded the desperate nature of the undertaking. It would have arrayed before it the manifold impossibilities that clustered around the result announced. But nothing of this character avails with the instructed servant of the Most High, who was aware of the resources of omnipotence, and who was familiar with the history of the divine proceedings towards his people in former ages. That history was little else than a tissue of miracles, and if God commanded, what had he to do but obey? The same considerations are to be brought by his ministering servants in all ages to support their faith in the discharge of

trying duties, against the successful issue of which reason reclaims. Even at the grave of Lazarus the reviving message is to be declared, and over the moral cemetery of sin, in which so many souls are entombed, the minister of life is to proclaim his vivific mandate.

And as I prophesied, there was a noise. Heb. נִיחַיָּה קוֹל. Gr. αὐτὸ ἐγενέτο φωνή, and there was a voice. This voice, or noise, considered as a part of the mystic scenery, is variously explained by commentators. Vatablus understands it of a peal of thunder, which Ezekiel heard at that moment, while the *shaking* he interprets of an earthquake that simultaneously occurred. This may perhaps be admitted, provided we give the principal prominence to the symbolic import of these phenomena, though the interpretation is still uncertain. A Lapide regards it as referring to the sound made by the meeting and colliding bones. But this effect is expressed rather by the *shaking* immediately afterwards spoken of. As nothing is expressly said in the text of the source or nature of the sound, the circumstance is probably to be viewed rather in connexion with the events of the fulfilment than of the representing emblems. In the absence of any definite intimation on the subject, it may be sufficient to understand it as indicating some aerial agitation which conveyed to the ear of the prophet a vague sensation of sound, without any distinct vocal intonation or utterance. The gloss of Grotius upon the words is one that arises naturally from his view of the dominant scope of the vision. Conceiving it to refer directly and exclusively to the deliverance from Babylon, he subjoins, by way of explanation, the words—"significans Cyri edictum." The voice of the royal decree empowering the captive tribes to return and rebuild their temple, he supposes to be the voice which here salutes the ear of the entranced prophet. But as we are constrained to regard the symbolic scenery as having a vastly more extended reach of import, so are we forced to seek for a different solution of this circumstance of the mystic transactions. A process is here described which was to result in the moral quickening of the Jewish race. This was to be effected mainly by the agency of *prophesying*, i. e., by explaining the prophecies which relate to that event. The sound of the mystic voice is heard in intimate connexion with the prophetic utterance. The strict reading of the original is, "And there was a voice in my prophesying." This does not refer to his own voice, but to some voice which was rather awakened as an echo to his—some voice that was the natural result of the oracular proclamations which he was called to put forth. Regarded in this light, what are we to recognize in it but the loud and spontaneous *response*, which shall be heard throughout the bounds of Christendom when the burden of this prophetic announcement begins to seize upon and command the attention of the churches? When the light of a

clear and convincing exegesis begins to be poured upon the Scriptural predictions of the speedy restoration of Israel, will there not be "a voice?" Will not the subject awaken a universal interest? Will it not become a topic which will dwell upon every tongue? Will it not enter the themes of a thousand pulpits? Will it not form the matter of innumerable discussions through the press? In a word, will not a prospective event of such a signal character be everywhere *bruited* throughout the length and breadth of the Christian world?

But while we are disposed to consider this as one sense of the *voice* or *noise* which the inditing Spirit had prominently in view in the words before us, we are still inclined to recognize another drift in the symbol as here employed. We have already adverted to the comment of Grotius, who makes the "voice" to signify the decree of Cyrus for the Jews' return to Canaan. We believe he is in error in making that event the fulfilment of the visionary pre-sage; but we may still grant that the prophecy is constructed with an *allusion* to that sovereign edict, just as the process of vivification described *alludes* all along to the original creation of Adam. And in this view it is certainly not a little remarkable, that the term קול is employed in reference to a royal proclamation. Thus Ezra, 1. 1, "The Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he *made a proclamation* (וַיְצַבִּיר קול, *caused a voice pass*), and put it also in writing, saying," etc. So also Ezra, 10. 7, "And they *made a proclamation* (וַיְצַבִּירוּ קול, *and they made a voice to pass*) throughout Judah and Jerusalem unto all the children of the captivity," etc. Ex. 36. 6, "And Moses gave commandment, and they *caused it to be proclaimed* (וַיְצַבִּירוּ קול, *caused a voice to pass*) throughout the camp, saying," etc. 2 Chron. 30. 5, (6), "So they established a decree *to make proclamation* (לְהַצַּבִּיר קול, *to cause a voice to pass*) throughout all Israel." The usage disclosed in these instances indicates a sense of the term peculiarly appropriate to the present connexion. It affords an ample ground for interpreting the term "voice," when used in prophetic relations, of governmental edicts, decrees, or proclamations. And one of the ancient Oneirocritics, or *dream-expounders*, remarks that "if a king dreams of uttering a clear voice, it signifies that he shall *proclaim a new law*." In like manner, when it is said in the Apocalypse that *voices* were heard issuing from the throne, the import is that of *authoritative decrees* promulged by the ruling powers for the establishment of the church. So, again, the seven thunders uttering their voices is interpreted by Daubuz of the enactments and rescripts of the various European monarchs in favor of the Reformation under Luther, as these symbolical *voices* denote, according to him, "the laws or constitutions of the supreme powers." With these explanations, then,

as a key to the present passage, we may properly understand the "voice" now heard by the prophet of those edicts, statutes, and royal ordinances, which will be issued by the different Christian governments in favor of the Jews, removing the civil disabilities under which they have labored, promoting, in various ways, their restoration from the thralldom and oppression which has so long ground them to the dust, and elevating them to a rank of honorable repute among the nations of the earth. This process is already in train. The legislation of Christian lands is beginning to undo the heavy burdens which they have bound upon the necks of Jewish subjects, and to recognize their claims to the rights of men and of citizens. In England especially, the oppressive restrictions which formerly existed towards them are essentially relaxed, and their example is being followed by the governments of other nations. It is well known that large concessions of Jewish privilege have been made within a few years by the Sultan of the Turkish empire, where their political thralldom has ever been most signally onerous and grinding. These are events full of hopeful presage to the out-cast Israelite, and it cannot be doubted that in proportion as the prophetic destiny of this people is better understood, these ameliorating ordinances in their behalf will continue to be multiplied more and more.

And behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. Heb. רָעַשׁ *concussion, commotion.* In its primary purport, the term denotes the noise that would be made by the rattling of the bones, as they began to be stirred from their long quiescence, and by the collision of one against another as they came together each to its fellow. The uniting process is expressively rendered in the Greek and Syriac, "the bones came together, each to his fitting or juncture." A somewhat violent and sonorous clashing would accompany such a movement, and this idea is perhaps more obviously conveyed by a precise rendering of the Hebrew, which does not exhibit even the slight distinction of a comma between the members of the clause,—*"And there was a shaking (or commotion) as the bones came together, bone to his bone."* The original term רָעַשׁ is indeed frequently used to denote an *earthquake*, as 1 Kings 19. 11, Am. 1. 1, Zech. 14. 5; but an *earthquake*, in its symbolical sense, denotes a political or ecclesiastical revolution, and if such a sense be recognized here, it still points to a grand national movement among the Jews at the period of the occurrences here predicted. This will be the natural, as it is clearly the purposed, result of the prophetic agency here shadowed forth. The first effect, indicated by the "voice," is probably to be witnessed among Christians. The valid and elaborate exposition of the Scriptural predictions relative to the destiny of Israel, will powerfully awaken the

interest, and work upon the sympathies, of Christendom. They will begin earnestly to inquire into the duties which may devolve upon them in reference to the sublime consummation that is to be brought about, and courts and cabinets will set their diplomacy at work to favor the designs of Providence. Crowned heads will ponder the burdens of the prophets, and their sovereign decretals will realize the thunders from the throne, whose mystic "voices" second and give efficacy to the inspired declarations.

The "shaking," on the other hand, indicates the effect produced upon the Jews. After ages of unbelieving apathy, they will begin to be roused by the prophetic utterances that salute their ears. More effective than any direct appeals from the pulpit—from which they for the most part obstinately estrange themselves—the expositions of their own prophetic Scriptures will come upon them with a power which they can neither gainsay nor resist. However much the Jews may be wedded to tradition, and however grievously the books of Moses and the prophets may have been neglected for the idle rhapsodies of the Talmud, yet who can doubt that the lively oracles, forming their canonical Scriptures, and flowing from an inspired source, will become the honored instrumentality by which their national regeneration shall be effected? If the burden of these announcements were menacing and afflictive—if they contained a "flying roll" of curses and wrath—we might more properly doubt of their gaining the audience or credence of the covenant people. But when they are in fact freighted with the promise of good—when their whole drift is to assure the Jews, upon the high authority of Jehovah himself, of the bestowment of the very blessings after which they have been so long blindly seeking—can the intelligent pondering of these prophecies fail to rouse them to an attitude of the most heedful regard to what is thus infallibly secured to them? Will it not cause a "shaking?" Will it not produce a concussion that shall agitate the whole mass as with the throes of a moral earthquake? Such unquestionably will be the result. Nor do we see room to doubt that the prominent men, the best informed of the body, will be among the leaders of the movement. Being the most familiar with the Hebrew language, they will be the best qualified to judge of the soundness of the proposed interpretations. And they can be reached by the press when there would be no hope of their coming within the sound of the voice of the living preacher. Tracts will be read where sermons would not be heard. In this way the truth will be propagated *ab intra*, among themselves, though the first impulse may be given from without. Christian interpreters, drawn to the more elaborate investigation of the Holy Scriptures, and delving into the depths of prophecy, will bring forth to the astonished eyes of their Jewish brethren, the treasures of an-

nouncement which they have for ages overlooked, disclosing their future prospects as a people. They will then perceive how infinitely superior are the riches of Revelation to the contemptible triflings of the Talmud, and how madly they have forsaken the crystal fountains of truth for the muddy streams of tradition. Asserting the prerogatives of men, they will dare to think for themselves. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and under the promptings of the free spirit of inquiry, they will institute a most rigid inquest into the grounds of that authority which has been claimed for those Rabbinical dogmas which have set aside the teachings of Moses and the prophets. This awakened impulse of reason will spread from synagogue to synagogue, agitating the entire mass with a commotion hitherto unknown to it. Rents and schisms will ensue, sundering party from party, eliminating the liberal from the bigoted, and drawing down the thunders of Rabbinic denunciation upon the so-called innovators on the unity of the Jewish faith. Indeed, it is not too much to say that this "shaking" has already commenced. From different quarters of the Jewish world we hear the din of division. In the congregations of England, Germany, and Hungary, new schools are forming, and the adherents of the law arraying themselves, in growing numbers, in opposition to the blind sticklers for the traditions of the Elders. Even Judaism itself, the very type of every thing sacred and steadfast, is giving way before the liberalizing spirit of the age, like a mighty bulwark which at last yields to the unceasing action of the billows of the ocean. In the midst of this inevitable ferment of the Jewish mind the exposition of prophecy will undoubtedly come in as a new element of disturbance, and tend still more to precipitate the Karaites from the Pharisees. The result must unquestionably be a revolution throughout the great body of Israel, which shall in the end elevate the Scriptures and depress the Talmud. And the Scriptures, the more they are studied, the more will they excite. A new sensation will thrill the universal mass, and the prophetic announcements will be the grand means of their own fulfilment.

We can scarcely fail, from this view of the subject, to perceive the direction which all efforts for the conversion of the Jews should mainly take. It must be by the study, the exposition, and the application of their own prophecies, that their minds are to be arrested and their moral captivity brought to a close. It is in this form that an appeal is to be made directly to the governing intelligence of the nation. The time has gone by when the Christian world ought to be satisfied with individual conversions, here and there occurring, from among the obscurer members of the community. We are called upon to challenge the collective wisdom of the fathers of Israel to enter with us upon the calm investigation of the holy writings.

This must be done rather through the press than through the pulpit. We must spread our tracts before them; we must demand the refutation or the adoption of our views of the sense of the prophets; we must summon them to the field of argument, and say in the words of the Most High to Job, "gird up now thy loins like a man; for I will demand of thee, and answer thou me." Immense obstacles created by pride and prejudice may indeed stand in the way, but if there be truth in the oracles of God, the inveteracy of Jewish unbelief is yet destined to succumb to the force of evidence. Let but our own conviction of the high destiny that awaits them herald theirs, and the work is virtually accomplished. Let there be the 'voice,' and there will soon follow the 'shaking,' and the 'shaking' will be the sure precursor of the resurrection.

VERSE VIII.

HEB.

וַיֵּרָא וַיִּבֶן עֲלֵיהֶם
וּבָשָׂר עָלֵיהֶם עוֹר
מִלְמַעְלָה יָרוּם אֵין בָּהֶם :

ENG. VERS.

And when I beheld, lo, the sinews
and the flesh came up upon them,
and the skin covered them above;
but there was no breath in them.

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ ἶδον, καὶ ἰδὸν, ἐπ' αὐτὰ
ρεῖνα καὶ σάρκες ἐφύοντο, καὶ ἀρέ-
βαιεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέρματα ἐπάνω,
καὶ πνεῦμα οὐκ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

ENG. VERS.

And I saw, and behold, sinews
and flesh grew upon them, and skin
came up upon them above, and no
breath was upon them.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And I saw, and behold, upon them
sinews and flesh grew, and flesh
was stretched over them above, and
breath was not in them.

VULG. VERS.

Et vidi, et ecce super ea nervi et
carnes ascenderunt; et extensa est
in eis cutis desuper, et spiritum non
habebant.

COMMENTARY.

8. *And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them.* Heb. רִיחַ. Gr. πνεῦμα. The process of reviviscence is as yet but partially completed. The bones have been built into skeletons, the skeletons clothed with sinews and flesh, and the flesh enveloped in skin. But still they are mere *bodies*, and not *men*. No pulsations of life throb beneath their "ribs of death." No motive power resides in their inert limbs. An immense multitude of exanimate corpses, they lie prostrate on the ground, awaiting the quickening fiat which can alone infuse into them the vital breath, and thus complete the new creation.

The symbolical purport of all this, in its application to the Jews, we think it not very difficult to determine. It seems distinctly to convey the intimation, that a day of small things is to mark the commencement of Israel's restoration, whether considered in its *literal* or *spiritual* bearing; for, as we have already remarked, we cannot but conclude that both aspects of the event are contemplated in the present prophecy. Taken in the former sense, the imagery represents a very feeble and gradual beginning of a course of events, which is to issue in the most stupendous results. The dispersed and downcast remnant shall, one after another, turn their faces to Zion, and in sparse and scattered bands find their way to the land of their fathers. Thus shall "bone come to his bone;" one Jew shall meet another, entering from different quarters of the globe upon the predestined soil of Palestine. Urged by different motives, the natives of Poland, Germany, Holland, Spain, Africa, and the East shall drop in, in scattered groups, to the cities of Judah, with the hope of depositing their bones in the tombs of their patriarch fathers.

But in all this there is as yet no striking symptom of spiritual life. Here and there converted Jews may be found of the number of immigrants, attracted perhaps by the establishment of a Judeo-Christian worship at Jerusalem, of which a beginning has already been made under the auspices of a dignitary of the English Church. Still they will be but "a feeble folk," and the mass of them being actuated by worldly, rather than by religious promptings, will but verify the mystic portraiture of the vision in presenting to the Christian eye the spectacle of a gathered multitude of human statues formed of flesh and blood, but devoid of animating breath. Indeed, it may safely be affirmed that this has hitherto been but too faithful an image of Jewish conversions. Even where there has been adequate ground for thinking charitably of the work of grace in their hearts, still the predominant character of Jewish piety has been timid, wavering, and weak. It has not been a piety of life and power. No specimen of the glowing ardor of a Paul has yet been witnessed. The converted Jew has seldom evinced a complete disenthralment from the yoke of Rabbinical bondage, even when baptized into the liberty of Christ. He has almost never appeared walking with erect front and firm tread upon the platform of Christianity. Reared under the unfriendly influences of the synagogue, he seems not to be at home in the precincts of the church. He is but slowly naturalized to his new citizenship, and though disposed to walk and to work under the guidance of Christian teachers, yet there is apparently but little that is spontaneous and independent in the goings forth of his better impulses. We do not say this by way of disparagement, nor in ignorance of the many causes which would naturally operate to prevent the converted Jew from rising to the loftiest form of Christian character. But we are safe in affirming the fact, and safe also,

we conceive, in the position, that a far higher order of piety is yet to be attained and exhibited by the believing sons of Abraham. They are yet to come under a dispensation of the Spirit, which shall be one of power on a large and magnificent scale. An energy and intensity of life shall be hereafter breathed into their religious character, which shall render them the brightest lights of Christendom, and realize in their full extent the words of the prophet, Zech. 12. 8, "And he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David shall be as God." The quickening breath of the Holy Spirit is alone adequate to remove that moral asphyxia under which they labor. This will be the result of the crowning influence of the life-giving spirit here announced. All that has hitherto been done for them falls short of the effect that is yet to be produced when the dead bodies shall be endowed with the vital principle.

VERSE IX.

HEB.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הִנֵּבָא אֶל־דְּרוֹר
הִנֵּבָא בְּנ־אָדָם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֶל־דְּרוֹר
כְּדֹאֲמַר אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה מֵאַרְבַּע
רִיחֹת בָּאִי תְרוֹת וּפְתִי בְּהַרְחִלֵם
הָאֵלֶּת יְהוָה :

ENG. VERS.

Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto the wind, prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με, Προφητεύσον ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, προφητεύσον νῆ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ πνεύματι, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος, Ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων πνευμάτων ἔλθε, καὶ ἐμψύχῃσιν εἰς τοὺς νεκροὺς τούτους, καὶ ζήσωσιν.

ENG. VERS.

And he said unto me, Prophecy upon (or concerning) the spirit (or wind), prophecy, son of man, and say to the spirit (or wind), Thus saith the Lord, Come from the four spirits (or winds), and blow upon these dead, and let them live.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And he said unto me, Prophecy to the spirit (or wind), prophecy, son of man, and say to the spirit (or wind), thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four spirits (or winds), and unto these slain, that they may live.

VULG. VERS.

Et dixit ad me, Vaticinare ad spiritum, vaticinare, fili hominis, et dices ad spiritum, Hæc dicit Dominus Deus, a quatuor ventis veni spiritus, et insuffla super interfectos istos, ut reviviscant.

COMMENTARY.

9. *Then he said unto me, Prophecy unto the wind.* Heb. וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הִנֵּבָא אֶל־דְּרוֹר. It has been previously observed that the Heb. term דְּרוֹר is variously rendered *wind*, *breath*, or *spirit*, in different connexions. It is here the same word which is rendered in the context

by *spirit*, and it would perhaps be putting the English reader on the best ground for judging the true sense of the original to adhere uniformly to that rendering. Whether it is to be understood of the atmospherical element which we breathe, of the vital principle of the human body, of the intelligent and sentient spirit of man, or of the Holy Spirit of God, can only be determined by the connexion. How it is to be interpreted in the present passage will soon appear. We have already remarked that the phrase "prophesy upon the dry bones" properly imports, in this connexion, "prophesy respecting the dry bones;" and a similar import is doubtless to be recognized here also, which is distinctly warranted by the Greek, *προφητεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα*, *prophesy upon or concerning the Spirit*. The Syriac and Arabic give the same rendering. The most ample authority for this sense of the Hebrew particle may easily be adduced. Thus, Ezek. 13. 16, "The prophets of Israel which prophesy concerning Jerusalem (אֵל יְרוּשָׁלַם), and which see visions of peace," &c. 1 Sam. 1. 27, "For this child (אֵל הַנַּעַר הַזֶּה) I prayed," &c., i. e. concerning or with reference to this child. 2 Kings 19. 32, "Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria (אֵל מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר), he shall not come," &c. Is. 19. 11, "How say ye unto Pharaoh (אֵל פַּרְעֹה), I am the son of the wise," &c., i. e. concerning Pharaoh. Examples of this usage might be indefinitely multiplied. The case is too clear to admit of doubt, that the Spirit here spoken of is to be understood of the Holy Spirit. Consequently the prophet's being commanded to "prophesy concerning the Spirit," implies *his explaining those prophecies which relate to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit of God, in connexion with the event here shadowed forth*. At the same time, the tenor of the ensuing part of the verse makes it evident that the prophesying was in some way to be conducted in the form of an *invocation* to that same Spirit whose influences are to be employed in effecting the work. The grand duty enjoined in the words is undoubtedly that of *prayer*; but it is prayer of a somewhat peculiar character—which consists in an earnest pleading of those prophetic promises that assure the literal and spiritual restoration of Israel. One who prays for this object in the full faith of those predictions which announce it, may be said to prophesy both *to* and *concerning* the Spirit which is to be poured out from on high to give life to the dead.

Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. The view which we have above suggested of the import of this language presents a very interesting and momentous aspect of the whole subject. Considering Ezekiel as sustaining in this mystic

transaction a symbolical character, and representing the persons of those who, in subsequent ages, should be the accredited organs for giving utterance to the voice of the church, we are obviously taught that the mere argumentative development of the prophetic Scriptures announcing the future destinies of the Jews, is not sufficient to produce the "consummation so devoutly to be wished." However well adapted in themselves to arrest attention, and to awaken inquiry in the Jewish mind, the most luminous expositions of holy writ fall short of imparting spiritual life to the nation. They may sow the seeds of a national movement—they may, according to the burden of the vision, cause a shaking among the dry bones—but an inwrought energy from the Holy One of Israel is indispensable to that moral quickening of the inanimate mass which is requisite to their complete vivification. This influence is to be secured by *prayer*—prayer founded upon the express promises of Jehovah to this effect—in a word, *prophetic prayer*—and this, too, throughout the bounds of the Christian world. The reviving spirit is to come from "the four winds of heaven," or from the four quarters of the earth, in answer to the prayers which shall be preferred by the faithful from all the various regions of their habitation. Every department of Zion is to be enlisted in this work of supplication, and to contribute its respective quota of hallowed agency in drawing down the influences of the Spirit upon the morally defunct multitudes of the house of Israel. As scattered portions of this people are to be found in every region of the globe where Christianity is established, so from the Christians of every region are those prophetic intercessions to ascend to the ears of the Lord God of Sabbaoth; and the fact that the objects of their petitions are before their eyes in all the eloquent and affecting necessities of their condition will, no doubt, go to add an increased fervency and intensity to their suit.

We know of nothing, then, that ought to operate with more imperative conviction upon the minds of Christians than the fact conveyed by this mystic scenery, that the regeneration of the Jews is to be effected mainly by the instrumentality of *expounded prophecy* and *fervent prayer*. These are the two great means on which we are to rely for the promised result. Without derogating in the least from the ordinance of *preaching*, in its common acceptance, as a means of evangelization, we may still maintain, that the case of the Jews is so peculiar—the Gospel encounters in them an attitude of mind so unique and distinguishing—that we cannot anticipate those legitimate effects from that source for which we are authorized to look in the case of other people—a remark which holds true, to a certain extent, of the Mohammedans also. In regard to both there is a prior admission, through a perverse inter-

pretation, of the great facts and doctrines of the Old Testament Scriptures. They have neither of them need, like the heathen nations, to be taught what are "the first elements of the doctrine of Christ," and this circumstance rather increases than diminishes the difficulty of bringing them to the acknowledgment of the saving truth of the Gospel. In this emergency, *prayer* is the grand resort of the Christian church. The arm of Omnipotence must be earnestly invoked to put forth its constraining power upon the people of the covenant; and prayer, the texture of which is wrought of the prophetic promises of the word, will avail to secure the blessing. "Thou sendest forth thy Spirit; they are created."

The term *slain* (הִלָּלִים) is not probably intended to designate with much precision the manner in which the multitude originally came to "the dust of death." The Greek renders it simply by *τοὺς νεκροὺς τούτους*, *these dead*, with which the Arabic agrees. It is undoubtedly equivalent to *dead*, *mortuos*, as Rosenmüller renders it, remarking at the same time that it is parallel to the expression Jer. 19. 21, הָרַגְנִי בַמֶּחֶרֶת *the slain of death*, in contradistinction to those slain by the sword. Thus too with the kindred term Ps. 86. 5, "From among the dead, like the *slain* (הַרְגִּים) that lie in the grave;" i. e. simply the deceased, without reference to the manner in which they came to their death.

VERSE X.

HEB.

וְהִנֵּפְתִּי אֶתְּךָ וְהָיָה
בְּרֵחַם הָרִיחַ וְהָיָה וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ עַל-
רַגְלֵיהֶם חֵיל גָּדוֹל מְאֹד מְאֹד

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ προσέφητεσσα καθότι ἐνε-
τείλατό μοι, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐ-
τοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἔζησαν, καὶ
ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν,
συναγωγὴ πολλὴ σφόδρα.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And I prophesied as he com-
manded me, and the spirit entered
into them, and they lived, and they
stood upon their feet, an army ex-
ceeding great.

ENG. VERS.

So I prophesied as he command-
ed me, and the breath came into
them, and they lived, and stood up
upon their feet, an exceeding great
army.

ENG. VERS.

And I prophesied as he com-
manded me, and the spirit entered
into them, and they lived, and stood
upon their feet, an exceeding great
assembly.

VULG. VERS.

Et prophetavi sicut præceperat
mihi; et ingressus est in ea spiritus,
et vixerunt; steteruntque super pe-
des suos, exercitus grandis nimis
valde.

COMMENTARY.

10. *So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding*

great army. The action of the prophet in the symbolic machinery is sufficiently obvious. With the clew already obtained we pass from the shadow to the substance. As the duty enjoined upon him is really that which devolves upon us in these latter ages of the world, so we read in the result which crowned his *prophetic prayer* the blessing that will also follow ours. The bestowment of spiritual life on a large and glorious scale will accrue to the Jews in proportion as the promises to that effect are believably pleaded. And this result we suppose to be intimated in the language of Paul, Rom. 11. 15, in express allusion to the very Scripture we are now considering: "For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but *life from the dead?*" As the same Spirit presided over the inditing of all parts of the inspired word, and as the New Testament is but a development of the interior senses of the Old, nothing is more natural than that a running, though often a tacit, allusion should be kept up in the writings of the apostles to those of the prophets. Paul speaks of the ingathering of Israel into the church of Christ as an expositor of Moses and the later prophets, who have unequivocally announced the same grand issue. It is no more than is to be expected, that the language which he employs should often be such as to refer us at once to the terms of the original predictions, and when he speaks in the passage quoted of the conversion of the Jews as the reception of life by the dead, with what portion of the ancient oracles do we more spontaneously connect it than with the vision of Ezekiel, where the same event is figuratively set forth by the resurrection of the dead to life?

But let us follow out the main idea a little more in detail. The leading intimation undoubtedly is, that the conversion of Israel is to be effected mainly by the bringing to bear upon this object the scope of the inspired predictions which relate to it. These are of a two-fold character. (1.) Those which announce their restoration. (2.) Those which foretell the outpouring of the reviving Spirit of the Lord upon them. It is by no means to be supposed that the prophecies of Ezekiel alone are alluded to in this connexion. He, as we have already remarked, is to be regarded as acting in this visionary transaction in a representative character. His agency foreshadows that of his successors who should sustain in their persons the persons of the members of the church, in whose name they officiate, in coming periods of time, when the actual accomplishment of the event was to be expected. The means to be employed is the exposition and application of prophecy, i.e. of all the various prophecies scattered through the writings of the former and the latter seers. Of these it is obvious on inspection that a large portion distinctly announce the effusion of the Holy Spirit in the latter day, and in connexion

with their restoration, upon the house of Israel. With these dispersed oracles the stewards of the mysteries of God, and those to whom they minister, are to become familiar, and by incorporating them into the substance of their prayers, are to prophesy to the wind, breath, or Spirit of the Lord, to form a plea which the divine counsels will forbid to be unavailing. In these it is undoubtedly true that the prophecy of Ezekiel is peculiarly rich, but the same note is struck, in multitudes of instances, by the harps of the other prophets. From the whole collectively we may adduce the following as specimens: Ezek. 11. 19, "And I will give them one heart, and *I will put a new spirit within you* ; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and give them an heart of flesh ; that they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them ; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God." Ch. 36. 24-26, "For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean ; from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you, and *a new spirit will I put within you.*" Ch. 26. 27, "*And I will put my Spirit within you,* and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them." Is. 32. 13, 15, "Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns and briers, yea, upon all the houses of joy in the joyous city ;—*until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high,* and the wilderness be a fruitful field." Zech. 12. 10, "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, *the spirit of grace and supplications* ; and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for an only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born."

These are among the prophetic pleadings with which the throne of grace is to be solicited, and the reviving 'Spirit' of the Lord to be invoked. It is by the citation of these and similar predictions that the servants of the Most High are to prophesy *to and concerning* the divine 'wind,' which can alone blow a quickening breath upon the slain multitudes. The result is emphatically indicated by the words that follow : "and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army," or as the original more expressively has it—"an army great exceedingly, exceedingly." How insignificant compared with this will be all prior successes in the line of Jewish conversions ! If in the primitive days of the church one Apostle could say to another, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe," how will the heart of Christian benevolence swell to see the grow-

ing numbers counted by hundreds of thousands, when "the day of the Lord shall be great in Jezreel?" "Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear, break forth in singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child; for more are the children of the desolate, than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord. Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited."

THE INTERPRETATION.

VERSE XI.

HEB.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי בֶּן־אָדָם הַעֲצָמוֹת
הָאֵלֶּה כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל הַמָּוֶה
הַזֶּה אֲמָרִים וַבִּשּׁוֹ עֲצָמוֹתֵינוּ
וְאֲבֵדָה תִּקְוַתֵּנוּ נִגְזַרְנוּ לָנוּ :

ENG. VERS.

Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts.

GR. OF LXX.

Kai êlallêshê Kýrios prôs mê, légon, Tis ânthrôpon, ta ôstâ taûta pãs oîkos Israêl êsti, kai autoi légousi, Êqrâ gégoneta ôstâ êmôn, ápólôwen ê êlâpis êmôn, διαπεφωνήμαμεν.

ENG. VERS.

And the Lord spake unto me, saying, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel, and they say, Our bones are dry, our hope is lost, we have expired.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And he said unto me, these bones are the whole house of Israel; behold, they say, Our bones are dried, our hope is cut off, and we have perished.

VULG. VERS.

Et dixit ad me, Fili hominis, ossa hæc universa, domus Israel est; ipsi dicunt, Aruerunt ossa nostra, et perit spes nostra, abscissi sumus.

COMMENTARY.

11. *Then said he unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel.* In view of the peculiar and striking character of the imagery employed in the present vision, the reader cannot but feel that nothing would be more desirable than a divine declaration of its import; and with such a declaration we are here furnished. Upon an authority perfectly infallible we are assured that the substance of the shadowed *materiel* of the vision is "the whole house of Israel;" that is, the great mass, the major portion of the covenanted race; just as Paul when he says, Rom. 11, 26, "and so all Israel shall be saved," means not each and every individual of the nation, but the bulk of it. And it is worthy of notice in this connexion, that it is one of the most familiar of the Talmudical sayings, that "all Israel hath a share in the world to come;" i. e. in the Messiah's dispensation. However applicable the depicted scenery may be in itself to the condition in which the gospel finds the great mass of men, and however well adapted to represent the state of Christian congregations under a general dearth of spiritual influences, from which they need to be powerfully resuscitated, yet nothing is clearer than that its direct, designed, and legitimate drift is to symbolize the political and moral position of the literal Israel at the time to which the spirit of prophecy points. We cannot conceive that the canons of sound interpretation will allow the putting of any sense upon the language which would preclude a primary adumbration of the literal house of Israel in its long continued, deplorable, and apparently hopeless depression. Accordingly, if the literal race of Israel is here designated, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion, that a literal restoration is with equal explicitness taught in the vision. Thus also Ezek. 11. 17, "Therefore say, thus saith the Lord, I will even gather you from the people, and assemble you out of the countries where ye have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel." Again, Ezek. 39. 25-29, "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Now will I bring again the captivity of Jacob, and have mercy upon the whole house of Israel, and will be jealous for my holy name; after that they have borne their shame, and all their trespasses whereby they have trespassed against me, when they dwelt safely in their land, and none made them afraid. When I have brought them again from the people, and gathered them out of their enemies' lands, and am sanctified in them in the sight of many nations; then shall they know that I am the LORD their God, which caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen: but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them: for I have poured out

my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God." The positive assurance—"neither will I hide my face any more from them"—demonstrates that the fulfilment is yet future, for nothing is more notorious than that the Jews have been under the hidings of God's face for centuries past.

If we feel ourselves at liberty then to evaporate the solid substances here submitted to us into airy phantoms in the alembic of a spiritualizing interpretation, what portion of holy writ can plead exemption from the same process? The Grotian mode of solution, which turns the whole into an emblematic device designed to set forth the reinstatement of the Jews in the enjoyment of *civil* privileges, in their own land, after the return under the decree of Cyrus, though inadequate, may yet be tolerated as preserving the substantial truth of the imagery of the bones; but what favor can be shown to a construction that entirely merges the original express subject of the vision in some arbitrary spiritual creation, for which no adequate authority, no satisfactory reasonings, can be adduced? To make the house of Israel here a typical term for the Christian church, is very like making the figurative resurrection of the dry bones a proof direct of the general resurrection of the dead. The following extract from "Begg's Connected View," p. 19, has a pertinency in this relation which cannot be mistaken.

"If these predictions do not prove the future restoration of the literal Israel to the land of their fathers, it may certainly be asked, In what language *could* such a promise be made, that would not be equally liable to be misapplied, perverted, or discredited? We may as well deny the literal *conversion* as the literal *restoration* of Israel—most of the passages which assure us of the one, predicting also the other. If it was not a figurative dispersion they suffered, neither will it be a figurative restoration they shall enjoy. And if dispersion was a part of the punishment of their national transgression, so also will restoration be obtained when forgiven of the Lord, and will be connected with their national repentance. And how wonderfully has the Lord preserved the Jews for this display of His sovereignty and grace! Although scattered into every nation of Europe,—nay, attracted into every country under heaven into which commerce has been introduced—and possessed, as many of them are, of immense wealth—they have not been allowed to become the proprietors of any soil. They have no inheritance in other lands, and they have always cherished a passionate desire to return to their own. Throughout their long captivity, they have been thus kept unsubjected to the influence of other local attachments, and in a state of constant readiness for migration; and recent movements among them render it highly probable that the time of their general departure is at hand. By the dispensations of His providence, the Lord is manifestly preparing the way for their return. In the plenitude of their uncontrolled power, earthly potentates may indeed combine, and, with a view to perpetuate their systems of iniquity, may create kingdoms at will, allot to them the territories they shall possess, and appoint the kings by whom they shall be governed, without asking counsel of the Lord, or regulating their decisions by His 'sure decree.' In all their

calculations, Israel may not be reckoned; in their disposal of territory, no portion may be assigned for *their* inheritance. But the God of Jacob 'has purposed, and who shall disannul it?' 'Zion shall be redeemed with judgments, and her converts with righteousness.' 'But ye, O mountains of Israel, ye shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people of Israel; for they are at hand to come.' Is. i. 27. Ezek. xxxvi. 8."

The parallelisms of prophecy are all important in any exegetic process. They do not always lie upon the surface of Scripture, like the bones spread over the face of the visionary valley. But a studious inquest will frequently reveal them, and we rejoice over them as one that has found great spoil. In regard to the present oracle, we believe it is to be brought into juxtaposition with two or three passages in the other prophets which are seldom viewed in this connexion. Of these the following stands conspicuous: Is. 66. 14, "And when ye see this your heart shall rejoice, and *your bones shall flourish like an herb.*" The connected words have only to be read to convince any one that the period referred to is precisely that which is contemplated in the present vision, as it is the prediction of a day when Jerusalem, or the Jewish nation, is to be signally honored, and "peace extended to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream." Most intimately related to this is another passage of the same prophet, and referring to the same time, ch. 26. 12-19, where the subject of the prophecy is undoubtedly the Jews in the latter ages. Vitringa, Michaelis, and other expositors are satisfied that it does not refer to the period of the Babylonish captivity, though that may have given *occasion* to the peculiar style of announcement adopted. After putting into their lips the acknowledgment, "O Lord our Lord, other lords beside thee have had dominion over us, but by thee only will we make mention of thy name," they go on to say, that these their former enemies and masters "are dead, they shall not live; they are deceased, they shall not rise; therefore thou hast visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish." They then proceed, by way of contrasting their own more privileged lot with that of their oppressors, to declare in an address to the Most High, and in the language of firm assurance, "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake, and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." This is all but universally conceded to be the foreshowing not of a literal but of a figurative resurrection. Their resuscitation, as Mr. Barnes remarks, (in loc.) imports that "they shall be restored to their country, and be reinstated in all their rights and immunities as a people among the nations of the earth. This restoration shall be as striking as would be a resurrection of the dead from their graves. Though therefore this

does not refer primarily to the resurrection of the dead, yet the illustration is drawn from that doctrine, and implies that that doctrine was one with which they were familiar." As to the connected phrases Mr. B. further remarks, "they may be rendered *my deceased, my dead*, and will thus be parallel with the phrase, 'thy dead men,' and is used in the same sense with reference to the same species of resurrection. It is not the language of the prophet Isaiah, as if he referred to his own body when it should be dead, but it is the language of the *choir* that sings and that speaks in the name of the Jewish people. *That people* is thus introduced as saying, '*my dead*,' that is, '*our dead*,' shall rise. Not only in the address to Jehovah is this sentiment uttered, when it is said, '*thy dead shall rise*;' but when the attention is turned to themselves as a people they say '*our dead shall rise*;' those that appertain to our nation shall rise from the dust, and be restored to their own privileges and land."

As the imagery then of the two prophets is perfectly tantamount, we see no good reason to doubt that both predictions refer to the same event; and we believe we may safely interpret Dan. 12. 2, of the same period and the same accomplishment: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt;" implying that that which was a national restoration to all, should be a spiritual resurrection only to a part. The rest, by abiding in unbelief, should incur a doom of woe and wrath commensurate with the blessings which they forfeited. The mention of the '*dew*,' as the emblem of the reviving influence by which the morally dead are resuscitated, and consequently of the Spirit of God, the true agent, naturally reminds us of other passages which this term is a connecting link to bind together in union with the present. Thus Hos. 14. 5, "I will be *as the dew* unto Israel; he shall grow as the lily, and shoot forth his roots as Lebanon." This, from the context, can be referred to no period so properly as to the final restoration of Israel, as the declaration immediately preceding is, "I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely; for mine anger is turned away from him." When shall this be realized but in the day of Jacob's redemption? Again, Is. 18. 4, "For so the Lord said unto me, I will take my rest, and I will consider in my dwelling-place (Marg. I will regard my set dwelling), like a clear heat upon herbs, and like a *cloud of dew* in the heat of harvest." This refers to the time when an ensign is to be lifted up upon the mountains, and the great trumpet blown (comp. Is. 27. 13), and "the present brought unto the Lord of hosts, of a people scattered and peeled, and terrible (venerable) from the beginning, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the Mount Zion." This is

unquestionably the future return of the dispersed of Israel to their own land. Once more, Mic. 5. 7, "And the remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many people *as a dew from the Lord*, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men." When the 'dew' of divine influence has revived them, they shall themselves become as a renovating 'dew' to the heathen nations, among whom they shall sojourn, and in whose conversion they shall be instrumental. Thus strikingly do we find the present prophecy ramified in its connexions with various other portions of the Scriptures, all bearing on the same great and glorious issue.

Behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost. Heb. אֲבִדָה הָיָינוּ, *our expectation is perished.* Gr. ἀπόλωλεν ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν, *our hope has perished.* Nothing could be more appropriate to express the burden of despondency which the depressed, afflicted, down-trodden condition of the Jews has for ages put into their lips. They are a people sick with hope deferred. The accumulation of their sufferings in all ages since the crucifixion has impressed a character of grief and depression upon their nation, and the tone of sorrow, lamentation, and woe, pervades all their utterances as a people. Continually expecting their Messiah, yet continually disappointed, they present a living image of despair. Withered, bowed, woe-begone, they evince an inner consciousness, which they do not seldom express, that the curse and blight of heaven is upon them. A dispirited, downcast, and mournful air, is the very national costume of the Jew. Wherever found they are marked by this characteristic, and that too just in proportion to the degree in which they are imbued with the true spirit and genius of Judaism, and are conscientious in the performance of its rites. The true devotee of the Talmud always presents the aspect of one who is weighed down by the yoke of ceremonies, and oppressed with the mournful lot of his people. He wears the demeanor of one who is incessantly engaged in fruitless attempts to solve the problem of the long-continued sufferings of his race, and the language of the text is the language of his condition, even when his lips refuse utterance to the despairing words. It is virtually the language which the prophet attributes to them in the parallel prediction already considered, Is. 26. 17-18, "Like as a woman with child, that draweth near the time of her delivery, is in pain, and crieth out in her pangs; so have we been in thy sight, O Lord. We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have, as it were, brought forth wind; we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth." This from age to age has been the dominant mental state of these "tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast." That hope which comes to all, comes not to them, after the lapse of centuries of sore disap-

pointment. It has sunk to its last expiring gleam in their bosoms, and they find no solace in the prospect of the future. Their perpetual unuttered apostrophe is, "O God, why hast thou cast us off forever? why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture?—We see not our signs; there is no more any prophet; neither is there any among us that knoweth how long." It is while groaning under the pressure of this calamity that the reviving message embodied in this prediction is to reach their inmost souls. In the midnight depths of their darkness this morning-star of hope is to arise. It is the wont of the divine benignity to take occasion from the extremest straits of his people to illustrate the riches of his grace. He that scattered Israel will yet gather him again, and though the mercy promised is not irrespective of their faith in the Messiah of the Gospel, yet their past unbelief shall not preclude the exercise of that sovereignty of beneficence which secures their future blessedness.

We are cut off for our parts. Heb. נִגְזְרֵנוּ לָנוּ *we are cut off for us, or for ourselves.* The pronominal adjection לָנוּ *for us, for ourselves,* seems designed to give a peculiar emphasis to the term denoting their cutting off. Rosenmüller remarks that this is often the effect of the appending of pronouns in this manner by the medium of the preposition לְ *to or for.* It is as if it were said, considered in ourselves—viewed as to our own ability or sufficiency—we are completely cut off; we lie as withered branches severed from the parent trunk, and have no inherent power to recover ourselves again to life and vigor. The language will at once clothe itself with fuller significance when we advert to the true import of the original word for "cut off." The Heb. נִגְזַר properly and naturally denotes that kind of cutting which takes place when the branch of a tree is severed from the stock, and accordingly the term in that language for *axe* is בִּגְזָרָה, a direct derivative from this root. The idea of *pruning* is one that comes properly under the radical, and its metaphorical usage may be seen from the following examples: 2 Chron. 26.21, "And Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several (separated) house, being a leper; for *he was cut off* (נִגְזַר) from the house of the Lord." Is. 53. 8, "For *he was cut off* (נִגְזַר) from the land of the living." In the following passages the word is brought into closer connexion with the present, as we may suppose the language to be that of a kind of prophetic plaint uttered by the Jews, in the persons of their typical representatives, David and Jeremiah, in the depths of their national distresses. Ps. 88. 3—5, "For my soul is full of troubles, and my life draweth nigh unto the grave. I am counted with them that go down into the pit; I am as a man that hath no strength; free among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more; and *they are cut*

off (נִגְזְרִי) from thy hand." Lam. 3. 54, "Waters flowed over my soul; then I said, *I am cut off* (נִגְזְרִי)." But a still more striking illustration of the force of the term is to be seen in its parallelism with the language of Paul, Rom. 11. 6-24, where he speaks of unbelieving Israel as the natural branches *cut off* from their own olive-tree, but destined, in the counsels of God, to be again grafted in, and to partake of the sap and fatness of their native stock;—a passage in which we are no doubt to recognize a covert allusion to the very phrase which the Spirit here employs. Such striking concealed links of connexion between different parts of the inspired Scriptures are continually disclosing themselves to the diligent student of the original, and form to his mind an argument perfectly irrefragable of the identity of that intelligence and of the unity of that drift which pervades the whole. Thus, in relation to the imagery here employed, where the scattered bones and the dissevered and withered branches form its prominent materials, it is not a little remarkable that the Psalmist, no doubt in a prophetic vein, and in relation to the same subject, has grouped together precisely the same emblems: Ps. 141. 7, "Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth." We must admit, indeed, that the image is that of chips made by the wood-cutter, to which the scattered and whitened bones are compared, but still our previous explanations show that the approximation is sufficiently close to bring the one into significant parallelism with the other. Another prophet, in portraying the extremities of Jewish degradation and misery in their dispersion, uses the same figure: Lam. 4. 8, "Their visage is blacker than a coal; they are not known in the streets; their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered; *it is become as a stick*;" i. e. like a branch excinded from the tree and withered. The language here attributed to the desolate and down-trodden race of Israel is in effect very strikingly embodied in the despairing accents of Job, ch. 19. 10: "He hath destroyed me on every side, and I am gone; and *mine hope hath he removed like a tree*;" i. e. like a tree cut down and left to dry and rot upon the ground. Indeed, as nearly every item which history records of the abject condition of the Jews in all ages since their dispersion is matter of the minutest specification of prophecy, so we may consider the Lamentations of Jeremiah as a continued echo to those plaints of despondency and woe which are reduced to a compend in the passage before us. The whole drift and burden of its pathetic stanzas is the utterance of that sentiment of sadness, hopelessness, and desolation which breathes in the language that the Most High here ascribes to the sons of the covenant: "Behold they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost; we are cut off for our parts." With this burden the language of the modern Jews at Jerusalem, as related by Dr. Wolff, remarkably agrees:—

Rabbin. On account of the palace which is laid waste

People. We sit lonely and weep.

R. On account of the temple which is destroyed ;

P. We sit lonely and weep.

R. On account of the walls which are pulled down ;

P. We sit lonely and weep.

R. On account of the priests who have stumbled ;

P. We sit lonely and weep.

R. On account of the kings who have despised Him ;

P. We sit lonely and weep.

R. We beseech thee to have mercy upon Zion ;

P. Gather the children of Jerusalem.

R. Make haste, O Redeemer of Zion ;

P. Speak to the heart of Jerusalem.

R. Remember the shame of Zion ;

P. Remember again the ruins of Jerusalem.

R. May the royal government shine on Zion ;

P. Comfort those who mourn at Jerusalem.

VERSE XII.

HEB.

ENG. VERS.

לִכֵּן הִנָּבֵא וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם כֹּה
אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה הִנֵּה אֲנִי פֹתֵחַ
אֶת-קְבֻרֹתֵיכֶם וְהֵעֵלִיתִי אֶתְכֶם
מִקְבְּרֹתֵיכֶם עַמִּי וְהִבֵּאתִי אֶתְכֶם
אֶל-אֶרֶצְמֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל

Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God ; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel.

GR. OF LXX.

ENG. VERS.

Διατῶτο προφητεύσον, καὶ εἰ-
πὸν, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος, Ἰδοὺ,
ἐγὼ ἀνοίγω τὰ μνήματα ὑμῶν,
καὶ ἀνάξω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν μνημάτων
ὑμῶν, καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν
τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

Wherefore prophesy, and say, These things saith the Lord, Behold, I open your graves, and will bring you from your graves, and will bring you into the land of Israel.

TARG. OF JONATHAN

VULG. VERS.

Wherefore prophesy, and say unto them, These things saith the Lord God, Behold, I will open your sepulchres and cause you to go up from your sepulchres, O my people, and will bring you into the land of Israel.

Propterea vaticinare, et dices ad eos, Hæc dicet Dominus Deus, Ecce ego aperiam tumulos vestros, et educam vos de sepulchris vestris, populus meus; et inducam vos in terram Israel.

COMMENTARY.

Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Behold, O my people, &c. The reflection at once suggested by these words is that of the persisting favor with which God regards the seed of Abraham, notwithstanding the apostasy which has accumulated their afflictions

upon them. The endearing appellation—"my people"—evinces that they are still his—his in covenant—"by an emphasis of interest his"—although they have forfeited all the privileges of that relation by their protracted rebellion, and though in the estimation of the mass, it may be, of the Christian church, they are regarded as outcasts and aliens who have no longer any federative interest in the promises made to Abraham. This phraseology will be seen to possess more force in this relation by contrasting it with that of certain passages that have an air of repudiation grounded upon the displeasure which their transgressions had occasioned. Thus Ex. 32. 7, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for *thy people*, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves," &c. So also Ezek. 13. 17, "Likewise, thou son of man, set thy face against the daughters of *thy people*, which prophesy out of their own heart, and prophesy thou against them." We perceive in this a tone of alienation, as though God would not deign to recognize a covenant relation to his people, entirely at variance with the tenor of his address in the present passage. We are probably not in error in supposing that Christians, for the most part, deem the ancient covenant made with Israel as virtually abolished since their rejection of the Messiah, and that although not precluded from forgiveness upon acting faith in the Gospel, yet they must come into the fold of Christ upon precisely the same terms with Gentile believers, casting away all reference to any covenant relations which may formerly have distinguished their fathers. This is indeed true in one sense—that the Jew as well as the Gentile is to be saved only by faith in a Messiah who has come—but with the clear assurances of holy writ before us we see not how the evidence can be resisted, that the Jews are yet a covenant people, and that as such they are to be re-incorporated into the fold of the faithful. On what other grounds does Jehovah here address the Jews as *his* people, notwithstanding their outcast attitude? The absolute perpetuity of the covenant made with Abraham can alone afford the solution: "And I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession." This is the covenant of which Paul says, that the law delivered at Sinai four hundred and thirty years afterwards did not annul it; and this is confirmed through the prophet Jeremiah in the most express terms: "Thus saith the Lord, which giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and the stars for a light by night, which divideth the sea when the waves thereof roar; the Lord of Hosts is his name; if these ordinances depart from before

me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me forever." Again, "If they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes. Nevertheless, my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips."

I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. This is clearly but an amplification, in somewhat varied phrase, of the leading promise of the present inspired oracle. It is indeed true that we are to recognize a slight inroad upon the symmetry of the symbol in the intimation, that the mystic bones are to be brought out of graves or sepulchres, whereas they had previously been represented as lying promiscuously strewed over the surface of the ground. Of this Rosenmüller remarks, *Ego in hac dissimilitudine hærendum non puto*. He plainly regards it of little or no consequence in its bearings on the general burden of the prediction. The object of the Spirit is beyond question to present the helpless and hopeless condition of the subject in the strongest light, and therefore he uses the most emphatic terms. No state more remote from life and activity can be conceived than that of arid bones reposing in the depths of the sepulchre. Such an image, accordingly, would be pre-eminently adapted to set forth the amazing stretch of omnipotence requisite to raise the Jews from their entombment as a nation, and to invest them with the prerogatives of a renewed and sanctified humanity. This is obviously the scope of the symbolic assurance, which differs not at all from that of the preceding portions of the vision already elucidated. The purpose mentioned at the close of the verse, of bringing them into the land of Israel, is not to be considered as exhausting the full design of their resurrection. This indeed is as unequivocally announced as could be compassed by the power of language, but this is not the ultimate end which infinite wisdom aims to accomplish. A higher purpose is their recovery to spiritual life, which is more clearly disclosed in the fourteenth verse. Did our limits permit we should be much inclined to go into an extended investigation of Is. 25. 7—9, with a view to show its entire parallelism with the burden of the present prophecy: "He will destroy (עָצָה swallow up) in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations. He will swallow up (עָצָה) death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth: for the Lord hath spoken it." The period here referred to is undoubtedly that of the blissful consummation with which the restoration of Israel is to synchronize,

the golden age of the world, to be ushered in by the introduction of the New Jerusalem, as identical with the *mountain kingdom* which, after smiting and demolishing the image of all worldly despotisms, is to grow and fill the earth. The "face of the covering cast over all people" is a highly metaphorical expression for that veil of ignorance, error, and unbelief, which rests in a distinguished manner upon the Jewish mind, and which Paul assures us, 2 Cor. 3. 16, is to be done away when that people shall turn to the Lord; but which also clouds more or less the mental perception of the Gentile races. Piscator supposes the phrase to be equivalent, by hypallage, to "covering of the face," and that the allusion is to the winding sheets which are wrapped about the bodies and faces of the dead when laid out for burial. The absorption of the veil is, accordingly, its casting off by the spiritually dead, and their resurrection to spiritual life. The swallowing up of death, in like manner, is but another form of expressing the same idea, and is parallel to the "life from the dead," of which the apostle speaks, Rom. 11. 15, as the result of the receiving again of the Jews. That it cannot allude to the *final* abolition of death, at the close of all things, is evident from the context, where events are clearly spoken of as subsequent to this event, which suppose the continuance of time and natural mortality. The intimation is to our minds very obvious, that the removal of the mystic veil from the eyes of the Jews is the signal of a similar event to other nations, which shall receive a glorious illumination from the accomplishment of the prophetic destinies of Israel. But upon the proof of this, by a labored exegetical process, we cannot now enter.

It is ever to be borne in mind that the fulfilment of prophecy is effected by the *ordinary* course of Providence, in which the agents act from appropriate motives, and without the express design of accomplishing the purposes of Heaven. When the Most High accordingly declares that he will bring the house of Israel into their own land, it does not follow that this will be effected by any miraculous interposition which will be recognized as such. Nothing more is implied than that it will be so ordered in Providence that motives will be furnished for such a return, appealing it may be to the worldly and selfish principles of the Jewish mind. It is by no means improbable that the affairs of the nations, or the progress of civilization, may take such a turn as to offer to the Jews the same carnal inducements to remove to Syria, as now prompt them to migrate to this country. Indeed when we consider the force of national predilections naturally operating with that people, and drawing them with a mighty attraction to their paternal soil, we can scarcely doubt, that a much less degree of worldly inducement will suffice to turn their faces and their footsteps thither than to any other

region of the earth. It does not appear, therefore, that any special duty of Christians is involved in this predicted lot of Israel, except so far as governmental action may be requisite in removing the political obstacles that stand in the way of the event. Farther than this we do not perceive that Christian interference is called for. The Jews may be safely left to themselves to carry out, under their own promptings, the accomplishment of their own destiny in this respect. The great work of Christians, in the mean time, is to labor for their conversion. In this they are undoubtedly authorized to look for a considerable measure of success, though it be admitted that the bulk of the nation is not to be converted till after their restoration ; for it is only upon the coming together of bone to his bone that the Spirit of life comes into them, and they stand up an exceeding great army.

We are well aware that a multitude of queries may be started relative to the ultimate *end* to be compassed by the event here announced. The question of the *cui bono* is a very natural one to be urged in this connexion. To this we may very properly reply, that our inability to discover an adequate end of such a movement of Providence is not sufficient to countervail the evidence of the fact, provided that fact be made out by a logical competency of proof. Our business is with the *evidence of the fact*, and until the evidence which we have adduced from the present and kindred prophecies be overthrown, we see no grounds to be troubled on the score of the *reasons* by which the divine counsels are governed. We are at best but poorly qualified to sit in judgment upon the ultimate purposes of the Most High. Their fathomless depths mock the soundings of reason's profoundest plummet. In how many instances, in his past dispensations, has God brought the course of events to issues which would never have entered into the imagination of men or angels ? Were the whole hierarchy of heaven to be empannelled in one grand jury of inquest on the final aims of any one of the divine proceedings, how easily might their findings be baffled ! We say, then, that arguments drawn from human ignorance are not properly to be arrayed against conclusions to which we are brought by a legitimate train of proof. The true question is, whether God hath said that he will do it. Our object has been to show that he has ; and if we have succeeded in this, our conclusion must stand, whether we can see the reasons of it or not. Every sound principle of hermeneutics reclaims against a construction of the prophet's language which would turn it into some vague and mystical allusion of a purely *spiritual* import, involving nothing of a literal sense.

As we read the lively oracles we gather, indeed, no intimation that there is to be, properly speaking, any *new* dispensation to be accorded to man on the earth. But there may doubtless be new

phases or features of the present Christian dispensation in the ages of coming time. The development of the grand destinies of Christianity may very possibly be of an exceedingly strange and astounding character; and if we could fully grasp them from our present position, they would perhaps fill us with an astonishment similar to that which would have struck the mind of an ancient Israelite, could he have looked forward some few centuries, and have seen the entire abolition of Judaism with its gorgeous rites—its smoking altars—its mitred priests—and its varied services. As the sublime counsels of Jehovah go into accomplishment, they often present themselves in new aspects, so that while they actually realize the very letter of prophecy that was before our eyes, we are at the same time filled with overwhelming wonder at the glory of the truth, and at our own obtuseness in not previously perceiving it.

In the present case, however, we can well conceive that one purpose of immense moment may be answered by such an event as the literal return of the Jews to the land of their fathers; and that is the effect it shall have on the conversion of the world. It will not only rend the veil from a thousand prophecies, hitherto wrapped in obscurity, but it will give a new and irresistible impulse to the moral conquest of the nations. The simple contemplation of the fact, that the seed of Jacob, after centuries of dispersion, oppression, and misery, are, in exact accordance with the letter of inspiration, brought again to their own borders, and invested with pre-eminent dignities and favors, will of itself exert a moral influence such as we can now but inadequately conceive. Infidelity will be silenced for ever, and the world struck dumb by the occurrence of a virtual *theophany* made manifest before their eyes. When the Most High descended in all the pomp of the Godhead upon the flaming summit of Sinai, and there delivered his law and avouched the seed of Jacob as his peculiar people, the transaction occurred in an obscure region of the earth, far removed from the eyes of the rest of the world, who little dreamt of the sublime exhibition that was then making to a comparative handful of the human race. But the event we are now considering will be as conspicuous as the other was latent. It will occur in the full view of the whole civilized world. It will blaze with notoriety. It will flash a splendid demonstration upon all kindreds and tongues of the truth of revelation, which no sophistry can elude, no obduracy resist. "The way," says Mr. Bickersteth, "in which the restoration of the Jews will affect all nations is becoming increasingly evident from facts that are arising before our eyes and from the dispersion of the Jews among all nations. Where have they not been scattered, and into what part of the earth have they not been meted out? They are spread over the East. They pervade each kingdom of the Western Roman

empire. Russia, and Poland, and Prussia, have millions of Jews. The last Russian census gives 1,080,224 Jews in Russia, apart from Poland. Africa and America are not without them. How can they be gathered from the Niger to the Volga; from remotest China in the East, to Portugal in the West, and from each accessible country of North and South America, without moving every land, and making known throughout the world the wonderful works of God?" (*Restor. of the Jews*, p. 221.)

But this is not all. A christianized Judaism will not remain an inert element in the system of influences which are destined to transform the moral aspect of mankind. The law is yet appointed to go forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. The same predictions which secure the return of the Jews to the land of their fathers, and their conversion to the faith of Christ, enwrap also the intimation that they shall spontaneously assume the work of propagating the knowledge of that Messiah whom they have been so tardy in confessing. Provoked to a holy jealousy by the prior labors of the Gentiles in this behalf, and nerved by the zeal of men who have been called into the vineyard at the eleventh hour, they will rush upon the work of the world's evangelization with the glowing ardor of those "living creatures"—those cherubic ministers—who "ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning." "And I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar off that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the Gentiles. And they shall bring all your brethren an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain, Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord."

In the accomplishment of any great event of Providence the power of the divine hand is manifest in proportion to the magnitude of the obstacles to be overcome. In the case of the Jews this consideration weighs in its utmost force. It is not a physical but a moral resistance that is to be encountered, and this affords to the reflecting mind a higher idea of the divine omnipotence than any miracle wrought by suspension of the laws which govern the natural world. What is the cleaving of a flood to the conquest of a rebellious spirit? What the bringing forth of water from the smitten rock, to the eliciting of penitential tears from the stubborn heart? The longer the Jews have withstood the evidences of the Gospel, the more confirmed must their prejudices have become; and the stronger their prejudices, the more signally is shown the truth and

reasonableness of that religion which finally subdues them and wins assent. To renounce convictions of long standing and of intense power—to confess that we and our fathers have been in error, and that of the grossest kind—to give up opinions long held in the highest veneration—to forsake the faith in which we have been nurtured from childhood, and embrace that against which we have earnestly contended—implies a triumph of truth which refers itself at once to the most glorious working of the right hand of the Most High. Such, we cannot doubt, will be the moral issue of the restoration of Israel, and in this result alone we find an ample solution of the problem which the prediction in itself may afford. Still we rest not the weight of our argument on the ends to be answered by the event, but upon the scriptural evidence of the fact.

VERSE XIII.

HEB.

וידעתם כי אני יהוה
אשר קברתיכם ובהעלותי אתכם
מקברותיכם עמי :

ENG. VERS.

And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves.

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι Κύριος ἐν τῷ ἀνοῖξαι με τοὺς τάφους ὑμῶν, τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν με ἐκ τῶν τάφων τὸν λαόν μου.

ENG. VERS.

And ye shall know that I am the Lord, in my opening your tombs, for the sake of bringing up my people out of the tombs.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall have opened your sepulchres, and shall have made you to come up out of the midst of your sepulchres, O my people.

VULG. VERS.

Et scietis quia ego Dominus, cum aperiero sepulchra vestra, et eduxero vos de tumulis vestris popule meus.

COMMENTARY.

And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves. It is not perhaps possible to conceive a more triumphant demonstration that can be made of the divine perfections than that which shall accrue from the event here announced. It is virtually a declaration that Jehovah will make himself known in the glory of his power and the truth of his promises. The force of this convincing display shall fall in the first instance on the Jewish mind, but to them it will not be confined. All nations shall share with them in the effects of this overpowering conviction. Jer. 33. 9. "And it shall be to

me a name of joy, and a praise, and an honor, before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear of all the good that I do unto them ; and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness and for all the prosperity that I shall procure unto it." As it takes place in an age of the world when the human mind has reached a high degree of development and will be fully able to appreciate the weight of this kind of evidence, no deduction of science will carry with it more authority than that which attaches to the proof thus afforded of a stupendous divine interposition. God is known in all those striking occurrences which refer themselves directly to him as their true agent ; and from repeated intimations in his word it would appear, that no order of events was ever designed to illustrate more signally the actings of Omnipotence than his dealings in the latter day with his own people. The language of the Psalmist in reference to a former event of the same character will be eminently applicable to this : Ps. 126. 1, 2, " When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing ; then said they among the heathen, 'The Lord hath done great things for them.'" In the following passages the allusion is direct to the effect here described : Ezek. 28. 25, 26, " Thus saith the Lord God ; When I shall have gathered the house of Israel from the people among whom they are scattered, and shall be sanctified in them in the sight of the heathen, then shall they dwell in their land that I have given to my servant Jacob. And they shall dwell safely therein, and shall build houses, and plant vineyards ; yea, they shall dwell with confidence, when I have executed judgments upon all those that despise them round about them : and they shall know that I am the Lord their God." Ezek. 34. 28, 30, " And they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them ; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. And I will raise up for them a plant of renown, and they shall be no more consumed with hunger in the land, neither bear the shame of the heathen any more. Thus shall they know that I the Lord their God am with them, and that they, even the house of Israel, are my people, saith the Lord God." Ezek. 36. 23, 24, " And I will sanctify my great name which was profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them ; and the heathen shall know that I am the Lord, saith the Lord God, when I shall be sanctified in you before their eyes. For I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land." So after the defeated invasion of Gog and Magog, Ezek. 38. 23, " Thus will I magnify myself, and sanctify myself ; and I will be known in the eyes of many nations, and they shall know that I am the Lord."

VERSE XIV.

HEB.

וַיִּתְּנִי רוּחִי בְכֶם וְחַיִּיתֶם וְיָדַעְתֶּם
 אֲנִי עֲלֵי אֲדָמְתְּכֶם וְיָדַעְתֶּם כִּי
 אֲנִי יְהוָה וְבִרְאִי עָשִׂיתִי נְאֻם
 יְהוָה:

ENG. VERS.

And shall put my Spirit in you,
 and ye shall live, and I shall place
 you in your own land: then shall
 ye know that I the Lord have
 spoken it, and performed it, saith
 the Lord.

GR. OF LXX.

Καὶ δώσω πνεῦμα μου εἰς ὑμᾶς,
 καὶ ζήσεσθε, καὶ θήσομαι ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ
 τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν, καὶ γνώσεσθε ὅτι
 ἐγὼ Κύριος· λελάληκα καὶ ποι-
 ῆσω, λέγει Κύριος.

ENG. VERS.

And I will put my Spirit into you,
 and ye shall live, and I will place
 you upon your land, and ye shall
 know that I am the Lord; I have
 spoken and will do (it), saith the
 Lord.

TARG. OF JONATHAN.

And I will put my Spirit in you,
 and ye shall live, and I will make
 you to dwell upon your land, and
 ye shall know that I have decreed
 it in my Word, and will confirm it,
 saith the Lord.

VULG. VERS.

Et dederō spiritum meum in vo-
 bis, et vexeritis, et requiescen vos
 facium super humum vestrum; et
 scietes quia ego Dominus locatus
 sum, et feci, ait Dominus Deus.

COMMENTARY.

And I shall put my Spirit into you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land; then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it, and performed it, saith the Lord. Heb. וְיָדַעְתֶּם shall cause you to rest in your own land; implying a tranquil and undisturbed possession, like that of Adam in Eden, to which the same term is applied, Gen. 2. 15: "And the Lord God took the man and put him (וַיַּיַחֲדוּ) made him to rest) in the garden of Eden," &c. As the preparatory process of Israel's vivification is so strikingly analogous to that of Adam, the Spirit therefore has adopted the same term in reference to the subsequent allocation of each. The virtual language of the prediction to them in their captivity is that of Micah, 2. 10, "Arise ye, depart; for this is not your rest." The realized result of all that is here predicted will be little short of imparting a new sense to its favored subjects. Their eyes shall be opened to the recognition of a meaning in the inspired oracles which they had never before perceived, as it is intimated that they shall be no less impressed with the fact that God had announced the event, than that he had accomplished it. To their astonishment they will find themselves restored in exact accordance with their own prophecies, which, notwithstanding they had had them for ages in their hands, they had never hitherto fully understood. What a flood of light will then be poured upon their minds

from this source we may in some measure conceive. The inspired pages which contain these assurances for them, contain also the promise of various other connected results which suppose the Messiah to have come, and the Gospel to be true. This will bear with overwhelming effect upon their conversion. The veil of unbelief will be removed from their eyes, and they shall look upon him whom they have pierced and mourn. "In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." Nor let it be supposed that this transcendent token of favor will tend to beget and foster in the Jewish mind a proud, self-complacent, supercilious spirit at war with the humbling genius of the Gospel. They will find a sufficient antidote to this in the repeated assurance, "Not for your sakes do I this, saith the Lord God, be it known unto you; be ashamed and confounded for your own ways, O house of Israel." And again, "That ye may be ashamed and confounded and never lift up your face any more when I am pacified towards thee for all thy sins, saith the Lord." The memory of their past ingratitude and stubborn unbelief will chasten the consciousness of their present experience of the divine compassion, and weigh down the risings of unhallowed elation of spirit. Having much forgiven, they will love much, and true love cannot but be humble. As in the case of every individual penitent, the conviction that where sin has abounded, grace has much more abounded, always works the profoundest abasement of soul, so doubtless will it be in the case of the Jews as a people. Remembering mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall; my soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me."

CONCLUSION.

We have thus endeavored to elicit the testimony of a very remarkable portion of the prophetic Scriptures, in favor of the position of the literal return of the Jews to the land of their fathers. We would fain believe that the argument has been conducted on the ground of a fair and unimpeachable exegesis of the sacred text. We are certainly unconscious of having done violence to the import of a single expression. That the vision of the prophet was intended to shadow forth an actual return of the chosen people from the land of their dispersion, is ascertained by the clearest declarations of Jehovah himself, who has vouchsafed the exposition of his own meaning. The only question of which the subject admits is, whether this return were the return from Babylon, or whether it is one that is yet future. On this head we are aware that it may not be

easy to preclude all doubt. So far as the present oracle alone is concerned, our proof is twofold ; (1.) From the connexion of this chapter with the preceding, which may be shown beyond question to look to a future fulfilment ; and (2.) From the symbolical endowment of the dry bones with life. This, we contend, is the adumbration of an effect to be produced upon the Jews *subsequent* to their restoration, and to be nothing more nor less than the mystic infusion into them of spiritual life by the quickening agency of the Holy Ghost, the only author of a new creation. It cannot, we think, be shown that any such result followed their restoration from the Babylonish captivity ; and until it be clearly evinced that something was then wrought upon the nation at large corresponding to the significance of the symbols, we must feel constrained to adhere to our previous interpretation. The influence shadowed forth under the imagery of the vision, we are persuaded is the same with that announced in a large class of passages of which the following are specimens : “ A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you ; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh.” “ After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts ; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.” “ Neither will I hide my face any more from them ; for I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord.” “ And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them.” This, if we mistake not, is merely the definition of that spiritual life with which, in answer to the fervent prayers of Christendom, the Jews are to be invested upon their restoration to the land of their longing. Nothing like it has yet occurred on the grand scale which is here announced.

But the truth is, the position which we maintain rests by no means upon the burden only of the present prophecy. Its announcements find an echo in hundreds of parallel Scriptures. The whole force of these predictions bears therefore directly in support of the prophetic thesis which we are here defending ; so that if there be admitted to be a single announcement in the Scriptures of the literal restoration, the presumption is assuredly in favor of the view which we have taken of the scope of the present vision. Upon the distinct array and consideration of the multitudinous oracles touching this grand event, it is not the purpose of this essay to enter. We have merely selected one of a remarkable character, and aimed to present it in somewhat of its true import. It would be easy to confirm our exposition by a much more extended adduction of parallel passages. These we leave for others, or for ourselves on other occasions. Our purpose is answered by what we have already accomplished.

ADDENDUM—A.

DANIEL XII. 2.

HEB.

רַבִּים מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֲדַמְת־עָפָר יִקְצֹצוּ אֱלֹה לְחַיֵּי עוֹלָם וְאֵלֶּה לְחַפְזוֹת
יִדְרְאוּן עוֹלָם :

GR.

*Kaì πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν γῆς χώματι ἐξεγερθήσονται,
οἱ τοὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰῶνος, καὶ οἱ τοὶ εἰς ὀνειδισμόν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην
αἰῶνος.*

ENG. VERS.

And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake ;
some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

On a somewhat closer view of this passage I am satisfied that the present rendering is inaccurate, and that the true version not only *admits*, but absolutely *requires*, the sense of a figurative instead of a literal resurrection. It will be observed that according to the established rendering the distinction of allotment is made *subsequent* to the awaking from the dust, and as this appears to find a parallel in our Saviour's words, John 5. 28, 29, "Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation," it has been often regarded as announcing directly and primarily the fact of the future resurrection of the righteous and the wicked at the day of judgment, in accordance with the New Testament doctrine on that subject. There has indeed been a difficulty not easily surmounted in accounting for the introduction of this announcement in this particular connexion, as neither the preceding nor succeeding context would naturally suggest the idea that the prophet's disclosures had conducted us to the end of the present mundane dispensation. On the contrary, the more obvious impression we think would be, that the event here spoken of was intimately connected with that partial national deliverance announced in the preceding verse, where the standing up of Michael for Daniel's people is predicted, together with the deli-

verance of a remnant whose names were written in the book of the living. We confess indeed to the very great difficulty of assigning the precise period which the Spirit of prophecy had in view as the time of such unprecedented trouble and such a signal deliverance; but we are none the less certain, that the language employed in the present text is symbolical, and that some other than the final literal resurrection of the righteous and wicked dead is intended by it. The ground of this opinion is twofold:

(1.) The express declaration that not *all*, but *many*, of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake. We are well aware that a multitude of high names may be adduced in support of the interpretation which makes *many* in this relation to be equivalent to *all*. But we fully accord with the remarks on this head of Dr. Hody in his Treatise on the Resurrection, who says: "I most fully acknowledge that the word *many* makes this text extremely difficult. I know what expositors say; but I am not satisfied with any thing that I have hitherto met with. Some tell us that *many* is sometimes used in the Scriptures to signify *all*:—but this does not clear the difficulty; for there is a great difference between *many* and *many of*. *All* they that sleep in the dust are *many*; but *many of* them that sleep in the dust cannot be said to be *all* they that sleep in the dust.—*Many of* does plainly except *some*." Indeed, if the doctrine of the general resurrection were designed to be taught in this passage, the use of the liminary term *many* is utterly inexplicable. Why, upon an announcement of such transcendent importance, should we be left to the possibility of mistake?

As to the theory of a *first*, or resurrection of the saints, in contradistinction to a *second*, or resurrection of the wicked, with an interval of a thousand years between them,—which some have proposed as a key to the solution of the difficulty, making this identical with the *first* resurrection—as we see for ourselves no evidence whatever of any such twofold resurrection, we waive all notice of it in this connexion. Until the main position is shown to be true, it is lost labor to attempt to disprove the application of a particular text in its support. As then the evidence seems decisive that the passage does not point to the general resurrection of all men at the last day, the conclusion is inevitable, that a symbolical and not a literal reviviscence is here intended. This is confirmed,

(2.) By a sound exegetical view of the prophet's language. This will be most adequately exhibited in a literal version of the text;—"And many of the sleepers of the dust of the earth shall awake—these to life everlasting, and those to shame and everlasting contempt." This will be seen at once to give an entirely new aspect to the passage. According to the established rendering, the distinction, so broadly conveyed, in the lot of the two classes is entirely

consequent upon their awaking from the dust. The one class awakes to life and honor, the other to shame and dishonor. Now this we affirm to be wholly unsustained by a fair construction of the original. According to that the distinction is between those who *awake to life*, and those who *do not awake at all*. In the outset *all* are represented as sleeping. Out of these *all* a portion (רבים *many*) awake; the rest remain unawakened. This is the ground of the distinction. “These,” i. e. the awakened, awake to everlasting life, “and those,” i. e. the other class, who abide in the dust, who do not awake at all, remain subject to the shame and ignominy of that spiritual death⁴ which marked their previous condition. The “awaking” is evidently predicated of the “many,” and not of the whole. Consequently the “these,” in the one case, must be understood of the class that awakes, and the “those,” in the other, of that which remains asleep. There is no ground whatever for the idea that the latter *awake* to shame and contempt. It is simply because they do *not* awake that this character pertains to them. The error in our translation has arisen from rendering the pronouns אֵלֶּה—אֵלֶּה by *some—and some*, instead of by *these—and those* referring respectively to subjects previously indicated. By the former method a distinction is constituted between those who *are awakened*; by the latter, between those who *are* and those who *are not* awakened. The difference is all important, and though the force of the criticism can be fully appreciated only by those who are conversant with the Hebrew, yet the common reader can scarcely fail to perceive from the following examples how strongly our interpretation is fortified by current usage when these words are taken distributively: Josh. 8. 22, “So they were in the midst of Israel—אֵלֶּה מִזֶּה וְאֵלֶּה מִזֶּה *these on this side, and those on that side*.” 2 Sam. 2. 13, “And they sat down, the one (אֵלֶּה *these*) on the one side of the pool, and the other (אֵלֶּה *and those*) on the other side of the pool.” 1 Kings, 20. 20, “And they pitched one over against the other (אֵלֶּה נִכַּח אֵלֶּה *these over against those*) seven days.” In one single instance, and only one, in the whole Bible, do we find these terms used in a sense which affords countenance to the rendering in question. This is in Ps. 20. 7, “Some (אֵלֶּה *these*) trust in chariots, and some (אֵלֶּה *and those*) in horses: but we will remember,” &c. The whole weight of authority is evidently in favor of the construction we have given to the phrase. The first denotes those who awoke, the second those who remained asleep. Life and glory crowned the first, shame and execration clothed the last. Thus understood the passage yields a clear and consistent sense, in which no violence is done to the phrase, *many of them that sleep*. Its restricted import is preserved, which is otherwise lost. Nor must we here omit to remark that the usage which obtains in regard to the Hebrew term קִיץ or קִיץ

to awake, does not so well admit of its being taken, in such a figurative relation, in any but a good sense. The Psalmist says of himself, Ps. 17. 15, "As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied *when I awake* (יִתְעוֹרֵר), with thy likeness." But while it appropriately expresses the awaking of the righteous to a beatified state, it is undoubtedly contrary to the genius of the word to apply it to any change or transition in the state of the wicked.

Nor can we here refrain from adducing again the strikingly parallel passage of Isaiah, ch. 26. 19 "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. *Awake* (יִתְעוֹרֵר) and sing, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth her dead." These are doubtless the "many" of Daniel, for Gabriel, who is the speaker in this part of the book, tells the prophet that he will "show him that which is noted in the Scripture of truth," i. e. what is contained in the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets. Here, therefore, he gives an important item of his explanation by pointing to those who are to "awake" from the dust and sing. As for the rest, who did not enter into this number, they are undoubtedly designated in a preceding verse, Is. 26. 14: "They are dead, they shall not live; they are deceased, they shall not rise; therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish." We should not be surprised if the progress of biblical investigation should yet establish the most intimate relation between these texts and that intensely mysterious portion of the Apocalypse which announces the spiritual quickening, in the first resurrection, of those saints who lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, and of "the rest of the dead who lived not (ὅν τι ζήσαν—erroneously rendered "lived not again") until the thousand years were finished;" or, rather, perhaps "as long as the thousand years were finishing," i. e. during the whole course of the millennium, without any implication that they *should* live when that period had expired.

It is moreover worthy of notice that the term here rendered *contempt* (יִרְאָה) occurs only once elsewhere, under a slight change of form (יִרְאָה), and that is in Is. 66. 24, where it is applied to dead carcasses which are devoured by worms, and thence become an "abhorring" (יִרְאָה) to all flesh," where the language is undoubtedly figurative, and points to a state of moral corruption and putridity characteristic of those who remained in an attitude of persevering transgression against God. As this passage throws light upon the use of the term as here employed, and strikingly confirms the above interpretation, so it becomes a question of deep exegetic import, whether both prophets do not in fact refer to precisely the same period of time, and set before us the same grand order of events. But upon this question our limits will not permit us here to enter.

The evidence is, on the whole, we think, decisive, that Daniel speaks of a *mystical* and not of a *literal* resurrection. It is the portraiture of the effects of a grand moral influence which is to be put forth upon a large body of *his* people ; and *his* people are the Jews. But the drift of the symbolic visions of Ezekiel is to describe, as we have seen, the same result in regard to the same people. Why, then, shall we not regard these Scriptures as legitimately parallel in their scope, as we have intimated in our foregoing exposition ?

ADDENDUM—B.

[As an apposite conclusion and crowning of the present expository essay, I have determined to append the following remarks on the closing chapters of Ezekiel, from a work on the "Second Advent," by the Rev. John Fry, Rector of Desford, Leicestershire, Eng.; published at London, 1822, in two vols. 8vo. The work is now of rare occurrence, and though devoted to the maintenance of the theory of the premillennial personal coming of Christ, from which I am forced entirely to dissent, yet it contains a large amount of valuable comment upon the prophetic Scriptures. With that portion of the work now subjoined which respects the final destiny of the Jews, I have no difficulty in according, except so far as it carries the implication of a *personal, visible, bodily* manifestation and reign of Christ on the earth, during the space of a thousand years, and in intimate connexion with the predicted ascendancy and glory of restored Israel. For this general theory of interpretation I find no sufficient warrant in the oracles of God, and therefore am constrained to reject it altogether. As I interpret these oracles, they come much nearer to announcing an elevation and sublimation of the *natural* into the sphere of the *spiritual*, rather than a bringing down of the *spiritual* into the domain of the *natural*. While I anticipate, moreover, the most august developments of Providence on the field of human destiny, of which the dawns may even now be perceived by the enlightened eye, I look with equal confidence for a *gradual* accomplishment of all the splendid purposes of Infinite Wisdom. Indeed, if there be any one principle of paramount importance to be established in connexion with the interpretation of prophecy, that principle I believe to be the *gradualism* of its fulfilment.]

General Remarks on the concluding Chapters of Ezekiel.

AFTER the destruction of the last mortal foe of the Israelites, after their complete restoration, and after the outpouring of the Spirit upon them, we have a description, first, of a temple to be built, with certain regulations respecting the worship to be celebrated therein; and, next, of the city and territory which the worshippers of this temple possess.

I perceive nothing to render it doubtful, that the fulfilment of this prophecy is to be expected in the same order in which we find it placed in the vision before us, after the final restoration, and after the destruction of the last foe by the immediate hand of the great

Redeemer; not, as some have supposed, previously to these events, so as to be merely introductory to the establishment of Messiah's kingdom.*

It is a part, I conceive, of that grand final dispensation. It shows us what will be the situation of the Israelitish nation when restored to be the grand metropolitan nation of the renovated earth, under the reign of Christ and his saints. His dominion is to be bounded only by the extreme borders of the earth; but the seat of his kingdom is to be at Zion and Jerusalem. There he sits "upon the throne of his kingdom;" not so much, as we have had cause to reflect before, after the manner of an earthly monarch in his palace, but as the Elohim of Israel, enshrined in his sanctuary, according to the typical model exhibited in the ancient tabernacle which was pitched in the camp of Israel.

The THEOCRACY will be restored: "at Salem" will be his tabernacle—at Jerusalem, the "place of his feet," which he will "render glorious." Here a sanctuary and temple is to be built, not to receive, as Solomon's temple, the contents of "an earthly tabernacle of this building," but of that "made without hands, eternal in the heavens." Here the visible symbols of the divine presence are to be exhibited. Here the GOD-MAN is manifested—to anticipate the language of future oracles—coming "in the glory of His Father, and in His own glory, and the glory of His holy angels." He is still the Vicegerent of His Father. He "comes again with glory," yet still with delegated glory; every tongue is to confess him Lord to the glory of God the Father. But He comes also "with His own glory,"—the glory ordained Him as the first-born of every creature—the righteous and victorious Son of Man. But this glory he shares with all "the children of the resurrection," who "appear with him in glory," in such sort that the King of Saints is as "the first-born among many brethren." This part of the glory that is to be manifested, we have before considered as symbolized by the cherubim and seraphim, both as molten and wrought about the mercy-seat and tabernacle, and also as seen in the visions of the prophets, attendant on "a resemblance like the appearance of a man." Besides this glory, or these glories, is enumerated "the glory of the holy angels." They will be seen ascending and descending upon the Son of Man, "angels and principalities being made subject to him" in his capacity of King of Saints. How these glories are particularly manifested in the holy mountain of Jehovah's house, or in what manner Christ and His saints will govern the nations upon earth, "reigning from Jerusalem to the end of earth," we can, perhaps, have no very adequate idea at

* See the interesting work of Mr. Pirie on the Restoration of Israel.

present. But it cannot be doubted, that these prophetic visions, in connection with other Scriptural prophecies, are designed to give to the waiting people of God some general notion and outline of what is to come to pass hereafter.

It cannot, again, be doubted, but that we are to interpret these visions now before us in analogy with other prophecies. They are not to be interpreted "privately," as a part of Scripture standing alone, but as forming part of the system of prophetic revelation, which is designed, by little and little, to manifest to mankind, as the appointed time draws near, what God is about to do in the great day of his power and kingdom. The comparison of other prophecies must, therefore, be our chief guide to the interpretation of this. And, especially, those prophecies that have been fulfilled must teach us, in the event foretold compared with the language and symbols of the predictions, how far we are to expect a substantial and literal fulfilment, and how much we may venture to attribute to metaphor and figure.

By this rule of interpretation, I am led to conclude, that we are to expect a very substantial, and a very literal fulfilment of the vision before us. Those parts of prophecy that have been fulfilled, which foretold the present situation of Israel, and of their country, have been very substantially, and very literally fulfilled.—Why, therefore, should we doubt the exactness of the part of the vision as yet unfulfilled, which speaks of God's future bounties to his people, and to his land? Those parts of prophecy which describe the humiliation and passion of the Son of God, have also been most substantially and most literally fulfilled, down indeed to the minutest circumstances pointed out in the language of the ancient prophets:—even predictions, which before they came to pass, when interpreted literally, seemed in the estimation of the masters of Israel, and of the disciples of Jesus, too, very improbable, very unlikely to happen to "the Christ of God," very unsuitable, according to their conceptions, to the future kingdom and glory of the Messiah. If, however, we are careful not to interpret of the first advent any Scriptures but such as clearly belong to it, how little was there of metaphor and figure, except what is usual in the most exact and perspicuous style!

These are the reasons which weigh in my mind to understand what follows literally, and to expect an exact fulfilment of every circumstance detailed; though, perhaps, the suitableness, and the spiritual importance of some things related, may not appear to us who "see through a glass darkly," or may seem inadequate to our expectations of the glories of Messiah's reign. We see not the reason, nor the design, nor the future bearings, it may be, of what we object to; and, therefore, are ready like Peter, on a similar

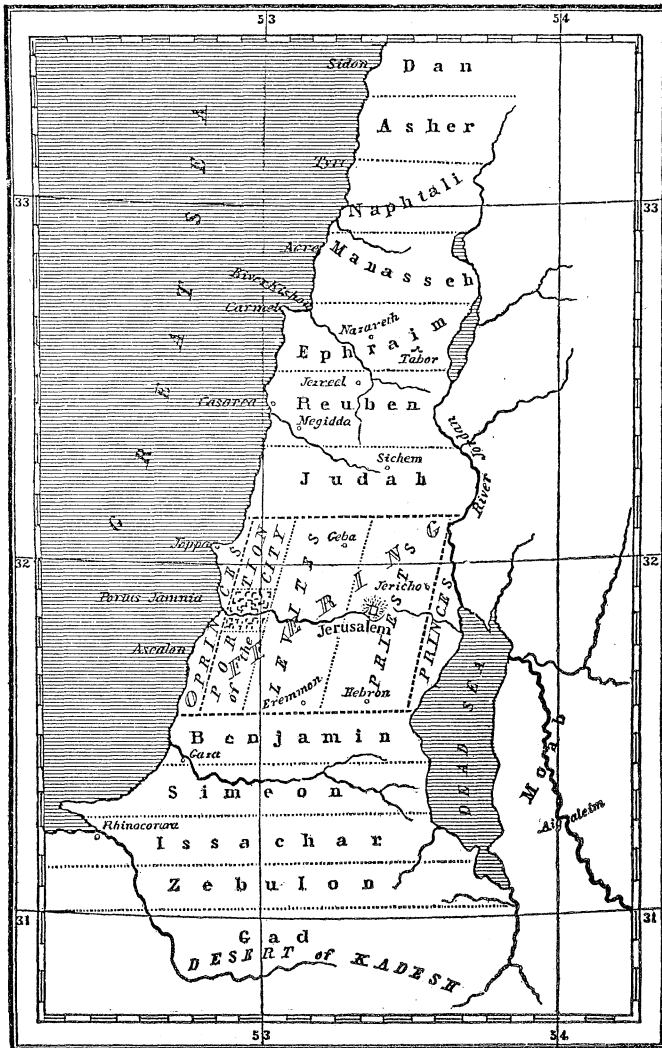
occasion, to reject the notion with disdain, as unworthy of God. But it surely becomes us to suspend our judgment in these cases till more fully informed, and not to be "slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have written."

One thing we should bear in mind; the vision which follows does not show us the glorious majesty and circumstance of the church triumphant,—of that "new Jerusalem which descends from God out of heaven," the residence of glorified spirits, who reign paramount over the nations upon earth, "kings," and "priests of God and of Christ." But we have here a prophetic description of the situation of one of these nations on the earth—of men in "flesh and blood," "inhabiting houses of clay." The description is that of the most favored nation, the remnant of Israel, restored to the land of Canaan, made the leading nation upon earth; and in some sort, as it should seem, the link of communication between mortal man in the flesh, and the "holy myriads" of glorified spirits that come with the Lord from heaven, and reign with him upon earth.

We have already met with prophecies that have plainly told us of the restoration of the sanctuary and temple at Jerusalem, the re-organization of their priesthood, and Levitical ministry, "to keep the charge of the house," and to perform the rites of an appointed ceremonial.—Jer. xxxiii. 21, &c.; Ezek. xx. 40, &c.; xxvii. 26, &c. We have been told, that the remnants of other nations, which shall survive the destructions of the latter days, will be partakers in the rites and solemnities of this new temple, and go up thither to worship; and that some of them will be admitted into the priesthood of the sons of Aaron, and permitted to discharge the functions of the Levitical ministry.—Isaiah lxvi. 21. We have been told, notwithstanding, that Israel, from its situation, and from the particular blessings of their fathers' God, will have a vast pre-eminence over the other nations, and hold a sacred character among them.—Isaiah lxi. 6. All this we have already learned from former oracles. The vision of Ezekiel, on which we are now engaged, only goes more into detail on the circumstances of this restored Israel, their temple, their city, and their land.

The use which God hath made of this people, and of this country, in the present world, in providing for the redemption and gathering of the chosen remnant which are predestined to reign in glory with Christ "in the world to come," is extraordinary and wonderful! So, it seems, the use he will make of them, "in the world to come of which we speak," in regard to the whole mass of mankind, under the spiritual rule of Christ and his saints, will be extraordinary and wonderful too! God has made of the spiritual children of Abraham—the heirs of promise, who with *the Seed* are to be heirs of the world—a great people like the stars of heaven for

*A sketch of
THE HOLY LAND
In illustration of Ezekiel XLVIII*



SHOWING THE DIVISION AMONG THE TRIBES RESTORED.

multitude ; but he has promised besides, " In thee, and in thy seed, shall all the families of the earth be blessed ;" this will also come to pass in its season.

New Division of the Holy Land.—Ezek. xlv. and xlviii.

In this division of the country, so different from any former division, six tribes are stationed in the north, and six tribes to the south of an OFFERING of land, containing a square of twenty-five thousand reeds, lying in the midst. In the midst of this OFFERING, we are told, the Sanctuary is placed. From an inspection of the forty-eighth chapter, it will be evident that all the portions, both for the tribes and for "THE OFFERING," are measured straight across, from east to west, from the Mediterranean to the river Jordan and its lakes. The former possessions of the two tribes and a half beyond the Jordan are not mentioned : all the tribes have an allotment in the original land of Canaan. Now, if we measure in breadth from north to south, making Jerusalem the middle point, twenty-five thousand reeds, we shall find the boundary-lines will pass from east to west somewhere above the latitude of Joppa, or Jaffa, on the north, and somewhere below the latitude of Hebron on the south : within these lines is "THE OFFERING," in breadth about forty miles, and varying in its length, according to the line of the Mediterranean coast on the one side, and that of the Dead Sea, with the course of the Jordan, on the other. All the country to the north will be occupied by the six tribes, Dan, Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Reuben, and Judah. What is the breadth of their respective portions we are not told, only that they extend in length from Jordan to the sea, and Judah's allotment is next to "the offering."—Chap. xlviii. 1—7.

The south of the offering is to be occupied in the same manner by Benjamin, Simeon, Isaachar, Zebulun, and Gad.—Ver. 23—28. The great "OFFERING" of land, then, which we are more particularly to consider, lies between the latitudes of Jaffa and Hebron, or latitudes to be taken some miles more to the north and south.

And here a remarkable coincidence must be pointed out. We learn from the prophecy of Zechariah, chapter 14 : 10, that "all the land was to be turned into a plain, from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem." Now, it will be found, Geba is on the same parallel of latitude with Jaffa, and on the parallel of Hebron is Eremmon, which is no doubt, "Rimmon, south of Jerusalem." Both are about the same distance from Jerusalem, north and south, and both are in the middle point of the parallel of latitude, between east and west,

showing clearly that the plain will nearly fill the whole space of the OFFERING. It should seem, then, that all, or nearly all, this country included between these parallels of latitude and the seas on either side, is to be turned into a plain, in the midst of which "the mountain of the Lord's house" is elevated to contain the temple. This new formed plain and "OFFERING" of land contains, as we shall see, besides the square mile for the temple, a measured portion of land for the priests, another for the Levites, and another for the city and its suburbs. Here, too, are assigned the lands which are to support the dignity of the prince and his family.

It will be surely most interesting, as far as we are able, to trace the different sites and respective proportions of these allotments, which are to support the establishment of that future THEOCRACY, the site of which God will establish in the land of Israel, and the dominion of which will be extended over all the earth. In the general division of the land, chapter forty-eighth, five and twenty thousand reeds in breadth were to be measured off: the *breadth*, as we saw, was from north to south: the *length* of the different portions was counted from east to west. In length the OFFERING was to be as one of the other portions, viz. it was to go "from the great sea, westward, to the Jordan, or Dead Sea, eastward." All this OFFERING—or portion of land, dedicated to public purposes—is not, however, taken to form the HOLY OBLATION; but the HOLY OBLATION, including the portion for the city, was to be made four-square—in length and breadth about forty miles.—Chap. xlv. 1; xlviii. 20.

To what use the complements of the figure originally marked off for "THE OFFERING" are to be applied, we shall see presently; for a complement, it is evident by inspection, remains on each side, of irregular width, facing the Mediterranean on the west, and the Sea of Sodom and mouth of the Jordan on the east.

But it appears, from an inspection of the map, that a regular square of forty miles could not stand in this part of the Holy Land, on account of the relative position of the Mediterranean and Dead Seas; we must, therefore, form a figure of four equal sides, accommodated to the line of coasts on either side, which, in their general direction, may be said to be parallel to each other. Having formed our four equal-sided figure, or parallelogram, as the direction of the country permits, each side about forty miles, so as to have Jerusalem in the midst, that is, midway between north and south, for midway between east and west it is not situated, and in what follows, is described as not being so situated.

In this sacred square, we are next to measure off a portion of twenty-five thousand reeds in length, and ten thousand in breadth, for "the most holy place." The length of the portions, observe, *within* the square, is to be counted from north to south, as is ex-

pressly said in chapter *xlvi*. 10. Unless this was the case, indeed, the most holy portion could not include the Sanctuary, which it is said to do, because the holy mountain of Zion is about twenty miles, both from the north and from the south of the boundary lines; and, for the same reason, we must begin to measure *from* the east. Taking, therefore, two-fifths of the breadth of the square, from east to west, for “the most holy place,” which is to be the “possession of the priests,” including the Sanctuary, we are again to take two-fifths more, next to the portion of the priests, for the Levites, and the remaining fifth, towards the west of the square, is to be for the city and its possessions.—Chap. *xlvi*. 15.

The city is described as lying in the midst of this last division, which will fix its situation somewhere about twenty miles west of the Sanctuary, or of the spot where Jerusalem now stands, towards the Mediterranean sea. The city itself, according to the most probable computation of the measures given, occupies a square of about eight miles: the rest of this last division is assigned for the support of the city, as though it were its public property:—“And the increase thereof shall be for food unto them that serve the city, and they that serve the city shall serve it out of all the tribes of Israel.” Lastly; When we have formed our square, or parallelogram, of the requisite dimensions, and it appears to be as large as any four equal-sided figure can be formed in this part of the country, we shall still have, as was observed, very considerable districts of land, both on the west, along the shores of the Mediterranean, and on the east, along those of the Dead Sea and the stream of Jordan. These two portions, making up, with the *OBLATION*, the whole “*OFFERING* of land,” are for the prince, and for the support of his family, his state and government (chap. *xl*. 7, &c.): we cannot say of his regal dignity, for king he is not. The *Elohim* is King, even *Jehovah* in his holy sanctuary. But, notwithstanding, the prince is highly distinguished among his fellow subjects, at whose head he is. His estates must be very large; probably nearly equal to the possession of any single tribe. The Levites, too, it appears, are no longer dispersed as wanderers over the country, but have a full portion in the midst of the land. And the priests, which are to be all of one family, of the family of *Zadoc*,—all the other families of the sons of *Aaron*, it may be, having become extinct,—are to possess a district of country equal to the whole tribe of *Levi*, and, probably, greater than any one of the tribes besides. This will give us some idea of the greatness of the religious establishment of the Israelitish nation in “this world to come.” Indeed, the whole nation seems to be distributed, as well as the priests and Levites, in subserviency to the support of this Sanctuary and *THEOCRACY*; and with relation to the rest of the world, appear to have all a holy,

ministerial character, while they dwell on one side or other of the Holy Place in their respective allotments; or when they go to “do the service of the city,” whatever is intended by that expression. And as former prophecies have seemed to declare, while this favored nation has the charge of the sanctuary, and is employed in its services, the whole world is brought willingly to contribute to their support, to their comfort, and glory. This representation will much illustrate former prophecies:—

And the strangers shall stand and feed your flocks,
And the sons of the alien shall be your husbandmen and
vine-dressers;

But ye shall be called the priests of Jehovah,
Ministers of our Elohim shall they call you.

Ye shall consume the wealth of the nations,
And shall have command over their honors.

REVIEW
OF
LYSANDER SPOONER'S ESSAY
ON THE
UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF SLAVERY.

REPRINTED FROM THE "ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD,"

WITH ADDITIONS.

BY
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

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1847.

REVIEW.

“DOMESTIC SLAVERY IS THE MOST PROMINENT FEATURE IN THE ARISTOCRATIC COUNTEenance OF THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION.”—Gouverneur Morris in the Convention of 1787. Madison Papers.

TWO years ago, LYSANDER SPOONER, Esq. published an essay on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery. We shall but fulfill an old promise in reviewing the argument it contains. Events beyond our control have delayed us till now, which we regret only as it seems to have led some of Mr. Spooner's admirers to imagine that the delay proceeded from an unwillingness, on our part, to measure lances with so skillful an adversary. We exhort them, on the contrary, to believe that we have no innate antipathy to the idea of an Anti-Slavery Constitution;—that so far from being obstinately wedded to our own opinion, Mr. Spooner, or any one else, shall find in us a most ready, willing, and easy convert to a doctrine, which will restore to us the power of voting,—a right we much covet,—and a direct share in the Government of the country, a privilege we appreciate as highly as any one can. Only *convince* us fairly and we will outdo Alvan Stewart himself in glowing eulogy of this new-found virtue of the American Constitution. Indeed, if merely *believing* the Constitution to be Anti-Slavery would really make it so, we would be the last to stir the question. If the beautiful theories of some of our friends could oust from its place the ugly reality of a pro-slavery administration, we would sit quiet, and let Spooner and Goodell convert the nation at their leisure. But alas, the ostrich does not get rid of her enemy by hiding her head in the sand. Slavery is not abolished, although we have persuaded ourselves that it has no right to exist. The pro-slavery clauses of the National

Compact still stand there in full operation, notwithstanding our logic. The Constitution will never be amended by persuading men that it does not need amendment. National evils are only cured by holding men's eyes open, and forcing them to gaze on the hideous reality. To be able to meet a crisis men must understand and appreciate it.

All that we have to do, *as Abolitionists*, with Mr. Spooner's argument is to consider its influence on the Anti-Slavery cause. He maintains that the *Judges of the United States Courts have the right to declare Slavery illegal*, and he proposes that they should be made to do so. We believe that, in part, he mistakes fancy for argument; in part, he bases his conclusions on a forced interpretation of legal maxims, and that the rest of his reasoning, where not logically absurd and self-contradictory, is subversive of all sound principles of Government and of public faith. Any movement or party, therefore, founded on his plan, would, so soon as it grew considerable enough to attract public attention, be met by the contempt and disapprobation of every enlightened and honest man. To trust our cause with such a leader is to insure its shipwreck. To keep, therefore, so far as our influence extends, the Anti-Slavery movement in its legitimate channel, to base it on such principles as shall deserve and command the assent of every candid man, to hold up constantly before the nation the mirror of its own deformity, we undertake the distasteful task of proving the Constitution hostile to us and the slave.

It is but justice to Mr. Spooner to acknowledge that his performance differs from most of those which have preceded it, not only in the ingenuity of the argument, but in the honest aim of the writer. With him "the wish" does not appear to have been "father to the thought." He did not first found a party and then stretch out both hands to clutch something that would sustain him in the right of voting at all. He did not violate his own convictions, and then, obstinately shutting his eyes, cry out, "I do not see where I am inconsistent." His logic does not grow out of a lingering love of the ballot, or a secret desire to put "non-resistance *hors du combat*." He did not, in order to save a corrupt and trembling Church and shield it from the storm of deserved rebuke, endeavor to build an ark of political refuge out of legal scraps and disjointed and misunderstood quotations. He seems to have persuaded himself of the

truth of his own theory, and then to have thrown it fearlessly out to the world, trusting in its truth to make it useful, and with no ulterior object or private end to serve.

Before we touch on the argument of Mr. Spooner's Essay, we wish to call attention to two points :

1st. Allowing, for the moment, as he claims, that the Constitution contains no guarantee or recognition of Slavery — and granting him, also, in his own words :

“That the instrument was plain, and the people had common-sense ; and those two facts cannot stand together consistently with the idea that there was any general or even any considerable misunderstanding of its meaning.” — *p. 126, 2d edition.*

We go on to ask, (of Abolitionists, not of Mr. Spooner,) how comes it that, as he all along confesses, Courts, Congress, and the people have uniformly warped and twisted the whole instrument aside and awry to serve and sustain Slavery ? that the whole *Administration* of the Government, from its very commencement, has been pro-slavery ? If the Constitution be guiltless of any blame in this matter, then surely there must be some powerful element at work in the Union itself, which renders it impossible for this to be an *Anti-Slavery nation*, even when blessed with an *Anti-Slavery Constitution* ; and thus the experience of fifty years proves *Union* itself, under *any form*, to be impossible without guilt. In such circumstances, no matter what the Constitution is, whether good or bad, it is the duty of every honest man to join in the war-cry of the American Anti-Slavery Society, “*no Union with Slaveholders.*” For if we could not escape the infamy and the sin of such a pro-slavery *administration* as ours has always been, under a Constitution pure as Mr. Spooner describes this to be, then, as we never can have a better, we ought to give up the experiment.

2d. As far as we can understand him, Mr. Spooner does not deny the universal Northern doctrine, that the Executive officers of the Government are bound, while they retain their situations, to obey and execute the laws in that manner and sense which the Supreme Court decide and enjoin. [His views of the duty of the Supreme Court itself we have stated and shall soon discuss. But from the importance he attaches to them we have a right to infer his concurrence in the opinion that the decisions of that Court are binding on the other departments of Government. For if they are

not so, of what consequence is it what those decisions are?] Of course no one has ever denied that the Supreme Court now construes the Constitution in a pro-slavery sense. This, then, is the law of the land until altered. Here again the position of the American Anti-Slavery Society is untouched. For whatever be the real character of the Constitution, if those who *now swear* to support that instrument are bound to support it in the sense which the Courts give it, then, surely, no Abolitionist can consistently take such an oath or ask another person to do so.

With neither of these points has Mr. Spooner himself anything to do. He, we believe, does not profess to be an Abolitionist; at least, in this essay he considers the question simply as a lawyer, without entering into its further bearings. We suggest them for the benefit of those Abolitionists who try to hide themselves behind him, and make a use of his argument which he never intended, and probably would not sanction.

WHAT IS LAW ?

MR. SPOONER'S first chapter is employed in answering the question, "What is law?"

"That law, I mean, which, and which only, judicial tribunals are morally bound, under all circumstances, to declare and sustain?"

"In answering this question, I shall attempt to show that law is an intelligible principle of right, necessarily resulting from the nature of man; and not an arbitrary rule, that can be established by mere will, numbers, or power." — p. 5, 2d edition.

His conclusion is, "that law is simply the rule, principle, obligation, or requirement of natural justice." — p. 6.

And finally he maintains:

"If, then, law really be nothing other than the rule, principle, obligation, or requirement of natural justice, it follows that government can have no powers except such as individuals may *rightfully* delegate to it; that no law, inconsistent with men's natural rights, can arise out of any contract or compact of government: *that constitutional law, under any form of government, consists only of those principles of the written Constitution, that are consistent with natural law, and man's natural rights*; and that any other principles, that may be expressed by the letter of any constitution, are void and not law, and all judicial tribunals are bound to declare them so." — p. 14, 2d edition.

We might pass this chapter by without notice, as not concerning our inquiry, since Mr. Spooner not only conducts his argument afterward without reference to it, but distinctly allows that a definition exactly the opposite of his is the one usually adopted by the people, by Courts of Justice, and by Governments. So that,

“The very name of law has come to signify little more than an arbitrary command of power, without reference to its justice or its injustice ; its innocence or its criminality.” — *p.* 9.

Our only object is to abolish Slavery, and not to correct the fundamental ideas which men hold as to law or Government ; and hence, all we have to do with law, is to find out what it *practically* is, and then amend it if we can. We might, therefore, we repeat, pass this chapter by, taking *law* to mean what Mr. Spooner allows that our Judicial tribunals, our Government, and the general sense of the people have defined it to be, in the words he quotes from Noah Webster, “a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the Supreme power of a State, commanding what its subjects are to do, and prohibiting what they are to forbear.”

Or, as Heineccius describes it :

“Civil laws are the commands of the Supreme power in a State.”

Or as Chancellor Kent defines it :

“Municipal law is a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the Supreme power in a State.”

Or with Nathan Dane, the author of the ordinance of 1787 :

“Municipal or civil law is the rule of municipal or civil conduct, prescribed by the Superior power in the State commanding what the Legislature deems right, and prohibiting what it deems wrong.”—*Abr.* 6, *p.* 430.

Or with Chief Justice Wilmot :

“Statute law is the *will of the Legislature* in writing. Common law is nothing but statutes worn out by time.”

Or with the Roman law, from which Mr. Spooner takes some of his definitions :

“What the people command, let that be law.”—*XII Tables of Rome.*

“The will of the Prince — that is law.”—*Justinian's Inst.*

“The rule which each State chooses for itself, that is the law of such State.”—*Ibid.*

We might extend these ; but as they are only the varied expression of what Mr. Spooner *allows* is the generally accepted definition, further quotation is useless.*

We shall, however, dwell awhile on this chapter. Mr. Spooner himself draws the line very clearly and fairly between his own speculations and what he allows to be the generally received definition, and never confuses the two. But that portion of the Abolitionists who are misled by his book, often find their greatest difficulty in the points discussed in this chapter. We shall endeavor, therefore, to unravel it a little, since the views it contains are not new, but have been floating a long time in the Anti-Slavery horizon ; and only spared, because no one has cared to notice them.

Mr. Spooner's doctrine is, that "only what is just and right is law." This proposition is both true and false, simply because the word *law* has many meanings, like its Latin synonym, *jus*, which Dr. Taylor says (Elem. Civil Law,) has forty significations. The most usual source of mistake in argument is the use of ambiguous terms. Now, Mr. Spooner's proposition is true of the law of Nature, which Cicero calls "*right reason, the same thing at Athens as at Rome ;*" but it is false when applied to municipal, national, civil law, which is often a very different thing at Louisville from what it is at London. It is with this civil law, only, that we have to do in an argument like the present. Mr. Spooner's quotations, at the close of this chapter, relate mostly to the law of Nature, to law in its most comprehensive sense, or the science of Justice ; such is Hooker's sublime poetry, assuring us of law, "that her seat is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of the world."

* If the reader asks why we do not cite Blackstone's definition, — "Municipal law is a rule of civil conduct, prescribed by the Supreme power in a State, commanding what is right, and prohibiting what is wrong,"¹⁵ (*I Comm.* p. 44,) — we reply : because we think the last clause equivocal and superfluous, and, if taken in its obvious sense, false. So thought his commentator, Prof. Christian — see his note. As do his later commentators, Hovenden and Ryland. Bentham, also, and Austin. — *Jurisprudence*, p. 278, London, 1832.

So, evidently, did Stephens, Noah Webster, and Chancellor Kent, who have all quoted the first half and omitted or changed the last. As did Marshall, 12 Wheaton, 332. So thought Nathan Dane, who, applying the first clause, has altered this latter one as above. Tomline, Law Dictionary, Art. Law, holds that Blackstone meant to be understood substantially as Dane has expressed it ; and this seems probable, if we scrutinize the remainder of the chapter in which the definition occurs.

This discussion, however, is a matter of no consequence to the argument. Leaving it, therefore, let us consider Mr. Spooner's main proposition. "Only that which is just is law, and all judicial tribunals are bound so to declare:" taking law to mean the rule of civil affairs in a nation, the only sense of the term with which this argument has any thing to do.

In the first place, a proposition may be justly suspected not to be sound, when the author confesses in regard to it, as Mr. Spooner does here, that —

"It may make sad havoc with constitutions and statute books," and "it is *possible, perhaps*, that this doctrine would spare enough of our existing constitutions to save our governments from the necessity of a new organization !!!"

Surely, mankind cannot be presumed to have so universally mistaken what they were about, as to have *uniformly* set up Governments, that were not *legal* in their own sense of the term! And as surely words must be interpreted according to the sense mankind choose to put upon them, and not according to the caprice of an individual. Mr. Spooner is at liberty to say, that much of what the world *calls* law is not obligatory, because it is not just in the eye of God; and there all good men will agree with him. But to assert that because a thing is not right it is not *law*, as that term is commonly and rightfully used, is entering into the question of what constitutes the basis of government among men; and according to a man's theory of Government, will be his denial or assent to the proposition. Does Mr. Spooner mean to say merely, that a nation in making its laws has no right, in the eye of God, to perpetrate injustice? We agree with him. It is a doctrine certainly as old as Cicero, and may be traced through Grotius and Locke, and all writers on the subject, down to Jefferson and Channing. Nations are bound by the same rule of right and wrong, as individuals: agreed. Or does he mean to say that in settling what shall be *the rule* of civil conduct, the voice of the majority is not final and conclusive, on its own officers, in *all the departments of government*? Then we differ from him entirely, and assert, that, on his plan, Government is impossible. An individual may, and ought to resign his office, rather than assist in a law he deems unjust. But while he retains, under the majority, one of *their* offices, he retains it on *their conditions*, which are, to obey and

enforce *their* decrees. There can be no more self-evident proposition, than that, in every Government, the majority must rule, and their will be *uniformly* obeyed. Now, if the majority enact a wicked law, and the Judge refuses to enforce it, which is to yield, the Judge, or the majority? Of course, the first. On any other supposition, Government is impossible. Indeed, Mr. Spooner's idea is practical no-governmentism. It leaves every one to do "what is right in his own eyes." After all, Messrs. Goodell and Spooner, with the few who borrow this idea of them, are the real no-government men; and it is singular, how much more consistent and sound are the notions of Non-resistants on this point, — the men who are generally considered, though erroneously, to be no-government men.

According to Mr. Spooner, no provision would be law until it had secured the assent, not only of the Legislature, — the power appointed to *make* laws — but of the Judiciary also, — the power appointed only to *construe* and *apply* them. Apply this principle to our Union and it brings upon the present Constitution a similar disease to that which killed the old confederation, under which laws were of no practical value unless the several States *chose* to execute them. According to Mr. Spooner, however, it is an evil inseparable from all forms of Government, since every decision of the National Legislature must be *perpetually* subject to the discretionary power of every Court in the twenty-eight States!

REMEDY FOR UNJUST LAWS.

"ONLY that which is just, is law, and all judicial tribunals are bound so to declare." This is Mr. Spooner's proposition. Grant, for the purpose of this argument, that only what is just is law. We allow that no laws in support of Slavery are *morally* binding. Possibly Mr. Spooner means the same thing, only expresses it more strongly. The only important point at issue is — *when Governments enact such laws, what is the proper remedy?*

This question has been answered in three ways.

1st. Old-fashioned patriotism replies, with Algernon Sydney: "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Mr. Spooner states that "the only duties any one owes a wicked Constitution, are disobedience, resistance, destruction."

2d. Next comes the Christian rule, that too sanctioned by Locke, and by Plato — the course of the Quakers — the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society — “SUBMIT to every ordinance of man” — but suffer any penalty rather than join in doing a wrong act; meanwhile, let your loud protest prepare a speedy and quiet revolution.

3d. Thirdly comes Mr. Spooner’s plan :

“If the majority, however large, of the people of a country enter into a contract of government, called a constitution, by which they agree to aid, abet, or accomplish any kind of injustice, this contract of government is unlawful and void — and for the same reason that a contract of the same nature between two individuals, is unlawful and void. Such a contract of government confers no rightful authority upon those appointed to administer it.”

* * * * *

“Judicial tribunals, sitting under the authority of this unlawful contract or constitution, are bound, equally with other men, to declare it, and all unjust enactments passed by the Government in pursuance of it, unlawful and void. These judicial tribunals cannot, by accepting office under a Government, rid themselves of that paramount obligation, that all men are under, to declare, if they declare anything, that justice is law; that Government can have no lawful powers, except those with which it has been invested by lawful contract; and that an unlawful contract for the establishment of Government, is as unlawful and void as any other contract to do injustice.”

* * * * *

“No oaths, which judicial or other officers may take to carry out and support an unlawful contract or Constitution of Government, are of any moral obligation.” — p. 9.

And here begins the real and only important dispute between us. The reader may forget, if he pleases, all we have said. Mr. Spooner’s differences and our own, up to this point, are mere questions of theory. It matters little which side be adopted. His position now is :

That laws and constitutions which violate justice, are void. They are as little binding in the eye of the law, as in the eye of God. They are *legally* as well as morally void.

So far we agree with him, or differ so slightly, that here we care not to dispute the matter. He goes on :

A Judge *holding office under such Constitutions* is authorized and bound to treat them as *void*, and to decide cases, not according to them, but as his sense “of natural justice” dictates.

Here we differ from him, maintaining that the position of the

officers of such a Government differs from that of the private individual; their duty is to resign their posts whenever unwilling to fulfil the conditions on which they receive them, and then, AS MEN, treat the laws as void.

This question is not to be confounded with one somewhat similar to it, and which has been sometimes discussed, especially in England, whether a Judge there may disregard an unjust statute? Our present question is different, for it should be remembered that in England, there is no written Constitution. Even if a Judge had such powers there, WHICH HE HAS NOT, it would, by no means follow, that he had the same under our form of Government. There the Judge swears, simply to bear true allegiance to the King. It might, therefore, with some plausibility, be argued, that having no test to which to bring acts of Parliament, except the rules of natural justice, Judges were authorized to declare them void when inconsistent with those rules. Such a doctrine, however, is repudiated by the almost unanimous voice of the English law.

But however it may be in England, here the case is different. Our Government is founded on contract. See, Pream. Mass. Cons.: J. Q. Adams's Oration at Quincy, p. 17: Jay, C. J., 2 Dall. 471. So agrees Mr. Spooner:

"The Constitution is a contract; a written contract, consisting of a certain number of precise words, to which, and to which only, all the parties to it have, in theory, agreed. Manifestly neither this contract, nor the meaning of its words, can be changed, without the consent of all the parties to it." —*p.* 123.

"A contract for the establishment of Government, being nothing but a voluntary contract between individuals for their mutual benefit, differs in nothing that is essential to its validity from any other contract between man and man, or between nation and nation." —*p.* 8.

"Our constitutions are but contracts." —*Note, p.* 8.

Under our Constitution, then, the people and the office-holder make a contract together. They grant him certain specified powers, and demand of him certain specified duties. He deliberately looks over the catalogue (that is, the Constitution,) — assents to it, — swears that he agrees to it, and will perform his part, — and so takes office and acquires power. *That power*, Mr. Spooner thinks, he may retain while he refuses to perform the conditions on which he received it; and *that power*, granted him expressly, and only for

the support of the Constitution, he is *bound* to use for the destruction of that instrument! Mr. Spooner's ground is that, "immoral contracts are void." Granted; but if they are absolute nullities, then the Governments supposed to spring from them, do not exist, since they have nothing to spring from. Accordingly, the supposed Judge is *no Judge*, and has no authority to *declare or decide anything*. As Mr. Spooner says (p. 9,) "Such a contract of Government confers *no rightful authority* upon those appointed to administer it." Of course he would not have a Judge use a *wrongful* authority, for any purpose.

"Immoral contracts are not binding." Agreed. But are men at liberty to enter into agreements which they know at the time are immoral? Of course not. Is not the mere fact that men swear to support the Constitution sufficient proof to the nation that *they* do not consider the clauses of that instrument immoral, but feel at liberty, and really intend, to carry them out? What higher evidence or pledge can a man give that he considers a contract moral, than taking an oath to execute and support it?

Again, "immoral contracts are not binding." True. But if I receive a sum of money, on my promise to commit murder, and afterward, my moral sense awakens, and I refuse to do the deed, does that authorize me to retain the money? Such a moral sense would be a most accommodating one! and such godliness might well be "accounted gain!"

The rule plainly is that, if power is put into our hands on certain conditions, and we become, *from any cause*, unable or unwilling to fulfill those conditions, we ought to surrender back the power to those who granted it. If, therefore, the Constitution is pro-slavery, (as Mr. Spooner and ourselves are now supposing it to be,) the Judges have agreed to do certain pro-slavery acts, and they must perform their whole contract, or yield up the power they received on that condition. Judges are the people's servants, employed to do certain acts. If they cannot *do those acts*, let them "be no longer stewards."

This argument seems to us conclusive as it stands. But Mr. Spooner's principles give it additional force. He says, (p. 99, 2d edition,) that

"Office is not given to any one because he has a right to it, nor because it may be even a benefit to him. It is conferred upon him, or rather

confided to him, as a trust, and solely as a trust, for the sole benefit of the people of the United States. The President, as President, is not supposed to have any rights in the office on his own account; or any rights except what the people, for their own benefit, and not for his, have voluntarily chosen to grant to him."

If this be so — if the President, or Judge, has *no rights* but what the people have granted him, will Mr. Spooner affirm that the people ever granted to any Judge the right to disregard the pro-slavery clauses of *their* Constitution? If office be a "trust, and solely a trust," is the trust-holder to execute his duty according to his own views, or according to the trust deed?

Again, Mr. Goodell had maintained that Governments have certain inherent powers, as that, for instance, of abolishing Slavery, and executing justice, &c.; — that these enter into the very idea of a Government, and every Government possesses them, whether specifically granted to it or not. But Mr. Spooner (p. 8,) scouts as "an imposture, the idea of any necessary or inherent authority or sovereignty in our Government, as such," and maintains that they are nothing but "contracts." If then, they are only contracts, will he explain where Judges get a power which the other party to the contract never meant to give them?

If, therefore, Mr. Spooner or any one else could show us an English Judge, for instance, putting aside an act of Parliament because of its injustice, he would not even then reach our case. Let him show an English Judge holding himself authorized to disregard the terms of the union between Scotland and England, or between Ireland and England, and he will have advanced somewhere within sight of the position of an American Magistrate under our Constitution. Even those, however, are not equally strong cases, for such a Judge has never *expressly sworn* to maintain those compacts.

The royal oath, to maintain "the church established," comes nearest to our case; and it is well known with what scrupulous anxiety even the profligate George IV. clung to what he fancied his duty under that.

"These Judicial tribunals," says Mr. Spooner, "cannot, by accepting office under a Government, rid themselves of the paramount obligation that all men are under to declare, if *they declare anything*, that justice is law."

"If *they declare anything*;" that is a very significant "if." Was there a lurking doubt in the writer's mind whether our view

was not the correct one? whether Judges had a right to "declare anything" in such circumstances? If there was, let him cherish it. True, such Judges cannot rid themselves, *as men*, "of the paramount obligation to declare, if they declare anything, that Justice is law." But it is as men, as simple individuals, units in the sight of God, that this "paramount obligation" rests upon them. God knows them not as Judges. Their only "paramount obligation," as Judges, is to do what they agreed to do when they were made Judges, or quit the bench. God does not require of any of his creatures to juggle their fellows out of the gift of power, and then use that power contrary to their promises, in order to serve humanity. That were to ask "robbery for burnt offering."

NO-GOVERNMENTISM AND ANARCHY.

BUT putting out of view this point of *contract*, between the people and their servants, we maintain that such a line of judicial duty is inconsistent with the existence of uniform and regular Government. It is the first step toward anarchy.

"Only what is just and right is law." Granted, but who is to decide what is just and right? We say that *for the purpose of the civil government of any nation*, the majority of that nation is to decide, and their decision is final, and constitutes, for that nation, LAW. Mr. Spooner thinks not; he thinks that each Judge is to decide for himself and act accordingly. A uniform Government is impossible on this plan. Mr. Spooner himself admits as much at pp. 60, 61, 122, 123. "Statutes," says Webster, "are but recommendations, if each man is to construe them as he pleases." *Quot homines, tot sententiæ*, ("many men, many minds.") Law would be one thing in Maine and another thing in Maryland — one thing to-day, another thing to-morrow. And each day and each Court would think itself infallibly right. "Orthodoxy is *my* doxy," said the English Bishop. "By *right reason*," says Atterbury, "every one would be willing to mean *his own*." "Discourses about Natural Law," says another eminent writer, "are the fullest of mistakes and most liable to error." Let us look at it. In these United States some think that neither men nor nations have the right to make war — to take life by the gallows — to authorize the holding of the soil as individual property — to debar women from the right of voting. One not in-

considerable sect holds that the magistrate should enforce theological orthodoxy. Will Mr. Spooner inform us on his principle what is *law* on each of these points; and also what a Judge in such case is to pronounce? He will not, of course, maintain that a principle is right merely because the majority entertain it. A vote-receiver is sitting at the ballot-box; a woman appears and offers him a vote. His own opinion is that natural law, "the rule of natural justice," obliges him to receive it. The majority have told him, by specific statute, to receive the votes of men only. Which way is he to act? Which is "*law*" to him? A Judge is sitting on the bench—the jury find the prisoner guilty of murder. His own opinion is that no Government has a right to take life—the majority have ordered him, by specific statute, in such case made and provided, to doom the culprit to the gallows. How is he to act? Which is "*law*" to him? We say to him, quit the bench rather than violate your conscience. Mr. Spooner instructs him that all laws inconsistent with natural justice are void, and that he is bound to stay there and declare them so. Accordingly as every man's own conscience is, for the time being, his highest and holiest guide, he must set up his own idea of right; and as of old, every man's foot rule was regulated by the length of the reigning King's foot, so now, Judges are to reverse the advice of Lord Coke, and "be guided by the crooked cord of discretion, and not by the golden metwand [*measuring wand*] of the law."

Cicero, the *pagan*, maintains that for a merchant in time of famine to conceal the fact that a plenty of grain will come to-morrow, and thus grind a high price to-day out of the starving people, is contrary to "natural justice." *Christian* jurists, Grotius, Puffendorf, and others, think such conduct right. If such a sale is brought before Mr. Spooner, to be enforced, which way will he decide? Which is law? this eternal, unalterable, unmistakable law, he so much praises.

Gerrit Smith thinks the three-fifth slave basis an Anti-Slavery provision, "a bounty on liberty—an attempt to promote the Anti-Slavery cause." Mr. Spooner thinks just the reverse. Which way shall the poor Judge, in search of *natural law*, interpret the clause?

Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdin.

If he steers clear of Spooner one way, he is sure to run foul of Smith the other. How grateful will he be to our author for getting

him clear of the "old chaos of conflicting edicts," and introducing him to such a "natural, unalterable, universal, *simple*, intelligible principle," which supercedes *all* other law, and "*is necessarily the only law!!!*"

The wisest men in all ages have held, that relying on the conscience or discretion of Judges is but another name for tyranny. Among the legal maxims collected by Lord Bacon there are two of sterling value: "It is miserable slavery to have the law vague or uncertain." "That is the best law, which trusts the least to the discretion of a Judge, and he is the best Judge, who trusts least to himself." Lord Coke has even gone so far as to affirm that it is more important the law should be fixed and certain, than that it should be just. "No man," said Sir Wm. Jones, "would ever know how to act, and no lawyer how to advise, unless courts were bound by authority, as firmly as the Pagan deities were supposed to be bound by the decrees of fate." "Equity," said the learned Selden, "is a roguish thing; for law we have a measure, — know what to trust to; equity is according to the conscience of him that is chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. It is all one as if they should make the standard for the measure we call a foot, a chancellor's foot; what an uncertain measure would this be! One chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot; a third an indifferent foot; it is the same thing with a chancellor's conscience." "The discretion of a Judge," said Lord Camden, that learned and pure jurist, the early and tried friend of our Revolutionary fathers, "is the law of tyrants; it is always unknown, different in different men; it is casual, depends on constitution, temper, passion. In the best it is oftentimes caprice—in the worst, it is every vice, folly and passion, to which human nature is liable."

See also Kent's Comm., 1. 476. Story's Equity, 1. 12.

It was on this principle of construing laws according to our own ideas of justice that Georgia acted, when, in defiance of the Government, she robbed the Indians and imprisoned their missionaries; as does Carolina when, in spite of the Constitution, she imprisons colored seamen and banishes Samuel Hoar under penalty of jail and fine. The supreme authority of individual judgment and conscience is sound doctrine in matters of religion: and what is the result? The healthful emulation of a thousand rival sects. Introduce the same principle into government, and instead of one system

of laws and one interpretation, we should have, as in the case of the Bible, a thousand; and uniform government would be impossible.

If Mr. Spooner, to escape this dilemma, shall explain his principle to mean that a Judge is to decide, not according to his own individual idea of right, but the general sense of the age or nation in which he lives, we hardly care to dispute such a proposition with him; — for it is of little practical importance; since in the *words of its statute-book* will each magistrate always find the best, if not the only, evidence of what his nation thinks just and right. “The laws,” says Aristotle, “are the morals of the State and the character of the whole people taken collectively.” If Mr. Spooner should feel disposed to appeal from the decision of one nation to the general sense of Christendom, he will find that there never was a sin, which any Judge, desirous of supporting it, could not find abundance of philosophers to uphold him in thinking right; and surely Slavery at present, finds many such, both in Church and State. Hence, on either plan there could be no uniform and regular Government.

LEGAL AND JUDICIAL OPINIONS.

WE shall conclude our discussion of this point by showing that the almost unanimous, if not unanimous, voice of lawyers and judicial tribunals repudiates this power. Our extracts will be drawn from as many different sources as possible, because it has been a favorite course with Liberty party debaters and others to maintain that all acts of Parliament, or of any legislative body, contrary to reason and justice are void, and that Judges may treat them as such — a proposition identical with Mr. Spooner’s, and clearly not sound.

The authorities which follow are not however intended for Mr. Spooner, since, (p. 62,) he candidly states it as the settled doctrine of all the Courts, that they possess no authority to overrule wicked laws. We adduce them merely to complete our view of the subject, and for the sake of those who are not so wise or so candid as Mr. S. in this particular.

This doctrine is usually sustained by disconnected quotations from Blackstone, among which the following generally occupies the first place :

"This law of nature, being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times : no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this ; and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original." —*Blackstone, Vol. 1, p. 41.*

Mr. Justice Coleridge, in his edition of Blackstone, says, that "here the author means merely that a law, contrary to nature, has no binding force *on the conscience*."

It will be observed that Blackstone only asserts that *bad laws are void*, without touching the question of the remedy in such case, or whether judges may declare and treat them so. His able commentator, Prof. Christian, in a note on the passage, discusses this point, and decisively rejects the doctrine. He says :

"If an act of Parliament should, like the edict of Herod, command all children under a certain age to be slain, the Judge ought to resign his office rather than be auxiliary to its execution ; *but it could only be declared void by the same legislative power by which it was ordained.*"

With this, the other commentators, Chitty and the rest, agree. Sedgwick unites with them in the same opinion. Woodeson, Blackstone's second successor in his professorial chair, adds his assent in these words :

"We cannot expect that all acts of legislators will, or can be, entirely good, or ethically perfect ; but if their proceedings are to be decided upon by their subjects, Government and subordination cease." —*Chitty's Blackstone, Note, p. 41. —Wood's El. Jur., p. 81.*

Blackstone himself, in a subsequent page of his work, distinctly denies the doctrine which some might infer from the general terms he had used above. On the 91st page of his first volume he says :

"I know it is generally laid down more largely, that acts of Parliament, contrary to reason, are void. But if the Parliament will positively enact a thing to be done which is unreasonable, I know of no power, in the ordinary forms of the Constitution, that is vested with authority to control it ; and the examples usually alledged, in support of this sense of the rule, do none of them prove, that, where the *main object* of a statute is unreasonable, the Judges are at liberty to reject it ; for that were to set the judicial power above that of the Legislature, which would be subversive of all Government.
* * * * * If we could conceive it possible for the Parliament to enact that a man should try as well his own causes as those of other persons, there is no court that has power to defeat the intent of the Legislature,

when couched in such evident and express words, as leave no doubt whether it was the intent of the Legislature or not."

Chancellor Kent, also, of New York, the highest living authority, though citing and praising the few old cases which sustain a different doctrine, concludes with Blackstone, thus :

"It is a principle, in the English law, that an act of Parliament, delivered in clear and intelligible terms, cannot be questioned, or its authority controlled in any court of Justice. When it is said in the books that a statute contrary to natural equity and reason, or repugnant, or impossible to be performed, is void, the cases are understood to mean that the courts are to give the statute a reasonable construction. They will not readily presume, out of respect and duty to the lawgiver, that any very unjust or absurd consequence was within the contemplation of the law. *But if it should happen to be too palpable in its direction to admit of but one construction, there is no doubt, in the English law, as to the binding efficacy of the statute.* The will of the Legislature is the supreme law of the land, and demands perfect obedience."—*Kent's Comm.* 1. p. 447.

Locke lays down the same principle substantially, when he says : "In all cases while the Government subsists, the *Legislature* must be supreme. When that transgresses its bounds, the right of revolution begins." And Paley also :

"There necessarily exists in every Government a power, from which *the Constitution has provided no appeal*, absolute, omnipotent, *uncontrollable*, arbitrary, despotic. This person or assembly is the supreme power of the State * * * the Legislature of the State."—*Mor. and Pol. Phil.*, Bk. 6, ch. 6.

With this Blackstone agrees. See *Comm.* 1. pp. 161, 186 :

"Where the law is known and clear, though it be unequitable and inconvenient, the judges must determine as the law is, without regarding the unequitable or inconvenient. Those defects, if they happen in the law, can only be remedied by Parliament; therefore we find many statutes repealed, and laws abrogated by Parliament as inconvenient, which before such repeal or abrogation, were in the Courts of Law to be strictly observed."—*Vaughan's Rep.*, pp. 37, 38.

Says the United States Circuit Court :

"We cannot declare a legislative act void, because it conflicts with our opinions of policy, expediency, or justice. * * *

"The remedy for unwise or oppressive legislation, within constitutional bounds, is by an appeal to the justice and patriotism of the representatives of the people. If this fails, the people, in their sovereign capacity, can correct the evil ; but courts cannot assume their rights.

* * * * *

“That would submit laws to a test as fallible and uncertain as all rules must be, which have not their source in some certain and definite standard, which varies neither with times, circumstances, or opinions. * * *

“There is no paramount and supreme law which defines the law of nature, or settles these great principles of legislation, which are said [*that is, by the counsel in this case,*] to control State Legislatures, in the exercise of the powers conferred on them by the people in the Constitution.

“If it is once admitted that there exists in this Court a power to declare a State law void, which conflicts with no constitutional provision, if we assume the right to annul them for their supposed injustice, or oppressive operation, we become the makers and not the expounders of Constitutions. Our opinions will not be a judgment on what was the pre-existing law of the case, but on what it is, after we shall have so amended and modified it as to meet our ideas of justice, policy, and wise legislation, by a direct usurpation of legislative powers, and a flagrant violation of the duty enjoined on us by the Judiciary act.”—1 *Baldwin, C. C. R. p. 74.*

Mr. Justice Iredell, of the Supreme Court of the United States, says :

“Some speculative jurists have held that a legislative act against natural justice must, in itself, be void, but I cannot think that under such a Government, as (that of England,) *any court of Justice would possess a power to declare it so.*”

After quoting Blackstone, to sustain that position, he adds :

“If any act of Congress violate constitutional provisions it is void ; * * * If, on the other hand, the Legislature of the Union, or any member of the Union, shall pass a law within the general scope of their constitutional power, the court cannot pronounce it to be void merely because it is, in their judgment, contrary to the principles of natural justice. The ideas of natural justice are regulated by no fixed standard ; the ablest and purest men have differed upon the subject.”—3 *Dallas's Rep., p. 399.*

“If the Legislature should pass a law in plain, unequivocal, and explicit terms, within the scope of their constitutional powers, I know of no authority in this Government to pronounce such an act void, merely because, in the opinion of the Judicial tribunals, it was contrary to the principles of natural justice. For this would be vesting in the Court latitudinarian powers which might be abused, and would necessarily lead to collision between the Legislative and Judicial departments, dangerous to the well-being of society, or at least, not in harmony with the structure of our ideas of natural government. Justice is regulated by no certain or fixed standard, so that the ablest and purest minds might sometimes differ with respect to it. * * * Necessity dispenses with general principles. The Legislature must be the judges when that necessity exists.”—2 *Rawle's (Pennsylvania) Reports, p. 374.*

The Supreme Court of the United States affirm the same doctrine, in a sentence which Mr. Spooner makes the corner-stone of his book :

“Where rights are infringed, where fundamental principles are overthrown, where the general system of the laws is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with *irresistible clearness*, to induce a court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects.”—*United States vs. Fisher et. al.* 2 *Cranch*, p. 390.

“This language of the Supreme Court,” says Mr. Spooner, “admits, 1st, that the preservation of men's *rights* is the vital principle of law ; and 2d, that courts — and the Supreme Court of the United States in particular — will trample upon that principle at the bidding of the Legislature, when the mandate comes in the shape of a statute of such ‘*irresistible clearness*,’ that its meaning cannot be evaded.”

Lord Mansfield recognizes the same principle in that sentence, which forms the other bulwark of Mr. Spooner's argument. In the “*Sommersett*” case, Lord Mansfield said, speaking of the acknowledged sin of Slavery :

“So high an act of dominion must be recognized by the law of the country where it is used. * * * The state of Slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political — but only *positive law*, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from the memory. It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but *positive law*.”—*Howell's State Trials*, 20. p. 1.

Positive law, then, can so establish even Slavery, that courts must treat it as legal.

The same doctrine shines out in all the cases, either on this side the ocean or in England, in which the Slave-trade has been brought in question. Certainly, here would be a case in which, if anywhere, a Judge would use the power, if he had it, to treat bad laws as void. Still, no Judge, whatever his private opinion, has usurped the right to overrule, on that account, the law of nations, which holds that trade to be lawful. Sir Wm. Scott, one of the highest, if not the highest, authority among recent English Judges in his department, holds the following language, in a case where the question of that trade was before him, and in which he decided that the Slave-trade was not a crime by the law of nations :

“I must remember that in discussing this question, I must consider it not according to any *private moral apprehensions* of my own, (if I entertained them ever so sincerely,) but as *the law* considers it. * * An act must be *le-*

gally criminal, because neither this Court nor any other can carry its private apprehensions, independent of law, into its public judgments, on the quality of actions. It must conform to the judgment of the law upon that subject, and acting as a Court, in the administration of law, it cannot attribute criminality to an act where the law imputes none. It must look to the *legal* standard of morality on a question of this nature." — 2 *Dodson, Adm. Rep. p. 210.*

C. Justice Marshall says, in a similar case :

"That it (the Slave-Trade) is contrary to the law of nature, will scarcely be denied. * * * Whatever might be the answer of a moralist to this question, a jurist must seek its *legal* solution in those principles of action which are sanctioned by the usages, the national acts, and the general assent of the world, of which he considers himself a part. * * * A jurist could not say that a practice thus supported was illegal." — *Antelope*, 10 *Wheaton, p. 66.*

See, also Lord Mansfield, 1 T. R., 313 : Judge Story, 1 Gall., 66 : Judges Best and Bayley, 3 B. & A., 353 : Lord Hardwick, Dwarries, 785 : C. J. Shaw in the "Med. Case," 18 Pick. Rep., 193 : Dwarries, 645 : Blackstone, 4. 11 : Madison, cited in Story's Comm., 3. 422 : Amos' Fortescue, 198-200 : 8 Wheaton, 543 : 4 Howard, 572 : 2 Howard, 197 : 8 Bingh., 515, 557 : 1 Kent, 468.

I know that there are a few early cases, and a few rash assertions of Lord Coke, plausible perhaps in a Government like the English, where, as there exists no written Constitution, it might possibly be argued that the courts had a right to bring all laws to the test of those great principles of common sense and common justice, which form the only thing that can be called a foundation for British law. But *here* we have a specific, definite, limited, *written* Constitution. It contains ALL the principles which the people, the nation, have agreed shall form the foundation of our *national* law. The only test, therefore, to which our courts have any right to submit the action of the Legislature is, to ask, is it constitutional? If so, it is legally binding on them — no matter how unjust or how unreasonable it is. Such is the frame-work of Government under which we live.

But of even this assertion of Coke, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, his contemporary, has remarked, that it is,

"A paradox which derogateth much from the wisdom and power of Parliament, that when the three estates, King, Lords, and Commons, have spent their labor in making a law, three Judges on the bench, shall destroy and prostrate their pains, advancing the reason of a particular court above the judgment of all the realm. Besides, more temperately did that reverend Chief Justice Herle, temp. Ed. III. deliver his opinion, cited by Coke, 8 R. 118.

when he said, some acts of Parliament are made against law and right, which **THEY THAT MADE THEM**, perceiving, would not put them into execution ; for it is *magis congruum* (more fit) that acts of Parliament should be corrected by the same pen that drew them, than be dashed to pieces by the opinion of a few Judges." — *Quoted by Dwarris, p. 643.*

And further, still, Lord Coke qualifies the general language he had used when he elsewhere holds :

"That Judges are not to be encouraged to direct their conduct by the crooked cord of discretion, but by the golden metwand of the law ; that is, not to construe statutes by equity, but to collect the sense of the Legislature by a sound interpretation of its language according to reason and grammatical correctness, and to be controlled by the *common law*." — *Dwarris on Statutes, pp. 645, 703.*

Dwarris, a learned and distinguished writer, in his late able work on "Statutes," sums up the matter thus :

"The general and received doctrine certainly is, that an act of Parliament, of which the terms are explicit and the meaning plain, cannot be questioned, or its authority controlled in any Court of Justice," and "where the meaning is plain, to regard consequences in the interpretation, would be assuming legislative authority."

For Judges to mould statutes according to their sense of right would suppose the Legislature,

"To have abdicated its functions and delegated its power and duties to the Judges." — *pp. 646, 720, 755.*

To detain the reader one moment longer with the example of another nation, let us add that the French law, generally considered much more loose on this point of judicial duty, is substantially the same with what we have been quoting. It allows the Bench to consult equity and use its individual discretion only on those points where *the law is silent*.

"*Si l'on manque de loi il faut consulter l'usage ou l'équité. L'équité est le retour a la loi naturelle, dans le silence, l'opposition ou l'obscurité des lois positives.*"

"*Le pouvoir judiciaire établi pour appliquer les lois, a besoin d'être dirigé dans cette application par certaines règles. Elles sont telles que la raison particulière d'aucun homme ne puisse jamais prévaloir sur la loi, raison publique.*"

(Where there is no law, consult custom or equity. Equity is the return to natural law in case of the silence, self-contradiction, or obscurity of statutes. Judges appointed to apply the laws, must be guided by fixed rules. These

are such that the conscience of an individual can never be allowed to overrule the law, which is the national conscience.) *Quoted by Dwarris, p. 787. 8.*

Are we not, then, borne out in our assertion that neither any practical theory of Government, nor the recorded opinions of Statesmen or Jurists countenance the doctrine of this Essay, that Judges are the proper persons to remedy, by overruling, the bad laws of a State. On the contrary all combine to point us to the duty of submission, or to the ultimate and extreme right of Revolution, as the appropriate course in the circumstances; and allow the Judge no choice but to apply the laws, as they are handed him by the Supreme Power, or to vacate his seat.

Indeed the most famous definition of Civil Liberty makes it consist in the "being governed only by *known, pre-constituted, inflexible* rules." What becomes of this if the decisions of the Court are to vary as fast as the moral sense of the Bench rises higher and higher in its perception of right and wrong? On this plan justice becomes as much "matter of accident," as Madame de Stael told Alexander Liberty was, under a despotism. To Mr. Spooner's doctrine we may apply what was said on another occasion :

"If these principles prevail there are no longer any Pyrenees. Every bulwark and barrier of the Constitution is broken down; it becomes *tabula rasa, carte blanche*, for every one to scribble on what he pleases."

MR. SPOONER'S ARGUMENT.

LEAVING the question whether Law, properly speaking, *can* establish Slavery, Mr. Spooner next attempts to show that it has never *actually* been established by law in this country. For this purpose he examines the written Constitutions of the several States and of the Union.

"In making this examination, [he says, p. 15,] I shall not insist upon the principle of the preceding chapter, that there can be no law contrary to natural right; but shall admit, for the sake of the argument, that there may be such laws. I shall only claim that in the interpretation of all statutes and constitutions, the ordinary legal rules of interpretation be observed. The most important of these rules, and the one to which it will be necessary constantly to refer, is the one that all language must be construed '*strictly*' in favor of natural right. The rule is laid down by the Supreme Court in the United States in these words, to wit: 'Where rights are infringed,

where fundamental principles are overthrown, where the general system of the laws is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with *irresistible clearness*, to induce a court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects.' "—2 *Cranch*, p. 390.

The following are the clauses in the United States Constitution universally supposed to refer to and recognize Slavery :

“ART. I. SEC. 2. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons*.”

ART. I. SEC. 8. Congress shall have power * * * to suppress insurrections.

ART. I. SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

ART. IV. SEC. 2. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

ART. IV. SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,) *against domestic violence*.”

The first of these clauses, relating to representation, gives to ten inhabitants of Carolina equal weight in the Government with forty inhabitants of Massachusetts, provided they are rich enough to hold fifty slaves;—and accordingly confers on a slaveholding community additional political power for every slave held among them, thus tempting them to continue to uphold the system.

Its result has been, in the language of John Quincy Adams, “to make the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of Slavery the vital and animating spirit of the National Government;” and again, to enable “a knot of slaveholders to give the law and prescribe the policy of the country.” So that “since 1830, Slavery, slave-breeding, and slave-trading, have formed the whole foundation of the policy of the Federal Government.” The second

and the last articles relating to insurrection and domestic violence, perfectly innocent in themselves — yet being made with the fact directly in view that Slavery exists among us, do deliberately pledge the whole national force against the unhappy slave if he imitate our fathers and resist oppression, thus making us partners in the guilt of sustaining Slavery. The third is an express toleration of the Slave-trade till 1808, leaving it *optional* with Congress whether to abolish or not afterwards. The last clause is a promise on the part of the whole North, to return fugitive slaves to their masters; a deed which God's law expressly condemns, and which every noble feeling of our nature repudiates with loathing and contempt.

Mr. Spooner's argument may be briefly stated thus:

1st. The people never intended to recognize or guarantee Slavery in the National Constitution.

2d. If such was their intention it was never effected; for that instrument, *legally interpreted*, contains no recognition or guaranty of the Institution.

3d. Such recognition, if it exists, is void, and wholly inoperative, since there is no *legal* Slavery in any of the States to which it can refer.

In our review we shall follow the *order* thus briefly sketched, rather than the one adopted by Mr. Spooner, as it will enable us to say all we wish in a smaller space.

INTENTIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

AND first, the intentions of the people. It is very convenient for Mr. Spooner to make light of the meaning which the people attached to the Constitution in 1789, and since, as of no practical value; though he is ready to allow that the intentions of the *adopters* of the Constitution when legally shown from the Instrument itself, taken as a whole, are binding and conclusive. It is a point we can afford to spare, this of the meaning affixed to the Instrument by the people themselves. We are perfectly willing at any time to waive it and discuss the strict legal effect of the written Instrument, without aid from collateral history or national circumstances. But it is idle in an argument of this kind to keep out of sight a view which common sense, the nature of the case, and the

maxims of law, demand shall make a part of it. We shall, therefore, devote a brief space to the point.

It will be remembered that Mr. Spooner is now professing to argue a law question, as such, on strictly *legal* principles, referring to legal authorities and rules as tests of the correctness of his opinions. In interpreting the Constitution the Supreme Court have made use of the rules usually adopted. His object is to show, not that the Court ought to lay down any *new* rules, but that they should carry out those already established, and according to these, he thinks that Court is bound to declare Slavery illegal even within the several States.

Bearing this in mind let us see what these rules are, for, of course, the question is not to be decided by looking alone at that *one rule* of the Court, which Mr. Spooner has quoted, and made the corner-stone of his argument. To judge fairly it is necessary to look over the whole ground. Let us then open the records of the Supreme Court. We shall find that following the example of all other Courts, the dictates of good sense, and of all the authorities, it has uniformly allowed great weight to the contemporaneous interpretation of the Constitution, to the understanding of the nation when it has been universal: according to the oft-repeated maxim of Lord Coke, "*Contemporanea expositio est optima et fortissima in lege.*" (Contemporaneous exposition is of great weight and authority in the law.) The reason of this rule is very evident. Where the words of a statute are plain and clear, and admit but of one meaning, there is, of course, no room for interpretation; they speak for themselves. Where they will equally well admit of two meanings, our object must be to ascertain which of these the makers *intended* they should bear. If that intention can be *legally* discovered, it is to prevail whether it be just or unjust. See 1 Kent, 468: Dwarria, 689: 6 A. & E. 7: 9 A. & E. 980. This we consider Mr. Spooner to allow. Now this intention is to be discovered by considering the language of the particular clause and of the context — the design of the law — the situation of the country at the time, its institutions and circumstances. If we can discover which of the two constructions was supposed to be the true one at the time, and which has been used and practised upon from the very making of the law, this will go far to show which the makers intended should be affixed to it. Contemporaneous

practice then is one of the most convincing commentaries on the language of statutes. No doubt as Marshall, quoted by Spooner, says, we are to discover the intentions of the lawmaker from the *words* he uses; but words, when doubtful and ambiguous, are to be interpreted by the context, by the object sought, and by contemporaneous usage. The reader may consult on this point Story's Comm. vol. 1, bk. 3, c. v. Blackstone, 1. 59, 60 — Rutherford — Dwaris — C. J. Tindall, 5. Scott, 1037. Justice Coleridge, 6 A. & E. 7. Coke's Inst. 2. 11. Kent, 1. 462. 18 Pick. 193.

Penal statutes, also, are to be construed *strictly*, — yet Courts are not prevented by this rule, from inquiring in such cases into the intent of the Legislature. See 1 Paine, 32, &c.

No work is oftener quoted by the Supreme Court than the "Federalist," as showing the sense in which the Constitution was adopted; in the words of Chief Justice Marshall:

"Great weight has always been attached, and very rightly attached to contemporaneous construction. The opinion of the Federalist has always been considered as of great authority, &c., &c. A contemporaneous exposition certainly of not less authority than that just cited is the Judiciary Act." 6 Wheaton, 418-20. In Wheaton, 1. 304, the Court alludes at length to the 'weight of extemporaneous exposition by all parties, the acquiescence of State Courts,' &c.

9 Wheaton, 1. Chief Justice Marshall says, speaking of one of the powers of Congress:

"If, as our whole course of legislation on this subject shows, the power of Congress has been universally understood in America to comprehend navigation, it is a very persuasive, if not conclusive argument to prove that the construction is correct."

"Contemporary practice is to be consulted," says Rutherford, a Scottish writer, always quoted with deference on this subject, "that which prevailed among the people when the law was made and immediately after it, — the one as showing why it was made, — the other how it was understood by those who had the best means of knowing its meaning."

"When there is any doubt," says Rutherford, cited and approved by Story, "light may be obtained from contemporary facts or expositions, from known habits, manners and institutions." — *Story's Comm.* 1. 385.

"In the construction of statutes and local laws it is necessary to refer to the history and situation of the country to ascertain the reason as well as the meaning of their provisions, to enable the Court to apply the different rules for construing them." — 1 *Wheaton*, 115.

"In doubtful cases usage may be safely resorted to, to ascertain the meaning of the Legislature." — 2 *Overton*, 157.

As the old legal maxim tells us: "*Optimus legum interpres consuetudo*" (Usage is the best interpreter of laws.)

"If in any case doubt arise from the terms employed by the Legislature, it has always been held a safe means of collecting the intention to call in aid the ground and cause of making the statute." — *C. J. Tindal*, 8 *Jur.* 795.

"The meaning of things spoken and written must be as hath been constantly used." — *Vaugh*, 169. *Bac. Abr. Stat.*

"Great regard ought, in construing a statute, to be paid to the construction which the sages of the law, who lived about the time or soon after it was made, put upon it, because they were best able to judge of the intention of the makers." — *Coke*, cited by *Dwarrris*, 693.

"THE COURT WILL GATHER THE INTENTION OF THE LEGISLATURE FROM THE LANGUAGE USED IN THE ACT ITSELF, COMPARING IT, WHEN ANY AMBIGUITY EXISTS, WITH THE LAWS ON THE SAME SUBJECT, AND LOOKING, IF NECESSARY, TO THE PUBLIC HISTORY OF THE TIMES IN WHICH IT WAS PASSED." — *Supreme Court, U. S.*, 3 *Howard*, 24.

Again, we are told by the *Federalist*, 83, and the doctrine is confirmed by Judge Story, 1 *Comm.* 435, that :

"Precise legal maxims are inapplicable to a constitution of Government. In relation to such a subject the natural and obvious sense of its provisions, apart from technical rules, is the true criterion of its construction."

The same rule is laid down by C. J. Tilghman in 3 *Sergeant & Rawle*, 69 :

"Conventions intended to regulate the conduct of nations are not to be construed as articles of agreement at common law. In these, strict rules of construction may be adhered to, and individual inconvenience is richly compensated by general good. But where multitudes are affected by the construction of an instrument, great regard should be paid to *spirit* and *intention*. In deciding this question, then, it will be important to consider the *situation* of the United States, at the time of framing their present Constitution, and the probable intent of the makers."

We all know very well that the Constitution is a peculiar instrument—neither wholly a statute nor wholly a contract, but partaking of the nature of both. The rules applicable then to *contracts*, as distinct from laws, have a place here: and the first of those named by Blackstone is "*Verba intentioni debent inserviri*." (Words must effect the intention of the parties.)

Next in importance comes Paley's rule. "Promises are to be performed in that sense in which the promiser apprehended at the time that the promisee received it." For which see Chitty on Contracts.

Judge Story, Comm. 2. 528, speaking of a protective tariff, points to this rule :

“If the Constitution was ratified under the belief, sedulously propagated on all sides, that such protection was afforded ; would it not now be a fraud upon the whole people to give a different construction to its powers ?”

The reasonableness of this is so self-evident, that it seems unnecessary to enlarge upon it.

We submit, of course, to the rule which Marshall lays down, and which Mr. Spooner makes the corner-stone of his book, that of two meanings, one honest and the other wicked, the Court will, if possible, adopt the former. But the point to which we draw attention is, that if the other parts of the law, its object, and its contemporaneous construction afford irresistible evidence that the Legislature intended to make a wicked law, the Courts acknowledge it to be their duty to yield. In other words, contemporaneous expositions and uninterrupted acquiescence are *one of the* means the Court has always used to arrive at that *irresistible* clearness and certainty on which Mr. Spooner depends so much. Judge Story, Comm. 2. 526, speaking of the disputed power of protection to manufacturers, says :

“The terms of the Constitution are sufficiently large to embrace the power ; all nations have used it : the exercise of it was one of the very grounds on which the establishment of the Constitution was urged and vindicated. The argument, then, in its favor, would seem to be *absolutely irresistible* in this aspect.”

In 1 Cranch, 299, the Supreme Court, in reply to objections, say :

“Practice and acquiescence for a period of years, commencing with the organization of the Judiciary, afford an *irresistible* answer and fix the construction. It is a contemporary interpretation of the most forcible nature. This practical exposition is too strong and obstinate to be shaken or controlled.”

With such maxims universally acknowledged, it is evident that the understanding of the nation at the time, uniform practice since, and uninterrupted acquiescence by all parties, form one of the most obvious methods of determining with irresistible clearness the meaning of the Constitution, and one which all courts admit and respect. Indeed the constant and undisputed practice of the people may be considered a declaratory act passed by the law-making power itself, (the people,) determining what their own meaning and intention

was and is; and declaratory acts, says Coke, cannot be further explained or interpreted. 3 Reports, 31, a. Mr. Spooner, speaking of the Constitution, ridicules as "preposterous,"

"The pretence that the majority of the people of all the States either intended to establish, or *could have been induced to establish*, any other than a free one for the nation; or that they *believed* or understood that they were establishing any but a free one."—*p.* 126.

We confess this last statement made us pause. To argue that Slavery was not tolerated by the Constitution has been aptly considered by Edmund Quincy as "arguing the nose off of one's face," an illustration which the sentiment of Gouverneur Morris, taken for our motto, sanctions and might almost suggest. But it needs a much bolder man to maintain that the American people did not *believe* that Slavery was alluded to in the so-called pro-slavery clauses! We hardly know of a more daring flight of genius in the whole range of modern fiction than this. Archbishop Whately once framed an argument, in jest, to prove that Napoleon never existed. The attempt of Mr. Spooner here seems a counterpart to that, but then he is in earnest. Mr. Spooner tells us that:

"To suppose that the nation at large did not look upon the Constitution as destined to destroy Slavery, whenever its principles should be carried into full effect, is obviously to suppose an intellectual impossibility; for the instrument was plain, and the people had common sense; and those two facts cannot stand together consistently with the idea that there was any general, or even any considerable, misunderstanding of its meaning."—*p.* 126.

If, then, there could be no general *misunderstanding* of the meaning, what was *the* understanding? If we can get that, we shall, according to Mr. Spooner, have the *right* understanding of the instrument.

Throughout his book Mr. Spooner expends a great deal of very excellent indignation upon those who refer to the Madison Papers, and the Convention which met at Philadelphia, in 1787, to ascertain the meaning of the people. He tells us very truly that those men were employed merely to draft the Constitution. Their office was that of clerks. Still, their opinions are of value. But he mistakes the point. The Conventions referred to are those which met in the several States, and, *in the name of the people, adopted* the Instrument. Theirs were the hands which ratified, and theirs the voices which, meanwhile, explained the *sense in which* they rat-

ified and adopted the paper. Their opinions, therefore, are fair and legitimate evidence of the sense in which the Constitution was accepted. Very good evidence exists of the views they took on all the main points; and when they were all agreed, as they were on the Slave clauses, it is idle to say of a *contract*, like the Constitution, that the views of those that made it are to be thrown entirely out of notice.

But we can throw all these debates and the Federalist also aside, and yet furnish Mr. Spooner with abundant, aye, and legal, evidence what was the meaning attached to the chief pro-slavery clause in the Constitution by the people themselves: we mean that relating to the three-fifth slave basis; and whether he thinks it an "*intellectual impossibility*," or not, he will find that the meaning thus affixed to it was the same it has borne ever since, and everywhere, except in his pages.

This clause the reader will hereafter see, Mr. Spooner maintains has no relation or reference to the slaves.

Now, in 1789, the Constitution was launched. In 1790, the census was taken. In 1792, elections were held throughout the Union, for members of Congress.

If there was no understanding that the slaves were to be counted in a distinct manner, why were they kept carefully separate in that census? Why, in 1792, were the State numbers settled on the basis of reckoning only three-fifths of the slaves? The North he represents as ready to spurn any allusion to Slavery, and the South surely would not willingly be shorn of her strength, unless it were so "nominated in the bond." If neither party wished it, how was such an interpretation foisted upon the text? Again, why did *each voter go to the polls* and elect his candidate on *that basis*? *Every one is presumed to know the law*; and hence, while history tells us that every intelligent man did actually know how the Representatives were apportioned, the law presumes and holds every voter bound to know the same fact also, whether he did or not. In so far, then, as this clause is concerned, we have brought home to Congress, and to *every voter in 1792*, — *only four years after the Constitution was adopted*, — full and unequivocal knowledge that they understood it, as we ourselves and the nation do now. Let, then, Mr. Spooner explain this intellectual impossibility, "for the Instrument was plain, and the people had common sense, and those

two facts cannot stand together consistently with the idea that there was any *general*, or even any *considerable, misunderstanding* of its meaning!"

If human ingenuity had been tasked to imagine a practicable method of proving, after the lapse of half a century, how any public document had been understood by the *nation at large*, it could not have devised one more complete and perfect than this.

The same may be said of the fugitive slave clause. We know that from 1791, downward, cases were frequently occurring under it, in various parts of the country; yet no one ever denied, till now, that the clause was meant to apply to such cases. Even the stout old Vermont Judge, who asked, in 1807, for a bill of sale from God Almighty, before he would consider the proof "sufficient," could not deny the meaning of the bond. Here, again, is one of those "intellectual impossibilities," of which Mr. Spooner's view is fruitful.

The reader will excuse us for detaining him by an attempt to show that the pro-slavery clauses, above quoted, were understood as pro-slavery by the people. It is as much waste of time as to heap up proof that the sun shines, or that water will run down hill.

We very readily agree that there was a prevailing opinion,—which time has shown to have been a mistaken one,—that the abolition of the Slave-trade would *ultimately* put an end to Slavery. There is no evidence of any general expectation that the Constitution would have any influence *otherwise* in producing such a result. Such being the general idea, how far, *in the mean time*, they thought it right to tolerate it, is quite another question. Pennsylvania, in her noble statute of 1780, proposed and achieved an *ultimate* emancipation; but she guaranteed to the master, meanwhile, the right of property in the slaves he then had. Gradualism was the creed of that day. No one dreamed of meddling with the master's hold over the slaves then living. If we place ourselves in their position, there is nothing that need surprise us in the thirteen States, (twelve of which still held slaves,) agreeing to base their representative system on Slavery, to aid each other against a slave insurrection, and to return fugitives. They expected,—perhaps they wished, still, that Slavery should cease, but thought these measures not wrong in the meantime, and no hindrance to its ceasing. Time has shown they were mistaken. But that mistake does not

free their children from the agreements made under it, foolish and wicked as time has shown them to be, and none the less so because the makers may have thought them harmless and right. Fire will consume, spite of foolish men's thinking that they may handle hot coals and not be burnt. The only way their sons can free themselves, is to disown their fathers' act, the Constitution itself. The only path to such release is *over* the Constitution, trampling it under foot; not *under* it, trying to evade its fair meaning.

The reader will observe that we have all along looked at the Constitution in the light of a statute, or simple contract, and applied the technical rules usual in such cases. This has been done because we are willing to meet Mr. Spooner on his own ground, and think that even there, his argument has no solid footing. But in strict truth, the Constitution ought not so to be viewed. Its character is peculiar. It is not so much a statute as a great national event, and is to be interpreted not by technical rules, but by liberal reference to the history of the times, the circumstances which produced it, the great parties and interests represented in it, and the national objects it has in view. It was meant for the hands of the statesman, not for the quibbling distinctions of the mere lawyer. As such it has always been approached. If here we omit this view, it is not because we do not sincerely entertain it, but solely in order to follow our author, and, taking his own principles for granted, to show him that the result is just as much in our favor as it would be on every other possible basis.

THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF.

RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

WE pass to the next point of Mr. Spooner's argument, that the Constitution of the United States, legally interpreted, does not recognize or sanction Slavery. He considers himself to have proved:

"That the Constitution of the United States not only does not recognize or sanction Slavery, as a legal institution, but that, on the contrary, it presumes all men to be free; that it positively denies the right of property in man; and that it, *of itself*, makes it impossible for Slavery to have a legal existence in *any* of the United States."— *pp.* 56, 57.

What, then, are the legal rules by which the Constitution is to be interpreted? The following are those selected by Mr. Spooner, and upon these he bases his argument:

1st. The language of C. J. Marshall, in *Ogden vs. Saunders*; (12 Wheaton, 332;) where he said that, in construing the Constitution:

“The intention of the Instrument must prevail; that this intention must be collected from its words; that its words are to be understood in that sense in which they are *generally used* by those for whom the Instrument was intended; that its provisions are neither to be restricted into insignificance, nor extended to objects not comprehended in them, nor contemplated by its framers.”

2d. The rule laid down by the Supreme Court in 2 Cranch, 390. Here Mr. Spooner has, rightly enough, quoted but a single sentence. We prefer, however, to give the entire paragraph, that the reader may have before him the *whole* doctrine, as the Court laid it down. The sentence quoted and relied upon by Mr. Spooner is the second, which, for distinction, we have included in brackets:

“That the consequences are to be considered in expounding laws, where the intent is doubtful, is a principle not to be controverted; but it is also true that it is a principle which must be applied with caution, and which has a degree of influence dependent on the nature of the case to which it is applied. [Where rights are infringed, where fundamental principles are overthrown, where the general system of the laws* is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness, to induce a Court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects.] But where only a political regulation is made, which is inconvenient, if the intention of the Legislature be expressed in terms which are sufficiently intelligible to leave no doubt in the mind when the words are taken in their ordinary sense, it would be going a great way to say, that a constrained interpretation must be put on them to avoid an inconvenience which ought to have been contemplated in the Legislature when the act was passed, and which, in their opinion, was probably overbalanced by the particular advantages it was calculated to produce.”

This latter rule is explained by Mr. Spooner to amount to this:—(p. 62.)

* Mr. Spooner has, inadvertently, printed this “the general system of the law.” The language used by the Court is, “the general system of the *laws*,” which conveys a slightly different meaning. The first might refer to the general system of law, as a science; the last form, that used by the Court, clearly relates to the general spirit of *the laws of this nation*, which is quite a different thing.

“That where words are susceptible of two meanings, one consistent, and the other inconsistent, with justice and natural right, that meaning, and *only that* meaning, which is consistent with right, shall be attributed to them — unless other parts of the Instrument overrule that interpretation.”

And that, in order to sanction anything contrary to natural right, the terms must be “plenary, express, distinct, unequivocal,” (p. 59,) and must need no “extraneous or historical evidence to fix upon them their immoral meaning,” (p. 62.)

We shall defer our criticism on this *explanation* to a future time, and granting Mr. Spooner, for the present, all he asks, proceed to consider the argument he has erected upon this basis. We will first, however, remind the reader of two other rules, which Mr. Spooner will not dispute, so universally recognized as not to need proof, but which will be found in the places named.

1st. “Every word in the Constitution is to be expounded in its *plain, obvious, and common sense*, unless the context furnishes some ground to control, qualify, or enlarge it. If a word has a technical and a common sense, the latter is to be preferred, unless some attendant circumstance points clearly to the former.”

Story’s Comm., 1. 436, 438. C. J. Marshall, 9 Wheaton, 188. 12 Wheaton, 332. 1 Brock, 423. Dwarria, 702. Kent’s Comm., 1. 462. Chitty on Contracts, 81. Blackstone, 1. 60. Federalist, 83.

In 4 Wheaton, 202, Chief Justice Marshall, speaking of a “departure from the obvious meaning of words,” says — and the remark may be considered as an EXPLANATION BY THE COURT ITSELF, of the rule as to *irresistible clearness*, above cited by Mr. Spooner : —

“If in any case the *plain meaning* of a provision, not contradicted by any other provision in the same Instrument, is to be disregarded, because we believe the framers of that Instrument could not intend what they say, it must be one in which the absurdity and injustice of applying the provision to the case would be so monstrous that all mankind would, without hesitation, unite in rejecting the application.”

2d. Every word must be made to have some meaning. — *Chitty on Contracts*, — *Blackstone*, 2. 380, — *Bacon’s Abridgment*, *Statute*, — 1 *Cranch*, 174, — 12 Wheaton, 147.

THREE-FIFTHS REPRESENTATION — SLAVE BASIS.

IN the light of these rules let us open the Constitution. The first clause we meet is as follows : (Art. 1, Sec. 2.)

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of FREE persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand ; but each State shall have at least one Representative : and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.”

Upon this Mr. Spooner remarks :

“The argument claimed from this clause, in support of Slavery, rests entirely upon the word ‘free,’ and the words ‘all other persons.’ Or rather, it rests entirely upon the meaning of the word ‘free,’ for the application of the words ‘all other persons’ depends upon the meaning given to the word ‘free.’ The slave argument *assumes, gratuitously*, that the word ‘free’ is used as the correlative of Slavery, and thence it infers that the words, ‘all other persons,’ mean slaves.”—p. 73.

He then proceeds to argue that the clause has no relation or reference to slaves ; that to suppose it to have, subjects us to all sorts of “difficulties, inconsistencies, contradictions, and absurdities,” but he assures us that these will all vanish if, with him, we hold that :

“The word ‘free’ describes the native and naturalized citizens of the United States, and the words ‘all other persons’ describe resident aliens, ‘Indians not taxed,’ and possibly some others.”—p. 78.

Mr. Spooner nowhere denies that the “*plain, obvious and common*” use of the word “free” is to designate one not a slave : and he allows that if it be so interpreted here, the Constitution must be confessed to recognize Slavery. But he informs us that the word has also a technical legal meaning, designating a person in any

community, who is invested with peculiar privileges, &c., and so might describe a citizen as distinguished from an alien. This is true. He asks us to pass by the plain, obvious, and common meaning, and adopt this technical one, in accordance with his rule above quoted, that where words are capable of two meanings, the one consistent with justice, is to be preferred to that which is not so. Now, here the Court is in a dilemma. We bow to his rule; we are anxious to construe this clause so as to defeat injustice and sustain the right. But while, on the one side, *he* tells us that by adopting the obvious meaning of the word "free," we shall recognize Slavery, — Mr. Gerrit Smith and other tender consciences, intreat us to hold that this word "free" does exclude slaves, and that hence the clause allows only three-fifths of such to be represented; assuring us that this arrangement is "a bounty on liberty, and an attempt to promote the Anti-Slavery cause." — (Smith, to Whittier.)

Besides, we know that the clause, in our sense, was reluctantly submitted to by the South, as an unfair abridgement of their rights, and exulted in at the North, as a just rebuke of a bad system. This, therefore, cannot be a case "so monstrous" that, in the language of Marshall, "all mankind would, *without hesitation*, unite in rejecting the application." It rather resembles one of those "political inconveniences," referred to in the citation from Cranch, with whose *results* Courts have nothing to do.

Again, Mr. Spooner and his friends, object to our construction as working injustice, because the master now votes (practically) for three-fifths of his slaves. Suppose the Court adopts *his* interpretation. The master will then get *all* his slaves counted instead of three-fifths of them! The Court cannot see how that result will much aid the cause of justice. We cannot oblige Carolina to allow her slaves to vote, no, not even if they should be emancipated. If the Constitution considers the slaves property, then it recognizes Slavery. If, as Mr. Spooner asserts, it does not recognize Slavery, then it must, as he all along allows, consider the slave a person. The slaves being persons, they *must be included* either among "free persons," or among "three fifths of all *other* persons." The last is the old pro-slavery construction. If, on the other hand, Mr. Spooner, or any one else, shall so construe "free persons," as to include the slaves, the only result of this new interpretation will be to *in-*

crease the political weight of the slaveholders by just two-fifths of their slaves! The Court thinks it better, *in this view*, to adhere to the *obvious* meaning of the clause. It acknowledges that the clause is bad, as now interpreted, but the proposed change only makes it "TWO-FIFTHS" worse. The Court will cheerfully go out of its track and adopt a strained construction to subserve justice, but never will do so, when the only result of such "departure from the plain and obvious meaning" is, to strengthen the hand of the tyrant. Mr. Spooner's rule, therefore of preferring the righteous to the unrighteous meaning of ambiguous words, does not apply here. Unhappily no *choice* is left us, and we must adhere to the *obvious* meaning, which leaves the Constitution pro-slavery.*

But though Mr. Spooner does not deny that this use of the word "free" is the plain, obvious, and common one, he yet maintains that the word had, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, obtained a fixed and well-known usage, in the law, in his sense. He says :

"Up to the time of our revolution, the *only* meaning which the words 'free' and 'freemen' had, in the English law, in the *charters granted to the colonies*, and in the important documents of a political character, when used to designate one person as distinguished from another, was to designate a person enjoying some franchise or privilege, as distinguished from aliens or persons not enjoying a similar franchise. They were never used to designate a free person as distinguished from a slave — for the very sufficient reason that all these *fundamental* laws presumed that there were no slaves." — p. 48.

"But throughout the English law, and among all the variety of ways, in which the word 'free' and 'freemen' are used, as *legal* terms, they are *never used as the correlatives or opposites of slaves or Slavery* — and for the reason that they have in England no such persons or institutions, known to their laws, as slaves or Slavery." — p. 46.

"The English law had for centuries used the word 'free' as describing persons possessing citizenship, or some other franchise or peculiar privilege — as distinguished from aliens, and persons not possessed of such franchise

* The only possible reply to this argument is that the Supreme Court will first *free* the slaves, and then this bad result will not follow from the new interpretation. Of course if the slaves are freed, Mr. Spooner may construe the Constitution as he pleases. That Judges have no power to emancipate under the general principles of law, we think we have already proved; — that the Constitution gives them no such power, we shall show further on. Unless they have it, in one way or another, the above argument seems irresistible.

or privilege. This law, and this use of the word 'free,' as has already been shown, (Ch. 6.) had been adopted in this country from its first settlement. The colonial charters all (probably without an exception) recognized it. The colonial legislation generally, if not universally, recognized it. The State Constitutions, in existence at the time the Constitution of the United States was formed and adopted, used the word in this sense, *and no other.*" — p. 74.

The above italics are Mr. Spooner's.

We might allow this, and still remind Mr. Spooner that all jurists and statesmen have held the Constitution to be a popular instrument, — intended for the people at large, and hence that all words are to be taken in their obvious and general sense, unless something in the context requires a technical one: and such is this which he suggests.

But the statements above quoted are entirely unfounded in fact. "The words free and freeman never used in English law to designate a free person as distinguished from a slave!" Open Jacobs' Law Dictionary, a book of good authority, and choose the edition of 1772, which the makers of the Constitution might have used, and we read, "*Freeman, — liber homo, is one distinguished from a slave, that is born or made free.*" This is the *first* clause of the definition. In his citation from Jacobs, Mr. Spooner has omitted it, and quoted only what follows; see his 45th page.

Unroll the parchment of Magna Charta; its most famous clause begins, "*Nullus liber homo,*" (*no free man,*) which Coke tells us (2 Inst. 45.) "extends to villeins saving against their lords, for they are *free* against all men, saving against their lord."

Villeins, Coke tells us, were *servi*, (slaves,) and he deduces their origin from Ham, as men do our present Slavery. This is the system of Slavery which the Common Law allowed and recognized, though Messrs. Spooner and Goodell will have it that the Common Law never allowed Slavery. The words "free and freeman" in the sense of not a slave, occur frequently, both in Littleton and Coke. We take a few instances:

"No tenure shall ever make a *freeman* villeine." — *Coke Litt. s. 172.*

"If a freeman take lands to hold by villein service, this maketh not the *freeman* a villeine." — *Ib. s. 174.*

"If a freeman hath divers issues (*children*) and afterwards confesseth himself to be a villeine in a court of record, yet those issues, which he hath before the confession are *free*; the issues after shall be villeines." — *Ib. s. 176.*

In the year 1514, Henry the VIII. manumitted two of his villeins in the following deed, the first words of which are wonderfully like those of our Declaration and our State Constitutions:

“Whereas God created all men *free*, but afterwards the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude, we think it pious and meritorious with God to manumit,” &c., &c. — *Barrington's Stat. 2d ed.* 249.

Again; Blackstone tells us (2. 104,) that the old definition, by Britton, of a *freehold* estate in land, as distinguished from other tenures, was, “the possession of the soil by a *freeman*.” Now as aliens cannot hold land in England, this definition is nonsense, if we interpret the word “freeman” in Mr. Spooner’s sense, one not an alien. But interpreted as the writer and Blackstone meant it to signify, one not a villein or slave, it rightly distinguishes this kind of estate from copyhold and base tenures.

We might adduce other instances; but here are enough to test Mr. Spooner’s assertion that these words are *never* used in the English law as opposed to slave and slavery.

Let us come to our own side of the ocean. “Every public document previous to the Revolution, and every State Constitution in America at the time of the adoption of the United States Constitution, used these words in his sense *and no other*,” says Mr. Spooner. Let us see. The United States Constitution was adopted in 1787.

The Declaration of Independence, 1776, says, “A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a *free* people.”

In March, 1776, South Carolina adopted her first Constitution, and declared that the “claims of Parliament would reduce them from the rank of *freemen* to the most abject *slavery*,” and that “Governors, &c., have proclaimed *freedom* to servants and slaves, and armed them against their masters.”

In 1776, Virginia adopted her Constitution, declaring “that all men are by nature equally *free* and independent.”

Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1776: “All men are born equally *free* and independent.”

Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780: “All men are born *free* and equal.” These words are held to have abolished Slavery

in the Commonwealth, and, Dr. Belknap says, were inserted for that special purpose.

Constitution of New Hampshire, 1783: "All men are born equally *free* and independent;" words which, Dr. Belknap tells us, freed all slaves *born there after* that date.—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4. 204.

The great Anti-Slavery Statute of Pennsylvania, in 1780, has this clause: "No man or woman, except the negroes and mulattoes registered as aforesaid, shall be held as slaves or servants for life, but as *free men* and *free women*."

In 1784, Connecticut enacted that no negro or mulatto child born in the State after 1st of March, 1784, should be held in servitude longer than till the age of twenty-five years, "but such child, at the age aforesaid, shall be *free*."

To fix the meaning of a word in the Constitution of thirteen United States, it is fair to consult the laws of all. As, in interpreting a treaty, it is usual to explain the meaning of the terms used, by reference to the laws of both the contracting nations. (See the *Amistad Case*.) But if we open the Statute Books of any of the States, we shall find the words "free and freemen" used almost every year in contradistinction from slaves; and, of course, more frequently, the further South we go in our search. Indeed, it is ludicrous to say of the legislation of thirteen States, *all of which had held slaves till within seven years, and twelve of which still held them, in 1787*, that they did not use the word "free" to distinguish those persons not slaves. They could not have framed their Statutes, without the use of such a word.

It matters not whether we consider these Slave Laws valid or void; they are, at least, in either case, good evidence of the common meaning, at that time, of the words used in them.

With these facts, we leave the reader to rate, at its true value, this assertion of Mr. Spooner's, as to the use of the word "free," in the public documents and Constitutions of these States, in his sense and no OTHER.

But let us look again at the clause itself, and see, from the context, whether we can, without making nonsense of the whole, allow the word "free" to have any meaning but the one usually given it, *i. e.*, not enslaved. For it is a rule alike of law and common sense, that law-makers must be supposed to mean something, and

that any construction which makes words superfluous or insignificant, or the whole clause foolish, is not to be admitted. And Mr. Spooner himself allows, (p. 62,) as above quoted, that the wicked meaning must be adopted, if the "other parts of the instrument" (the context) require it.

1st. "By adding to the whole number of *free* persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

So says the Constitution. If "free persons" is taken to mean persons at liberty — persons not bound to servitude, we see at once the propriety of the law-makers giving an express direction to include, among such, those "bound to service for a term of years" only, if they wished so to distinguish their case. Had this been omitted, some might have argued, that, strictly speaking, such were not *free persons*. Hence the necessity of this special direction. But on Mr. Spooner's interpretation of "free persons," meaning all native born citizens, where is the necessity of giving any such direction? Nobody ever dreamt that being bound apprentice destroyed a man's citizenship! They would naturally have been included among *his free persons*, without any special direction. The careful insertion of this parenthesis proves that Mr. Spooner's notion was not in the mind of the writer.

2d. Again; "excluding Indians not taxed." Chief Justice Marshall says (12 Wheaton, 438,) that :

"It is a rule of interpretation, to which all assent, that the *exception* of a particular thing from general words proves that, in the opinion of the law-giver, the thing excepted would be within the general clause, had the exception not been made," and that this is "applicable to the Constitution."

Apply this rule, and it proves our construction correct, and Mr. Spooner's unsound. With our view of the meaning of "free persons," Indians being *persons*, and also *free*, (not enslaved,) would naturally be included, unless, as here, there was special direction given to exclude them. But, on Mr. Spooner's hypothesis, why insert any caution when there was no danger of mistake? A few civilized Indians had joined the whites, and *been taxed*, and were sometimes considered to resemble *citizens*, though that is still a disputed point. But it had never entered the wildest imagination to consider the roving, *untaxed* tribes as native *citizens* of the

States, any more than now the dwellers on the Rocky Mountains would be considered citizens of the United States. This, again, shows his view to be incorrect. (See Judge Marshall, in the *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 5 Peters 1, allowing that Indians are foreigners, aliens.)

3d. "Other persons" Mr. Spooner defines to be aliens and "Indians not taxed." These last cannot be included, because, 1st. The grammatical construction of the sentence forbids it. They are to be "other" than *free*, other than those "*bound to service*," and other than *Indians*. 2d. According to the well-known rule of law which bids us interpret doubtful clauses in any law by referring to the same words in other laws, of the same nation, on the same subject, (see Kent, I. 463. Lord Mansfield, 1 Burr, 447. Blackstone, I. 60. Dwarris, 699. Bacon's Ab. Statute,) we must construe this by the old Resolve from which it is copied, passed by the Continental Congress, 18th April, 1783, that "expenses should be paid by the several States in proportion to the whole number of white and other free inhabitants, of every age, sex, and condition, including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three-fifths of all *other persons*, not comprehended in the foregoing description, *except Indians*, not paying taxes, in each State. (Story's Comm. 2. 112.) 3d. Why should States agree to pay direct taxes for even three-fifths of those from whom they were not themselves getting any tax or gain? The same reason, — that they were not taxed, — which excluded Indians from the list of "free persons," would exclude them, also, from the three-fifth portion of the basis. If this be so, then,

4th. Aliens are the only ones left to be included among "other persons," on Mr. Spooner's plan. Now *there never yet was a State which took any special account of aliens in fixing its basis of representation*. Again, the reason why three-fifths, only, of a certain class, was allowed to be reckoned, was evidently because it was supposed that class would be *unequally distributed* through the Union, and a portion of it, only, was reckoned to restore the balance. If of this class (whichever it was) all the States had had equal portions, it would manifestly be indifferent whether all of it was counted or none. Now the slaves answer to this description, and make the provision a sensible and intelligible one. But aliens do not. All the States were on or near the seaboard; they had

all enough land to spare, and held out different, but about equal, advantages to immigrants. All were anxious to get such, and regarded the arrival of foreigners, bringing with them, as they did, always labor, and often capital, as a real blessing, — witness the debates of that day, — so much of a gain that they would gladly have paid, and would have been considered, by their sister States, as bound and able to pay, full tax for them, instead of being let off with three-fifths. The provision becomes, therefore, on Mr. Spooner's hypothesis, absurd; and hence the interpretation is not to be admitted. Or, as the States expected about *equal* increase from this quarter, it would be inoperative and void — which again renders the construction legally inadmissible.

But the consideration that conclusively shows Mr. Spooner's hypothesis to be untenable is the construction put upon this clause by the Constitution itself. The latter part of the clause *fixes the first apportionment of representatives*. We can examine that scale and test the whole matter, seeing which interpretation comports with the numbers there set down.

Referring to that, the reader will find that New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, then considered as free States, were allowed, *by the Constitution itself*, thirty-five Representatives. Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, the slave States, were allowed thirty Representatives. Now we have no exact census to refer to; there was none. The *data* probably used to estimate these numbers were the same with those by which the old Congress apportioned taxes under the Resolve above cited. (See Journal of Congress, Sept. 27, 1785, and elsewhere.) As the above numbers conform generally to the ratio there used, which was *confessedly* calculated on the basis of reckoning *three-fifths of the slaves*, it proves that the *same rule was followed here*, and so settle the question.

If Mr. Spooner dislikes this method of proof we can give him a different one. Let us refer to the nearest official census, that of 1790, taken only three years after. The above named free States had then 1,968,455 inhabitants. The slave States had 1,303,845 free inhabitants, and 657,527 slaves. If the reader will go over the calculation he will find that on the basis of reckoning three-fifths of the slaves, the number of Representatives (35 and 30) given to each

grand division is as exact as could *possibly* be. On Mr. Spooner's plan, being equal in absolute numbers (1,968,455, to 1,961,372) they should have been equal also in the number of their Representatives.

Again; take separate States, where to be sure there would be more chance of error than in a general survey. Still, making due allowance for such mistakes, unavoidable before any general census had ever been made, we find evidence of the same rule being observed. Select the old and best known States, about which there would be least probability of error. Take first two free States. Compare Pennsylvania—434,000 inhabitants—with Massachusetts,—then including Maine, 475,000. About equal in population, they have, as we should anticipate, an equal number of Representatives, *eight*, assigned to each. Compare Virginia,—then including Kentucky, 821,000—with North Carolina,—then including Tennessee, 429,000—the first nearly double the last, and their Representatives preserving the same ratio, 10 to 5. Now compare a free and a slave State; Pennsylvania, (434,000,) with North Carolina, (429,000,) about equal in population, the first is allowed *eight*, and the last only *five* Representatives. How is this to be explained on the “alien” hypothesis? Again, compare Pennsylvania, (434,000,) with Virginia, (821,000); the last nearly double of the first, but not as was the case in comparing her with North Carolina, allowed double the number of Representatives; no, she has only *ten* to Pennsylvania's *eight*. How is this to be explained on the alien hypothesis?

If we allow Mr. Spooner to include three-fifths of the Indians among “other persons,” their numbers are not sufficient to explain this difficulty. Their whole number in all the thirteen States was supposed to be only 30,000. (See Jefferson's Notes. Holmes's Annals. North American Review.)

And at the time this first apportionment was made there were, according to Mr. Spooner's own admission, (pp. 56, 100, &c.) absolutely *no aliens* at all to be counted in any way; as he says the Constitution made citizens of all persons then residing in the country. This makes these differences of numbers still more inexplicable on his plan.

But now glance along the census and observe how many of the swelling numbers of the Old Dominion are marked “*slaves*,” and then reckon only three-fifths of those—and the whole riddle is solved. So too of North Carolina.

We have made the above calculations on the official census of 1790. But if we recur to the estimates which *might* have been, and probably were, in the hands of the Convention, the result is the same. For instance — Massachusetts, by her private census of 1784, contained 357,510 inhabitants. Virginia never had a census, but by Jefferson's calculation from accurate data, made in 1782, she had at that time 567,614 inhabitants, viz : — 296,852 free, and 270,762 slaves, (Notes, p. 126, &c.) Now according to these numbers, on Mr. Spooner's plan, if Massachusetts had eight Representatives, Virginia should have had thirteen. On our plan she should have had, *as she did*, just ten.

Mr. Spooner's hypothesis, then, if admitted, proves that the Constitution did not understand itself! He does not deny that the words are *capable* of bearing the common pro-slavery construction; they are then "*plenary*," as he demands, words should be to make a wicked law valid. Taking the above considerations into view, they are seen to be "*express, explicit, distinct and unequivocal*," and any Court must hold the meaning, wicked as it is, to be expressed with "*irresistible clearness*."

Thus granting Mr. Spooner all the principles of construction, he asks, and allowing also that the word "free" is susceptible of two meanings, we have still shown —

1st. That to adopt the most unusual meaning does not get rid of the injustice of the old interpretation, but only *increases* it, — consequently his rule of preferring a righteous to an unrighteous meaning does not apply here.

2d. That the context will not allow any meaning but the usual one to be given to this word without making nonsense of the whole clause. Even then if his rule does apply, we have brought the case within the *exception* stated by Mr. Spooner in the sentence above quoted from his 62d page; that the righteous meaning must be given up and the unrighteous one adopted, however reluctantly, when "*the other parts of the Instrument require it*."

In addition to the argument on the word "free," Mr. Spooner makes but three points.

1st. That there was no Slavery in the States to which our meaning can apply. This falls under our third division and will be fully considered then.

2d. He says: "It is very evident that the word 'free' is not used as the correlative of Slavery, because 'Indians not taxed' are 'excluded' from it application, yet they are not, therefore, slaves." — *p.* 74.

This is a strange mistake on his part. The inference here is precisely the other way. Indians are *specially* "excluded," *because* they are "free," and not slaves, and would *naturally* have been reckoned with free persons; hence the necessity, as it was not designed to include them, to insert a precise direction.

3d. The difficulty of ascertaining who are free and who slaves. He says the Government, on our plan, have no legal information, and are obliged to depend on varying State laws. Very true; this is often the case in other matters, and furnishes no objection to our interpretation. In this very section of the Constitution, the electors of Representatives in each State, are to be those who are "electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." Congress, therefore, in ascertaining whether its own members are chosen, has to depend on the laws of the States, which may be, and are, different in different States, and may be changed every year. Beside, it is as easy to find legal evidence that a man is or is not a slave, as that he is or is not an Indian, an apprentice, or an alien. These three things are to be proved even on Mr. Spooner's plan, and he must go out of the Constitution to prove them, to family Bibles, to private indentures, to actual inspection. Proving slavery is just the same, and just as easy.

But even if any special "inconveniences" would result, they are not to be considered by a Court when the language is clear and the intention plain. See our quotation above, from 2 Cranch, 390 — 9 Cr. 203 ; Dwaris, &c., &c. — 10 Mod. 344; Mr. Justice Coleridge, 6 A. & E. 7.

So far we have taken for granted all the explanations which Mr. Spooner has given of these legal rules. Under another head we shall offer some criticisms on those explanations. And here we would remind the reader, that while Mr. Spooner does not sustain his hypothesis unless he shows *every* clause in the Constitution to be pure and Anti-Slavery, — our making out that any *single one* recognizes the institution, as fully destroys his argument, as if we proved a dozen to be in that predicament.

SPOONER'S RULES EXAMINED.

IN our criticism of the Constitution we have proceeded thus far on the plan of allowing Mr. Spooner to explain the rules of law in his own way, and to extend them as far as he pleases. Let us now pause a moment, and see whether any legal decisions or principles sustain him to the full extent of the rules he lays down. These are, (p. 62,)

1st. "Where words are susceptible of two meanings, one consistent, and the other inconsistent, with justice and natural right, that meaning, and *only that meaning*, which is consistent with right shall be attributed to them — unless other parts of the instrument overrule that interpretation.

2d. "Another rule is, that no *extraneous or historical evidence* shall be admitted to fix upon a statute an unjust or immoral meaning, when the words themselves of the act are susceptible of an innocent one."

The only authority he adduces in support of these is the following sentence from 2 Cranch, 390 :

"Where rights are infringed, where fundamental principles are overthrown, where the general system of the laws is departed from, the legislative intention must be expressed with *irresistible clearness*, to induce a Court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects."

In the first place it must be remembered that this language is used by the Court in reference to common laws ; — and it must, therefore, be applied with some caution to a case so different as that of a National Constitution. The United States Constitution is an act of the whole people, undertaking to settle what shall be "the fundamental principles" and "the general system of the laws" for this Nation. It stands alone, and is to be expounded according to its natural meaning ; — other laws are to be tested by it ; but, springing from the immediate act of the sovereign people, it is itself above all such tests.

Further, we see nothing here which supports the second rule laid down by Mr. Spooner. The Court hold that "the intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness," but say nothing of the *means* by which they will arrive at such irresistible certainty as to the intention of the legislator, whether they shall be exclusively *internal* or not. Elsewhere he cites the language of Marshall, — "The inten-

tion is to be collected from the words." — (12 Wheaton, 332.) But neither does this support Mr. Spooner's second rule, for it is evident from all the other decisions of the Chief Justice, that where words are ambiguous, and admit of a construction more or less extended, the extent of the power is to be fixed by considering the general objects of the Constitution, the practice under it, and the historical evidence of the meaning. In all his great decisions he *constantly* refers to the history and institutions of the country. He does so in the very case from which these words are cited. Also at length in 4 Wheaton, 122; 6 Wheaton, 264; 9 Wheaton, 1; 12 Wheaton, 419. In these cases the Chief Justice refers to the history of the times, — the state of the country, — the objects of the Constitution, as apparent from history, — the purpose for which the Judiciary was erected, — the experience of the Confederation, &c., &c. Our limits do not permit us to give the long extracts which illustrate these points. In 9 Wheaton, 1, he says :

"We know of no rule for construing the extent of such powers, other than is given by the language of the instrument which confers them, taken in connection with the purposes for which they were conferred."

Speaking of an ordinary statute, he says, 12 Wheaton, 151 :

"There is always difficulty in extending the operation of words beyond their plain import; but the *cardinal* rule of construction is, that, where any doubt exists, the intent of the legislature, if it can be plainly perceived, ought to be pursued."

Let the reader refer, on this point, to the authorities cited under the head, "Intentions of the people;" especially to that from 3 Howard, 24. In the whole course of the Supreme Court decisions, we know of no such rule as this second one of Mr. Spooner's. In the whole of Judge Story's chapter on rules of interpretation, (Comm. Bk. 111. c. V.) where he has grouped together all the decisions of the Supreme Court on this point, there is no allusion to any such principle. On the contrary, Story lays it down that "a power granted in general terms, is to be *co-extensive* with the terms unless some clear restriction on it is deducible from the *context*." "Arguments from impolicy or inconvenience ought to have no weight; they are an unsafe guide; men differ, and times differ," &c., &c. And again; "The *causes* which led to the enactment of a law are often

the best exponents of its words." — Comm. 1. 384, 407, 410. That the same rule prevails in England is shown by our previous extracts. In 8 Bingh. 181, also, Chief Justice Tindal said :

"If the words of an instrument be ambiguous, the Court will call in aid the *acts done* under it, as a clue to the intention of the parties." — See *Dwarris*, 696. 1 *Kent*, 462.

So far is it from being a rule that extraneous evidence is not admissible to aid us in getting at the meaning of a statute, that Lord Coke in laying down the rules, to which all writers since have assented, expressly bids us to have recourse to it. He tells us, 3 Rep. 7, that in order to construe a statute truly, the Judges held four things necessary to be understood and considered: 1. What the Common Law was before the statute was made. 2. What the mischief was for which the Common Law had not provided. 3. What remedy the Parliament hath resolved and appointed to cure the mischief. 4. The true reason of the remedy. What is all this but a recurrence to the condition and public opinion of the country at the time a Law is made?

Indeed, as we have remarked before, reference to the institutions of the country and its history is one of the means the Courts use to determine, with *irresistible clearness*, the meaning of statutes.

Any other principle would lead to innumerable absurdities. We will adduce one or two.

The Constitution makes every "natural born citizen" eligible to the office of President. Now, women are citizens. Are they eligible? Here is a case precisely within Mr. Spooner's rules; the words are susceptible of a meaning consistent with natural justice; in which case he says, "that meaning, *and only that* meaning, is to be adopted."

Rutherforth (Natural Law, a work of high authority,) admits that antecedent to some *especial* "compact," women have the same "natural right" as men, to act, vote, &c., as members of civil society. — p. 288. We know, also, that taxation and representation, on American theory, ought to go together — and women are taxed; this forms another reason for allowing them a participation in the honors and authority of office. Plainly, then, according to Mr. Spooner's rules, women are eligible to the Presidency. But it is just as plain that this is not law, nor the meaning of the Constitu-

tion ; and that the Supreme Court would be justified in referring to the history and customs of the country, and of the race and class of nations to which we belong, in so construing this clause.

Mr. Spooner has foreseen this absurd consequence of his rules, and unwilling to follow them to their natural result, has endeavored to guard against it, by pointing out that the Constitution, in speaking of the President, always uses the masculine gender. But this argument proves too much. It would shut women out of the protection of almost all Constitutional provisions. For instance, "no person shall be compelled to be a witness against HIMSELF, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law;" "the accused shall enjoy the right to be confronted with the witnesses against HIM," "to have counsel for HIS defence." "A person charged with crime, shall be delivered up on demand of the State from which HE fled." Here and elsewhere the masculine gender only is used, but are women not included? It is a principle of law too well known for Mr. Spooner to have overlooked it, that in statutes the masculine gender includes both sexes. See Coke, 2 Inst. 45. Chitty's Contracts. Dwarries, 713.

If, instead of legal rules, we refer only to general and popular usage, the same is true. "HE that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and HE that believeth not shall be damned," has always been *supposed* to apply as much to women as to men.

In a previous notice we pointed this out to Mr. Spooner — and in his second edition he tries to avoid this absurd result of his principles, by pretending that where an office filled by a single individual is spoken of, the masculine gender would not include women. But this ingenious evasion cannot avail him. In English statutes and maxims it is quite general to use only the masculine gender, — "the King," "*his* Majesty," — and yet such laws and maxims would be equally binding and valid under a Queen. Still this is an office filled by a single individual.

But further, the office of President is not the only part of the Constitution to which our argument will apply. It relates just as well to Senators and Representatives, — which are not cases of offices filled by *single individuals*.

In this case, therefore, if we construe the Constitution according to Mr. Spooner's rules, women are constitutionally eligible to the Presidency and to Congress; nothing but "extraneous and his-

torical evidence" shields us from this result. As Mr. Spooner does not allow of this when it will fix upon a clause any meaning contrary to "natural right," he is bound to hold that women may now *legally* fill these offices, or to give up his rules, and more especially, his second one.

So Congress has the power to "define and *punish* piracy."

Suppose the Anti-Capital Punishment party should increase, and insist that "to punish" may mean to imprison — does not necessarily refer to CAPITAL punishment — that this last is "inconsistent with natural right;" — hence, "as an innocent meaning, *and no other*, must, if possible, be affixed to the Constitution," the Supreme Court are bound to decide that the Constitution does not give Congress power to punish pirates with death. This would be legitimate on Mr. Spooner's rule, but would it not be absurd? Ought not that Court to inquire what were the ideas and laws of 1789 on the subject, and if, "on this extraneous and historical evidence," they found that capital punishment was not then deemed wrong, ought they not to consider this "as irresistible clearness of expression," and to hold the construction innocent and admissible? The same may be said of Slavery.

The Constitution says, "the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be suspended." Recurring to common law, we find what this technical term means. But *which* writ of *Habeas Corpus* is referred to? There happen to be five or six of them. It is only "extraneous and historical evidence" that tells us how vital to liberty *one* of these writs is considered, and hence enables us to decide that this is the one meant.

Again; "where words are susceptible of two meanings, one consistent and the other inconsistent *with justice and natural right*," &c.

Mr. Spooner may say, "True historical evidence is admitted in common cases, *but not* where the question is between a righteous and an unrighteous meaning." We reply, the idea of such a distinction, as far as our Constitution is concerned, is denied by Story, see I. 410 and I Wheaton, 347. But suppose the case were so, then the question arises, who is to decide whether a construction is or is not consistent with natural right? By what test are Courts to determine what is right and what is wrong? Mr. Spooner leaves it to be supposed that wherever a thing is generally considered

wrong, there the Court will act on this principle. The use of an ambiguous word is here again the source of his mistake. It is true, as he says, that Courts will always give "an *innocent* meaning to words where they will bear it," but the test by which they try the guilt and innocence of a meaning is not general opinion or their own conscientious convictions; but by comparing it with *the general system and spirit of the law*. They will always "strain hard," as they phrase it, to give a *legally* innocent meaning to words, — nothing more. But in doing so, they never will go counter to the general system and spirit of national law. We will offer some authorities on this point, referring, also, to the argument of our first article, since a Judge might almost as well take counsel of his individual opinions and overrule laws, as on the same account evade them under pretence of construction.

And first, Marshall, in the very sentence cited, refers to cases where "fundamental principles are overthrown, where *the general system of the laws* is departed from," &c. — clearly showing that he referred to violations of legal principles, not of moral ones: indeed, to *such* legal principles as this nation has adopted by *its laws*.

This is the form in which the whole Bench of Massachusetts, with PARSONS at their head, lay down the principle:

"The natural import of the words of any Legislative act, according to the common use of them, when applied to the subject matter of the act, is to be considered as expressing the intention of the Legislature, unless the intention so resulting from the ordinary import of the words, be repugnant to sound and *acknowledged principles of national policy*." — 7 Mass. 524.

In the Girard case, whose exclusion of ministers from his college was objected to as void, because contrary to religion, the Court say:

"We do not claim the right, and we are not at liberty to look at general considerations of supposed public interest and policy, beyond those which the Constitution, laws, and judicial decisions make known." — 2 Howard, 197.

Lord Coke has undertaken to define *discretion* several times; and his idea of what sort of discretion Courts may exercise in these matters is shown by his definitions. "*Discretio est discernere per legem quod sit justum*." (*Discretion is the science of determining, according to law, what is just*.) — 2 Inst. 298. Again: "*Dis-*

cretion is well described as *scire per legem quid sit justum*." (To find out *by law* what is just.) — 10 *Rep.* 140.

So Sir J. Jekyl :

"Equity is said to be *secundum discretionem boni viri*, (according to the discretion of a good man.) Yet when it is asked, *Vir bonus, est quis?* (Who is a good man?) the answer is, *Qui consulta patrum, qui leges jura que servat*, (The one who adheres to the opinions of the fathers, to *laws* and to *precedents*.)"—2 *P. Wms.* 753.

We may illustrate the proper meaning of Mr. Spooner's rule by the construction put by the Courts upon one exactly parallel to it in relation to customs and usages. It is a well settled doctrine that "bad (wicked) customs are not law," that rules are to be disregarded if absurd or unjust. (See Blackstone and Coke.) But what is meant by "wicked customs"?

It was long the *custom and rule* in England that acts of Parliament, passed the *last* day of the session, had the same efficacy as if passed the *first* day of the session. Hence if, during the session, a man did an act, legal at the time, he was still liable so suffer any punishment, even death, *afterwards* prescribed by the statute. On this principle, acknowledged to be absurd and unjust, one man would have been executed, for an act which was not murder when he did it, unless the King had pardoned him. (1 *Lev.* 91.) Still this custom so far conformed to *legal principles*, that it remained in force three centuries, and no authority but that of the whole Parliament could repeal it. (See note to Blackstone, 1. 70.) Here we see that the Courts by *wicked* customs do not mean morally wicked, but such as violate the general system of the law.

"Customs," says Blackstone, "must be reasonable." "Which is not always," says Coke, "to be understood of every unlearned man's reason, but of *artificial* and *legal* reason, warranted by authority of law."—*Blackstone Comm.* 1. 70, 77. See *other instances*, 3. 430. *Story's Equity*, 1, s. 12.

"Slavery," says Lord Stowell, one of the first Judges of the age, "never was in Antigua the creature of law, but of that custom which operates with the force of law, and when it is cried out that *malus usus abolendus est*, (bad customs are to be abolished,) it is *first to be proved* that, even in the consideration of England, the use (custom) of Slavery is considered as a *malus usus* (bad custom) in the colonies."—2 *Hagg. Adm.* 94.

In the face of this rule, that "bad customs are not binding and not law," the system of villeinage (*white* Slavery, under which

men and women were bought and sold like cattle — see Stephens, Blackstone, Coke,) grew up from custom alone, was held legal for centuries, and died out only by disuse — without the enactment of a law in regard to it from the beginning to the end of its existence; clearly showing that the Courts, in construing the word *bad*, in this connection, will have respect to the usages and laws of the land in which they are sitting.

Dwarris, also, in discussing the question, whether laws against *reason* are void, says :

“We must distinguish between right and power, between moral fitness and political authority. It must not be entertained as a question of *ethics*, but of the bounds and limits of *legislative power*.” — p. 646.

And Coke, even, when he went so far as to think that bad law might be disregarded, tells the Judges that “they are not to be guided by the crooked cord of discretion, but by the golden metwand of the *law*.”

It is a general principle, that no Court will give effect to the law of another nation, if that law be inconsistent with sound morals. — See *Story's Conflict of Laws*.

But who shall decide what “sound morals” are?

The Court of King's Bench, in London, perhaps the first Court in the world, awarded to a Spaniard damages against an Englishman who had taken possession on the high seas, wrongfully, of certain slaves belonging to the Spaniard, on the ground that Slavery, though *contrary to justice*, was not forbidden by the law of nations or the law of Spain.

Contracts founded on immoral considerations are void. But Chief Justice Shaw stated, in the *Med.* case, that a contract for the sale of a slave, made in New Orleans, where Slavery is lawful, would be enforced in Massachusetts. The same doctrine was laid down by Mansfield, in the *Sommersett* case. Judge Story, even, while expressing a doubt as to the soundness of this opinion of Judge Shaw, recognizes the very principle we are illustrating, namely, that Courts will regulate their judicial ideas of right and wrong by the laws of the nation in which they are sitting. Story says of Shaw's statement, (*Conflict of Laws*, p. 259, note,) “It may be so *here*, but this doctrine, as one of universal application, may admit of question in other countries, where Slavery may be denounced as inhuman and unjust, and against public policy.”

These instances show that Courts will look to the general spirit of the national laws, to discover whether a rule or provision be immoral or inconsistent with right, and will find out "by the law," as Coke says, "what is justice."

The word "merchandize" is certainly capable of an innocent meaning. Still in the *AMISTAD CASE*, the Supreme Court put an unrighteous meaning on it, because the *laws* of Spain, one of the parties to the treaty, did so. In that case the Court say :

"If these negroes were lawfully held as slaves under the laws of Spain and recognized by those laws as property, capable of being lawfully bought and sold, we see no reason why they may not justly be deemed, within the intent of the treaty, to be included under the denomination of *merchandise*, for, on that point, the laws of Spain would seem to furnish the proper rule of interpretation."

The language of Lord Stowell in regard to the Slave-Trade proceeds on the same principle :

"I must remember that in discussing this question, I must consider it not according to any *private moral apprehensions* of my own, (if I entertain them ever so sincerely,) but as *the law* considers it. * * * An act must be *legally criminal*, because neither this Court or any other can carry its private apprehensions, independent of law, into its public judgments, on the quality of actions. It must conform to the judgment of the law upon that subject, and acting as a Court, in the administration of law, it cannot attribute criminality to an act where the *law imputes none*. It must look to the *legal* standard of morality ; and upon a question of this nature that standard must be found in the law of nations, as fixed and evidenced by general, ancient, and admitted practice, by treaties, and by the general tenor of the laws and ordinances and the formal transactions of civilized States." — 2 *Dodson Adm.* 210.

Marshall quotes and endorses this in 10 Wheaton 66, cited in our first article.

Sir Wm. Grant, in the case of the *Amedie*, 1 Acton, 240, says :

"Whatever opinion, as private individuals, we might before have entertained upon the nature of this trade, no Court of Justice could with propriety have assumed such a position (that it was contrary to the principles of justice and humanity) as the basis of its decisions, *while the trade was permitted by our laws*."

The language of our Supreme Court, whenever the justice of Indian land titles has come before them, will show the same principle. In 8 Wheaton, 543. Chief Justice Marshall :

"We will not enter into the controversy whether agriculturists, merchants, and manufacturers have a right, *on abstract principles*, to expel hunters. Conquest gives a title, which the courts of the conqueror cannot deny, whatever the *private and speculative opinions of individuals* may be respecting the *original justice* of the claim. However extravagant the pretension of converting the discovery of a country into conquest may appear, if the principle has been asserted in the first instance and afterwards sustained; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if *the property of the great mass of the community originates in it*; it becomes the law of the land and cannot be questioned. * * * However the restriction may be *opposed to natural right*, if it is indispensable, it may, perhaps, be supported by reason and *certainly* cannot be *rejected* by Courts of justice."

In 4 Howard, 572, the Supreme Court say of the same point, Indian titles:

"It would be useless, at this day, to inquire whether the principle thus adopted *is just or not*.

"If it were an open question, it would be one for the law-making department of the Government, and not for the judicial. It is our duty to expound and execute the law as we find it, and we think it too firmly and clearly established to admit of dispute."

If, therefore, Mr. Spooner shall urge the Supreme Court to reject the plain meaning of any clause of the Constitution because that meaning sanctions an unjust system, that Court will naturally ask him whether the *general system of American law*, at the time the Constitution was made, looked upon that system as unjust and illegal? We say, at the *time* the Constitution was made — for contracts are to be held void or valid according as they are illegal *at the time* they are made. — See Comyns Con. 1. 31: see Spooner, p. 124. *On this principle* will not the Courts consistently decide that a pro-slavery meaning of the National Constitution cannot be held immoral or inadmissible, since twelve of the thirteen States, which made it, held slaves at that time, and one-half of the nation still continues so to do? Or take the principle as Judge Marshall himself has laid it down, 4 Wheaton, 202.

"If in any case, the plain meaning of a provision is to be disregarded, because we believe the framers of the instrument *could* not intend what they say, it must be one in which the absurdity and injustice of applying the provision to the case, would be *so monstrous* that *all mankind* would, *without hesitation*, unite in rejecting it."

This is the explanation which the Supreme Court give of their own language and meaning. And could they, sitting at the capital of slaveholding States, under a Constitution *practically* pro-slavery ever since its existence, — making a part of that Christendom, more than half of which now hold slaves, and the international law of which they have so often decided does not hold the Slave-Trade to be a crime, could they, with either truth or decency, affirm that the existence of a pro-slavery clause in that Constitution would be so “monstrous an absurdity and injustice that all mankind would, without hesitation, unite in condemning it?” This they must do before Mr. Spooner’s maxim will apply to the subject of *Slavery*.

We conclude, then, 1st. That in deciding whether a possible meaning of any clause be immoral or not, Courts will have regard to the general system of National Law under which they sit.

2d. That Slavery neither can be, nor has been, by the law of nations, or our own laws, held criminal, however the *law of nature* may view it.

SLAVE TRADE.

HAVING settled, then, the real meaning of these rules, let us pass to the other clauses of the Constitution, alluded to by Mr. Spooner. We shall dispose of them as briefly as possible :

“*The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.*” — U. S. Cons. Art. 1, Sec. 9.

On this clause Mr. Spooner remarks that “importation” is sometimes used in reference to the voluntary arrival of foreigners, and has no necessary reference to slaves. Granted: still its *ordinary* and *common* use is to describe the bringing into a country, of articles of merchandize and for sale. Mr. Spooner says, p. 83, that *migration* means *going out* from a country, and hence argues that importation is used as its opposite, and refers simply to persons *coming in*. This construction is unsound; because the dictionary tells us that migration means merely “change of place.” Emigration is used when we speak of going out of a country. Beside, it

is "the migration or importation of such as the State will admit." We admit people *in*, never *out* of a country. Both words, therefore, refer to persons arriving; and they either relate, as Marshall says, (9 Wheaton, 216,) "migration to voluntary arrivals, and importation to involuntary," — which would settle it that nothing else but the Slave-Trade could be referred to, — or migration means motion on land, and importation arrivals by sea. In the Declaration of Independence, which would be good authority in this case, the word "migration" is used to mean all *voluntary arrivals* by sea or land.

Mr. Spooner claims that this clause must refer to the arrival of foreigners only, and have no reference to slaves, because that is the only *innocent* meaning which can be given to it.

We reply, 1st. If it refers to the arrival of foreigners merely, what is the reason of the provision? Why was Congress allowed to tax them *until* 1808, and *no longer*? And after that date allowed to *prohibit their arrival altogether*? Such an arrangement seems entirely unintelligible; and it is indispensable to *make sense* of an instrument. Any construction which makes nonsense is to be rejected. See Dwaris, Blackstone, Marshall.

Again; does Mr. Spooner really maintain that this clause, so harmless in appearance, gives to Congress the monstrous power of prohibiting forever any foreigner from landing on our soil? and, (on his meaning of "migration,") of prohibiting every citizen from ever leaving it!!! Such a power some might think more inconsistent "with natural right," than the one he is striving to avoid. It can be only vindicated on the score of being *absolutely necessary*; and if absolutely necessary now, how were we safe in forbidding it to Congress for twenty years, till 1808 had arrived? If necessary now, why not then?

These considerations are sufficient to show that the meaning Mr. Spooner placed upon this clause cannot be the true one. If, on the contrary, we take it as it has usually been taken, to refer to the Slave-Trade, it becomes consistent and intelligible, and does not confer upon Congress such a fearful power as that of, at any time, forbidding natives to leave, and foreigners to land in, the country. Beside, this meaning is *legally* innocent, as we have above explained the meaning of the word, that is, taken in connection with our national laws and institutions. For instance, not only the State

slave laws, (which we shall by and by prove Constitutional and valid,) but our slave basis of representation, and our Ordinance of 1787, expressly guaranteeing the surrender of fugitive *slaves*, &c., &c., as well the Constitutional provision on that point, to which we now pass.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." — U. S. Cons., Art. 4, Sec. 2.

Mr. Spooner's argument on this clause is the following:—
(p. 68, &c.)

1st. "'The clause must be construed, if possible, as sanctioning nothing contrary to natural right.' It may refer to apprentices, &c.; hence, not being 'expressed with irresistible clearness,' it is not necessary to apply it to slaves, and being not necessary, it is not allowable to do so.

2d. "'Held to service or labor' is no legal description of Slavery. Slavery has no necessary reference to 'service or labor;' it is property in man."

3d. "'Under the laws thereof.' There were no Constitutional or valid laws in the States, relating to Slavery, at the time the Constitution was adopted."

This is his argument; let us look at it. In the first place, we deny that his rules have any place here, since the legislative intention, of referring to slaves, is "expressed with that irresistible clearness," which the Court require. For it is a fundamental rule of interpretation, that all statutes relating to one subject are to be taken together, and any phrase in one is to be explained by referring to the use of the same phrase in the others.

Lord Mansfield says: (1 Burr, 447.)

"Where there are different statutes *in pari materia*, (on the same subject,) though made at different times, or even expired, and not referring to each other, they shall be taken and construed together, as *one system*, and as explanatory of each other."

This rule has been recognized and acted on by every Court in this country and England. See the Digests.

Now in 1787, the same year that the Constitution was drafted, Congress passed the Northwestern Ordinance, which says :

“There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from WHOM LABOR OR SERVICE IS LAWFULLY CLAIMED in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person CLAIMING HIS OR HER LABOR OR SERVICE, as aforesaid.”

This refers to Slavery, *for it says so*. It refers to *American* Slavery, for it was that which it proposed to exclude from this Northwest Territory. But when it provides for the surrender of fugitive slaves, it describes them as “PERSONS from whom LABOR OR SERVICE IS LAWFULLY CLAIMED.”

Now in that same year, 1787, the Constitution was drafted. We might expect a similar provision, and we find that, in providing for the surrender of certain persons, it describes them as “persons held to *service or labor*, under the *laws*, to be delivered up on *claim*,” &c.

The descriptions are exactly alike, and must refer to the same case. Any Court would hold, and be justified in holding, under Mansfield's rule, that the meaning—to wit, the surrender of fugitive slaves—was “expressed with irresistible clearness.”

We might stop here, as having made out our case; but we are willing to meet Mr. Spooner on his own ground.

The Supreme Court, and the nation at large, interpret this clause to refer to slaves, and to mean that no State shall shelter them, but shall allow them to be taken, from its limits, back to Slavery.

Mr. Spooner thinks this meaning inadmissible, because “contrary to natural right;” we allow that the provision is infamous. But is the world agreed on this point? The Court must certainly refer to some standard. Is the world then agreed on this point? The English and French Courts, and our own, have held that, *in the absence of express legislation*, a slave ought not to be returned to his prison-house. But the writers on Jurisprudence maintain that a law to return him, if made, is “no encroachment on the rights of the fugitive, for no stranger has any just claim to the protection of a foreign State against its will, and each State

has a right to determine who may come to reside, or seek shelter within its limits." Such was the opinion of Shaw, even in his noble judgment in the *Med.* case, and of Best, the distinguished English Judge, in an equally famous case in the annals of Liberty, 2 B. & C. 468. Mr. Spooner himself has just told us that the *innocent* meaning of the Slave-Trade clause of the Constitution is not that which expressly gives Congress power, after a time, to destroy that trade, but a construction which secures to Congress the power, after 1808, of *prohibiting any* foreigner from landing on our soil! What is this but an endorsement, by Mr. Spooner, of the views of Judges Shaw and Best, and the writers generally, that every State may *justly* determine for herself who shall seek shelter within her limits? It is not then so very evident, that the verdict of the world in general would consider a clause, refusing slaves a shelter, as contrary to natural right. To what standard, then, shall the Courts have recourse? To that of our national system of law? That has generally been considered to sanction Slavery, and before we close we shall see if it does not actually do so. Its Ordinance of 1787 expressly orders the surrender of slaves. If it does, of course, judged by that test, the Court could not pronounce such a construction "bad," in a legal sense.

In reply to Mr. Spooner's first point, then, we say, let him show by the *general assent* of the world, that the refusal of a sovereign State to shelter slaves is contrary to natural right. The Abolitionists think so. I wish they were a majority — unfortunately they are not, and the verdict of the world is against them.

Certainly the case is not one where, in the language of Chief Justice Marshall, "the *absurdity and injustice is so monstrous* that all the world would, *without hesitation*, unite in rejecting it;" and such it must be, before the Court will feel justified in disregarding the plain meaning of a clause.

Again; to justify him in calling upon our Courts to esteem such a construction bad, he must show it to be "bad," *i. e.*, contrary to the general system of our law. They cannot "attribute criminality where the law imputes none." Now the Ordinance of 1787, *still in force*, establishes just this arrangement for the Northwest Territory. The Courts of such a nation would no more feel entitled, in such circumstances, to call it *bad*, than a Court in a slave State would refuse to enforce a slave contract, under the plea that it was immoral.

The reader will observe that the question is not now what he or we think wrong, but what is so generally regarded as wrong and monstrous by all mankind, or by the law, that the Courts may ground their decisions on such opinion.

Mr. Spooner's second point is that :

“ ‘Held to service or labor’ is no legal description of Slavery. Slavery has no necessary reference to ‘service or labor;’ it is property in man.”

This is originally T. D. Weld's argument. Anything from him deserves the most respectful attention.

“ *The terms of the Constitution,*” says Marshall, “ *must be understood in that sense in which they were universally received in this country when the Constitution was framed.*” — 4 Cranch, 477.

To this well settled and reasonable principle Mr. Spooner assents, (p. 124 :))

“ The only question is, what was the meaning of the Constitution, as a legal instrument, when it was *first drawn up* and presented to the people and before it was adopted by them ? ”

This, too, is the rule by which we interpret Shakspeare, or any writer — turning to the dictionaries of *his period*, to find the meaning of the terms he uses.

Now, how was Slavery defined in 1788, and previous to, and about that period ? We have seen how the nation itself described a slave in the Ordinance of 1787 :

“ A PERSON FROM WHOM LABOR OR SERVICE IS LAWFULLY CLAIMED.”

“ No negro child shall be *held in servitude*, &c., notwithstanding the parent of such child was *held in servitude* at the time of its birth,” &c. — *Connecticut Emancipation Act*, 1784.

“ Slavery is an *obligation to labor* for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the *servant*.” — *Paley, Definition of Slavery*, 1785.

Obligation comes from the Latin word to *bind* or *hold*.

Hargrave, in his defence of Sommersett, before Lord Mansfield, 1772, gives us a definition of Slavery, which begins thus :

“ Slavery imports an *obligation* of perpetual *service*.”

Grotius's definition is this :

“ Slavery is an *obligation to serve* another for life, in consideration of being supplied with the bare necessities of life.”

Rutherford, about 1770, defines it :

“ An *obligation* to be directed in all one's actions.”

Johnson's Dictionary, 1755 :

“ Slave, one mancipated (*bound*) to a master.”

Bailey's Dictionary, the best of his day, edition of 1782 :

“ Slave, a perpetual *servant* ; a person in the absolute power of a master.”

Ash's Dictionary, 1775 :

“ Slave, one sold to a master, *one sold to labor*.”

The Constitution of Vermont, *about* the same period, 1793, provides that :

“ No male person ought to be *holden by law to serve* any person as a servant, *slave*, or apprentice.*

Mr. Spooner thinks, (p. 73,) that “ *bound to service* ” and “ *held to service* ” are the same thing. Now, *bondman* (*boundman*) is the old and usual English word for slave, and *bondage* for Slavery. It is so used in the Bible. We get *slave* from the Russian and kindred languages—*villein* from the French, and *servant* from the Latin, *servus*, a slave. Bondage and bondman are Saxon. “ Held and holden ” are still the popular description of slavery. For we say *slaveholder*, seldom *slaveowner*.

Again, as to “ *service* ” having no relation to Slavery ; *service*, *servant*, and *servitude*, are all derived from the Latin word for *slave*, *servus* ; and they have been always used to designate Slavery. Joseph, who was bought by Ishmaelites and paid for, was called, in King James's translation, 1611, *a servant* ; so of others.

So much for Mr. Spooner's idea that, in 1788, “ *service and labor* ” did not enter into the idea of Slavery.

Such, then, were the common, popular, philosophical, and legal descriptions of Slavery in 1788. I know that the law sometimes uses the technical terms “ *chattel personal*,” to describe a slave. But the makers of the Constitution were not *obliged* to use *techni-*

* Stephens, — the relative and coadjutor of Wilberforce, — in his learned work on the “ *Law of Slavery in the West Indies*,” gives, as late as 1820, a definition of slavery similar to these — “ *Slavery is constrained servitude during the life of the slave, — it is service without wages.* ”

cal terms. In framing a popular instrument for the use of the whole people, they naturally would avoid technical terms; this they have always done where they could, and used instead the terms common in the dictionaries and writers of the day. The above quotations show that, in 1788, "service and labor" were thought to make a part of Slavery, and that slaves were *usually*, if not *always*, described as *persons held, bound, and sold to service or labor.* Beside, the provision was meant to cover many States and only the most universal definition would suffice. It would not do to describe them as "chattels personal;" that might include South Carolina; but Kentucky, and now Louisiana, consider them *real estate*; in in such case, the term would not be broad enough. Again, had they been called, generally, *property*, such a term would hardly have included the thousands in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, then held in a modified Slavery created by recent laws.

Judged, then, by the usage of 1788, the term "held to service or labor" does aptly describe the condition of a slave, and was the phraseology usually employed for that purpose. This is our answer to Mr. Spooner on this point.

Lastly, "under the laws thereof." Mr. Spooner says this implies Constitutional laws. He is right. We shall discuss this under our last division.

DOMESTIC INSURRECTIONS.

WITH regard to the clauses giving the General Government "power to suppress insurrections," and guaranteeing the States "against domestic violence," the only objections Mr. Spooner makes to their applying to slave insurrections is,

1st. That the word "insurrection," refers to rising against the *laws*, and as, in his opinion, there are no valid slave laws, there can be no slave insurrections. The discussion of this point comes under our third head. We may remark that the phrase, "domestic insurrections," is used in the Declaration of Independence, with reference, it would seem, to slave risings; if so, this use of it would go far to settle its meaning here.

2d. Mr. Spooner says the Government of the States must be *republican*, and no Republic can hold slaves; hence the above

clauses cannot apply to slaves. This point, also, (the meaning of the word "Republic,") we shall consider in a moment.

If we shall remove these two difficulties, as we trust, in the proper place, to do, to the reader's satisfaction, we shall then have the right to rank these clauses with their pro-slavery brethren.

CITIZENSHIP, &c.

MR. SPOONER now passes to the consideration of those clauses which he considers as positively authorizing the Supreme Court to declare Slavery illegal, and the slave free. There is no dispute between us that Slavery is illegal in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories. Mr. Spooner maintains further, that Slavery is illegal in the several States, and that the Supreme Court has authority to set the slaves there free. We shall dispose of his points as briefly as possible.

1st. He says the Constitution made *citizens* of "all the people of the United States," living in 1789. No citizen can be a slave: hence, the negroes, being citizens, are free.

We reply: The Constitution did not make *citizens* of ALL the people, &c. The Indians, for instance, were people, residing and born within the limits of the United States. That the Constitution did not make them citizens is very evident from the fact that they are several times referred to in it, as an independent body, under the name of "the Indian tribes." (See, also, 5 Peters, 1.) This shows that we are to consult the other parts of the Constitution to discover in what sense to interpret the word *people*. This is not unusual. The word "commons," in England, is sometimes used to designate the House of Commons, sometimes all persons not noble, and sometimes those only who vote. The question, who were made citizens in 1789, is one of legal construction. It has been universally decided that no one was then made a citizen of the United States, who was not previously a citizen of one of the several States. (See 7 Wh. 545, and 4 Johns. 75.) That it was not intended to include the slaves under the phrase, "people of the United States," or to make citizens of them, is evident from the various slave clauses which we have been considering. General terms are always to be restrained by any *special* clause in an instrument. — *Bacon's Abr. Statute. Dwarries, 765.*

Hence the general terms of the Preamble are to be restrained by the special pro-slavery clauses. Indeed, according to legal rules, on which Mr. Spooner professes to rely, the Preamble is *no part of a statute*, and is not to be taken into account except when it will help to explain an ambiguity.—*Bacon's Abr. Statute. Kent*, 1. 460. *Dwarris*.

We cannot leave this point without adducing a specimen of the loose logic of this much-praised essay. Mr. Spooner argues (pp. 101, 131,) that because the Constitution speaks of "natural born citizens," therefore, *all* natives are citizens. Whether the fact be so or not, this phrase proves nothing either way. The argument is sheer nonsense. On such a principle, when one speaks of "English noblemen," he implies that all Englishmen are noble; or of "Yankee pedlers," that every Yankee is a pedler; or of "natural born fools," that all persons born in the course of nature are fools! This is very bad logic. Some fools may be born such, but this does not prove that all persons born in the course of nature are fools. So of "natural born citizens;" some citizens may be native and some not, but this does not show that all natives are *necessarily* citizens. If the fact be so, it must be proved in some other way.

2d. "Congress have the power to lay a capitation or poll-tax. Upon whom shall it be levied? Is the Government under the necessity of taking notice of the fact of Slavery?" &c. &c. (p. 94.) To these questions Mr. Spooner answers "No," and hence concludes that a man, subject to such a poll-tax, cannot be a slave. We forbear to say that the premise and conclusion have no connection with each other—that answering the question either way proves nothing. It is enough to ask the reader to remember that "all direct taxes," (and such are poll-taxes,) are to be levied on "free persons, and *three-fifths* of all other persons." The meaning of that clause we think we have settled; and hence the Constitution itself determines what is to be done with poll-taxes when levied on slaves. It recognizes, in such case, the condition of Slavery, and provides for it.

We group together the seven next points made by Mr. Spooner. Referring to the exclusive power of Congress over *Commerce, the Post Office, Patents*, and the *Militia*; also to the States being forbidden to interfere with the *obligation of contracts*; he says,

slaves have, equally with other persons, unless Congress forbid it, the right to trade, to take out patents, to receive letters, to enlist, to make contracts, &c. &c. Hence as the State laws which make them slaves, practically forbid these things, they are unconstitutional and void, and all persons held by them ought to be set free.

We reply, that if we have made out to the satisfaction of the reader the true meaning of the *slave clauses*, as they are called, then, as the Constitution recognizes the existence of Slavery in the States, all these general provisions must be understood in a limited sense, and interpreted so as to be consistent with those other clauses : this is the universal rule.

Though it is not necessary to go further, still we may remind the reader that *State* laws fix the time at which persons shall be deemed of *age* ; that until that period a man is debarred from most of the facilities of trading ; if he takes out a patent it is not his, but his father's ; he cannot make contracts except in special cases, of necessity, &c. So of convicts ; the laws which doom them to prison prevent them from enlisting, trading, receiving letters, and, to a great extent, from making contracts. In a word, the same disabilities, in *most of these particulars*, which State laws impose on the slave, the same State laws impose on every person under twenty-one years of age, every married woman, and every convict. Still no one ever thought of contending that, in virtue of these provisions in the Constitution, Congress had a right to set aside the State laws relating to infancy, marriage, and imprisonment ; but it has the same right to do so, as it would have to interfere with slave laws on these accounts.

As for enlistment, we presume Congress would have a Constitutional right to disregard infancy, at least to some extent. Public necessity justifies it. And the same public necessity would justify their enlisting slaves, without engaging to compensate their masters. Such laws, we believe, were enacted during our Revolution. See Remarks of Patrick Henry, in Virginia Conv., 1788. But this no more proves that, ordinarily, the master has not the legal right to the service of his slave, than the same power over minors proves that parents, because such may be enlisted, have not ordinarily the right to their earnings. The truth is, Mr. Spooner perpetually forgets that the United States Constitution has nothing to do with the municipal rights or private relations of men ; all these are left to

be regulated by the States. They are to say who shall *vote*, who shall inherit property, who shall marry—who shall make contracts, &c., &c.

“States shall make no law impairing the obligation of contracts,” says the United States Constitution. But a slave cannot make contracts. Hence, says Mr. Spooner, any State law which makes a man a slave is inconsistent with the above provision.

But marriage is a contract. Yet Massachusetts says, “no man shall marry his sister.” This is, in Mr. Spooner’s sense, hindering a man from making a contract—it is *so far* preventing him from forming this contract. But is there any one who supposes that the law is inconsistent with the above provision in the Constitution? Our space forbids us to enlarge, but any one may for himself illustrate in various particulars, the absurd consequences of this position of Mr. Spooner’s.

3d. Mr. Spooner quotes the second amendment—“the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed,”—and Art. 1. Sec. 9, as to habeas corpus.

We have so recently and so much at length, (in our reply to Mr. Goodell,) shown that these amendments, &c. do not restrain the States, but only *the General Government*, from the various things therein mentioned, that we shall not enlarge, simply referring the reader to the following cases where the point is not only *decided*, but most *indisputably proved*, by Marshall, 7 Peters, 243; 2 Cowen, 818; 3 Cowen, 686; 12 Ser. & R. 220; 8 Wendell, 85; 10 Wendell, 449. These are, with one exception, cases in free States, and none of them had any connection with the question of Slavery. See also the elaborate and conclusive argument of Judge Jay, in the Emancipator, May 31, 1838.

The States, therefore, may establish slavery, even if such a system be contrary to these clauses.

We were surprised that Mr. Spooner allowed this careless mistake to be perpetuated in a second edition.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

4th. MR. SPOONER’S last point is that the “United States shall guaranty to every State a republican form of government,” &c.

Mr. Spooner says, (p. 106:)

"It is indispensable to a republican form of government, that the public, the mass of the people, if not the entire people, participate *in the grant of powers to the Government*, and in the protection afforded by the Government. It is impossible, therefore, that a Government, under which any considerable number of the people, (if indeed any number of the people,) are *disfranchised* and enslaved, can be a republic. A slave Government is an oligarchy ; and one too of the most arbitrary and criminal character."

The italics are our own.

If this be his opinion, then we can only say, that Mr. Spooner's idea of a republic does not agree with that described in the *Constitution itself*! Which is to have the preference the reader will decide.

It will certainly be allowed that the word "republic" is of a very vague character. Mr. Jefferson (vol. 4. 275,) allowed, in his day, that it had been applied to almost every description of Government, Holland, Genoa, Switzerland, Venice, Poland, &c. Madison (Federalist, No. 39,) confesses that if we refer to usage, *no satisfactory definition* can be given. And to what but *usage* do we refer to find the meaning of words? It is by such a chameleon test as this, — a word of which *no satisfactory definition* could be found in 1788, that Mr. Spooner proposes to decide the character of the Constitution and the extent of the powers of the Supreme Court!!!

Mr. Spooner decides that no State can be a republic unless "the mass of the people, if not the *entire* people, participate in the grant of the powers to the Government." Now it happens that the Constitution itself directs, that "the electors of Congress, in each State, shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature," thereby *distinctly* and *expressly* recognizing the right of each State to determine *how many* of its citizens shall vote, that is, shall *participate in the grant of power to Government*.

Hence if the States choose (as all States always have done) to let only half of the "ENTIRE PEOPLE" (to wit, the men) vote, they are allowed to do so — if they choose to go further, and allow only one-half of the *men* (that is, only those above twenty-one years old) to vote, they may ; — and thus base the powers of Government, not as Mr. Spooner requires, on the "*entire people*," but on *one quarter* of them ; all this the Constitution recognizes! So of other disqualifications. Yet this Mr. Spooner tells us is inconsistent with

his idea of a republic. If so, we can only reply, that the Constitution of the United States has the misfortune to differ from Mr. Ly-sander Spooner in this particular.

The reader will hence perceive that any definition of a republic, which is got up in order to make Slavery inconsistent with it, will be found *equally inconsistent* with what the Constitution confessedly permits, namely, that the States should regulate for themselves who, and how many, shall be permitted to participate in the Government. This being the case, all such definitions are proved absurd, (logically we mean,) and must be thrown aside.

It is very easy for Messrs. Spooner and Goodell to frame their own definitions of words, and then proclaim certain other things utterly inconsistent with those definitions. But if we recur to the dictionaries, either of that period or of our time, we shall find that Madison was perfectly right in saying that no strict definition could be given of the word "republican." We give a few definitions that the reader may see how extremely indefinite these standard authorities have always held the word to be.

"Republic: A State in which the exercise of the sovereign power is lodged in representatives elected by the people." — *Webster*, 1845.

"Republic: That form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people, or in representatives elected by the people. A republic may be either a *democracy* or an *aristocracy*; in the former the supreme power is vested in the whole body of the people or in representatives elected by the people; in the latter it is vested in a *nobility*, or a *privileged class* of comparatively a *small number* of persons." — *Worcester*, 1846.

"Republican (subs.): One who thinks a commonwealth without monarchy the best Government.

"Republican (adj.): Placing the Government in the people.

"Republic: A Commonwealth — State in which the power is lodged in *more than one*." — *Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 1755.

"Republic: A Commonwealth without a King." — *Walker's School Dictionary*.

"Republic: A Commonwealth without a King." — *Perry*, 1775.

"Republic: A Commonwealth, a free sort of Government, where many bear rule." — *Bailey*, 1730.

"Republic: A Commonwealth, a free State." — *Bailey*, 1782.

"Republic: A Commonwealth — A State or Government in which the supreme power is lodged in more than one." — *Ash*, 1775.

Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, 1750, defines a Republic to be, "a Government where the people, in mass, or only *a part of the people*, possess the sovereign power." The first he considers a Democracy, — the second, an Aristocracy; but includes both under the term *Republican*.

The above citations show us how entirely loose and indefinite the use of the word has always been.

What, then, is the meaning of this clause? We answer, it is a general guarantee of the State Governments *as they then existed*; it undertakes to secure to the States, Governments similar to those they then had. The reader will please to recollect our authorities for the rule of construing the Constitution, as the words were used and understood *at the time*. (4 Cranch, 477; Spooner, p. 124.) In the light of this rule, let us look at this clause. And first, what is the meaning of the word "*guaranty*."

"To *guaranty* a republican form of government," says Madison, (*Federalist*, 43,) "SUPPOSES A PRE-EXISTING GOVERNMENT OF THE FORM WHICH IS GUARANTIED. As long, therefore, as the *existing republican* forms are continued by the States, they are guarantied by the Constitution."

Again; "It is *sufficient* for such a Government that the persons administering it be appointed either directly or indirectly by the people, &c.; otherwise, every Government in the United States, as well as every other popular Government, *that has been, or can be* well organized or well executed, would be *degraded from the republican character*."—*Federalist*, 39.

We cite these sentences, from a source which Mr. Spooner's friend Goodell acknowledges to be *a competent one*, to show how the word "republican" and the word "guaranty" were understood in the year 1788. The meaning affixed to the latter no one will deny. It implies that the Governments *then existing* were republican. We *guaranty* a thing in existence, not a thing to be afterwards created.

Again; Madison, one of the best of witnesses, acknowledged to be *competent*, after entering at large into the history of the word, and contending that it should have some strict and definite meaning, goes on deliberately to apply the epithet to thirteen States, twelve of which *then held slaves*. In the face of such authority as this, as well as the fact, that the mass of men in the old republics, from whom we copy the word, (Athens, Sparta, Rome,) were slaves, — and that in Holland and Italy, their modern imitators,

not one man in a thousand had any share in the Government, — who will undertake to say that this word, either in its general sense, or as used in our Constitution, has any necessary inconsistency with Slavery? If there be such a man, he must find some other and better authority for his meaning than the *general use and understanding of the word*; and that has hitherto, at least, been considered the only test. Indeed, what better evidence could we have of the *general use* of the word at that time, than the fact that the delegates of twelve slave Governments deliberately applied it to themselves. They surely did not mean to cut their own throats, or to use words not descriptive of things. Hence it must be presumed that the word “republican,” in 1788, did not exclude the idea of Slavery. Any other construction makes the public of that day absolute fools.

These are all the arguments adduced in support of Mr. Spooner's assertion that the Supreme Court is authorized to set free the slaves in the several states; — that is, to uproot the foundations of political supremacy, and dry up the chief source of what the law calls property, in one-half of the Union. We think them utterly weak, fanciful and unsound; at the best, mere twigs and cobwebs, upon which to hang so weighty and important, (though desirable,) a power. When placed side by side with the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution, and construed, as they must be, in connection, these arguments become entirely unworthy of notice.

NO LEGAL SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES.

HAVING finished the consideration of Mr. Spooner's first two points, — namely, that the people never intended to sanction Slavery, — and that even if they did, the Constitution, *legally interpreted*, does not sanction it, — we pass to his third and last argument :

That there was no Constitutional or legal Slavery existing in the States in 1789, to which the pro-slavery clauses, if there really are any, in the United States Constitution, could apply, or can now apply. In attempting to sustain this position, he argues as follows :

1st. The Colonial Charters did not authorize the establishment of Slavery here.

2d. The English statutes never recognized it.

3d. If it were tolerated here, the decision of Lord Mansfield, in the *Sommersett* case, 1772, put an end to its legal existence.

4th. The Colonial Statutes establishing it were void, because they did not sufficiently define the persons who were to be slaves.

5th. The Declaration of Independence abolished it.

6th. The Articles of Confederation do not refer to it; and the State Constitutions of 1789 are either inconsistent with the existence of any such institution, or wholly silent about it.

We shall notice each of these points in order, and as briefly as possible.

1st. "The Colonial Charters did not authorize the establishment of Slavery here."

Mr. Spooner says, (p. 21):

"The general provisions of those charters, as will be seen from the extracts given in the note, were, that the laws of the colonies should not be repugnant or contrary, but, as nearly as circumstances would allow, conformable to the laws, statutes, and rights of our kingdom of England."

Slavery, he thinks, utterly inconsistent with the common law, which was adopted throughout the colonies. To this point he cites the following language of the Supreme Court, who, quoting the New Hampshire Charter, remark upon it thus:

"The charter of New Hampshire provided, 'So always that the form of proceeding in such cases, and the judgment thereupon to be given, be as consonant and agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England, as the present state and condition of our subjects inhabiting within the limits aforesaid, (*i. e.* of the province,) and the circumstances of the place will admit.' Independent, however, of such a provision, we take it to be a clear principle that the common law in force at the emigration of our ancestors, is deemed the birthright of the colonies, unless so far as it is inapplicable to their situation, or repugnant to their other rights and privileges. *A fortiori* the principle applies to a royal province." — 9 *Cranch's United States' Reports*, 332—3.

To this we reply: Slave Laws are not repugnant, or contrary, to the laws of England. Till within a few years of the date of these Charters, villeinage, *white* slavery, existed in the mother country, and at the time they were made, the system was not illegal. Besides, laws regulating the slave trade were common on the English statute book, from this time down to 1807. See also remarks of Lord Stowell, in 2 Hagg. Adm. 94. Waiving all this, nothing more

is necessary, than to point the reader to the qualifications contained in the above extracts. The laws are to be conformable to English law, "*as nearly as circumstances allow,*" "*as the present state and condition of our subjects, and the circumstances of the place will admit.*" The common law is adopted, "*unless so far as it is inapplicable to their situation,*" &c. Now these exceptions are broad enough "to drive a coach and six through," as was said of a famous English statute: or as we once heard Elihu Burritt assert, "If you make a breach in the golden rule, no matter how small it be, Hell and all its legions can pass through."

The Colonial Assemblies and the King were to judge how far, and when "circumstances," and "their state and condition," &c. &c., rendered it necessary to depart from their English model. The only question is one of fact and history; how far *did* they find it necessary to do so, and what laws did they enact in consequence? If we open the Statutes enacted by these colonies under their Charters, and approved by the Kings, who granted the Charters, we shall find they all legalized the Slave-Trade and Slavery. It is too late now to say that such acts were not warranted by their Charters. *They* were the judges whether, and how far, it was necessary to vary from English law, and they have declared, by their acts, that they judged it necessary. Their decision, when approved by the King, is final. There is no appeal. As Mr. Spooner does not deny that the Colonies *tried* to make slave laws, and as such *attempts* are conclusive proof that they thought such laws "allowed by their state, condition, and circumstances," and that the common law on this subject was "inapplicable," — and further, as they are allowed by the Charters to be the *only* and final judges of the matter, we consider this point settled — and the consistency of slave laws with the Charters made out.

Mr. Spooner tells us, (p. 22):

"Those charters were the fundamental Constitutions of the colonies, with some immaterial exceptions, up to the time of the revolution; as much so as our national and state Constitutions are now the fundamental laws of our governments."

But, since the first publication of these remarks, my friend Wm. I. Bowditch, Esq., suggests to me, that this whole argument of Mr. Spooner's, on the inconsistency of the Slave Laws with the Char-

ters, is unfounded and absurd; since, in the more important slave States, the Charters were forfeited and withdrawn long before these slave laws were passed! Hence the above assertion of Mr. S. is entirely groundless. The Charter of Virginia ceased in 1624. Her slave laws were enacted 1667, — 1670, — 1753. The Charter of Carolina, North and South, was forfeited 1729. The great slave statute of South Carolina bears date 1740. The Charter of Georgia ceased 1751. Her slave law was passed 1770. To suppose such laws void because inconsistent with those expired Charters, (if such inconsistency really existed,) would be as absurd as to try the acts of our present Congress by the provisions of the Charters, or of the Articles of the old Confederation.

2d. The English Statutes never recognized Slavery here — (pp. 24, 25.)

Mr. Spooner must be a Tory in disguise, or a tyro in law, to imagine that it was necessary they should do so in order to render the system legal. Has he read our history so superficially — has he omitted that somewhat important (!) page of it, the Revolutionary discussions of 1775, so entirely, as not to know that, who should vote here, how property should be divided and held, who should marry and how; — in a word, all individual rights and relations, and all matters of property, were settled by *Colonial* laws and customs; — and that this we claimed as our dearest birthright? Aye, and fought for it seven years? No matter, as to this question of domestic slavery, what *English* laws said, the question is, what did *American* law say? Every child knows this.

Mr. Spooner says, that parliamentary “toleration of the Slave-Trade could not make Slavery — *the right of property in man* — lawful anywhere, not even on board the slave ship.” — (p. 23.)

This is strange, we might almost add, foolish doctrine. All laws must have a reasonable interpretation. The right “to declare war,” given to Congress, means, of course, not only *to say* that war exists, but *to carry it on*, otherwise Congress does not possess that power. So “to raise and support armies,” means not merely to *keep* these expensive baubles, but to *use* them. — (Story’s Comm., 1. 412.) Mr. Spooner tells us, (p. 66,) that the right “to keep and bear arms,” secured by the Constitution to the people, “implies the right to use them, as much as a provision to buy and keep food, would imply the right to eat it.” Plainly, then, when Parliament

allow men to *trade* in slaves, thereby affirming it to be legally right to do so, they impliedly allow them to hold and own that, which they are permitted to buy and sell. This is too plain to need argument.

Mr. Spooner says, speaking of *Slavery* itself :

“It is also doubtful whether Parliament had the power — or perhaps, rather, it is certain that they had not the power — to legalize it anywhere, if they had attempted to do so.

“Have Parliament the Constitutional prerogative of abolishing the writ of *habeas corpus*? the trial by jury? or the freedom of speech and the press? If not, have they the prerogative of abolishing a man's right of property in his own person?” — *p. 24.*

To these questions we answer unhesitatingly, yes. The Constitution of the English Government supposes Parliament to possess these powers. It is a self-evident proposition, that the power which enacts a law can repeal it. Now Parliament establishes *habeas corpus*; of course the same power can repeal it. “Parliament might, if public opinion would allow them, abolish the *habeas corpus* act forever.” This is the language of Lieber, speaking of the omnipotence of Parliament. (Pol. Her. p. 187.) Parliament does abolish the right of jury trial every year, as to every Englishman in a naval or military situation. The same might be done as to slaves, equally as well. That it might regulate Slavery was very clearly the opinion of Mansfield, in the *Sommersett* case. We need not dwell on this. In this country the case is different. In most, if not all of the States, the Constitution protects the writ of *habeas corpus* even against the Legislature; clearly showing, that without such a provision it was thought our Legislatures might, like the English, do with that as with all other laws — alter and repeal them at their pleasure. Any one who wishes to learn how “absolutely despotic,” how “sovereign and uncontrollable to repeal all laws, civil, military, ecclesiastical, &c. &c.; to alter the established religion, to *change the constitution* of the kingdom and of Parliaments themselves;” in short, “to do everything not *naturally impossible*,” Parliament is, may consult Blackstone, 1. 160, 161; also 2 Dall. Rep. 308; De Lolme, p. 134.

To show that this despotic power did undertake to act, and to establish *slave property* in the colonies, we shall trouble the reader by citing a single Statute, pointed out to us by William I. Bowditch,

Esq., though Mr. Spooner was not able to find any. Did time permit, doubtless we might fill our pages with more. The quotation given below is an express command by Parliament to seize and sell negro slaves, like any other property, when needed to pay the debts of the master; being the clearest and most distinct recognition, it will be seen, of *slave property*. The language here is unambiguous, and serves to explain the wording of other Statutes, about which Mr. Spooner has quibbled, trying to make out that they did not refer to *slaves*, because they merely spoke of *negroes*, (see his page 26.) “Negro” is the usual term in many old laws for slave, and the two words are used interchangeably. The Virginia Constitution, of 1776, charges George III. with “prompting *our negroes* to rise in arms against us,—those very negroes, whom, by an inhuman use of his negative, he hath refused us permission to exclude.” See also Conn. Act, 1784; Cons. S. Carolina, 1790.

(5 George II. c. 7. 6 Statutes at Large, 74.)

“An Act for the more easy recovery of debts in his Majesty’s Plantations and Colonies in America.

“4. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the said 29th day of September, 1732, the *houses, lands, negroes, and other hereditaments, and real estates*, situate or being within any of the said Plantations belonging to any person indebted, shall be *liable to, and chargeable with* all just *debts, duties, and demands*, of what nature or kind soever, owing by any such person to his Majesty or any of his subjects, and shall and may be assets for the satisfaction thereof, in like manner as real estates are by the law of England liable to the satisfaction of debts due by bond or other specialty, and shall be subject to the like remedies, proceedings, and process, in any court of law or equity in any of the said Plantations respectively, for seizing, extending, *selling, or disposing of* any such *houses, lands, negroes, and other hereditaments and real estate*, towards the satisfaction of such *debts, duties, and demands*, in like manner as personal estates in any of the said Plantations respectively are seized, extended, sold or disposed of for the satisfaction of debts.”

See also 23 George II. c. 31, A. D. 1750:

“An Act for extending and improving the trade to Africa.

“Whereas the trade to and from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the supplying the Plantations and Colonies thereunto belonging with *a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates,*” &c. &c.

Further on the Act speaks—though Mr. Spooner, who quotes liberally from it, never got so far as to see it—of “NEGROES OR OTHER GOODS!” Yet Mr. Spooner thinks there is nothing in this

Statute to show that "negroes" means slaves, or that they are considered property!

SOMMERSETT CASE.

3d. If Slavery was tolerated here, the decision of Lord Mansfield, in the Sommersett case, 1772, put an end to its legal existence.

James Sommersett was the slave of Charles Steuart, once an officer in the Custom House of Boston. He was bought in Virginia, and carried thence to London, in 1769. Sometime after, he quitted Mr. Steuart; who thereupon had him seized, and placed on board ship to be carried to Jamaica. Granville Sharpe caused him to be brought before Lord Mansfield, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, to try the question, "whether a slave, by coming into England, became free?" Lord Mansfield, in 1772, decided that no slaveholder could exercise any authority over his slave while in England, or could carry a slave out of England without his consent. [The English Courts have since held, that if a slave chooses to leave England, and return to a slave country, he resumes the condition of a slave.]

So far as the case of Sommersett has any reference to the Colonies, it *recognizes the legal existence of Slavery in Virginia*. For the arguments of Counsel and the decision of Mansfield, all proceed on the supposition, that *at home*, in Virginia, Sommersett *was a slave*. The decision was, that a person held as a slave abroad, if once landed in England, could not be taken thence against his will. Now if Sommersett was not a *slave* in Virginia, the whole case proceeded on a mistake. *As far as this case goes*, therefore, it recognizes the legal existence of Slavery in Virginia.

The case of Sommersett was adopted in the Colonies to the exact extent to which it went. Those Colonies which abolished Slavery, (Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, &c.) either refused, under its authority, to deliver up slaves brought or flying into their limits, or specially provided on what conditions masters should be allowed to bring their slaves with them.*

* Mr. Geo. Bradburn, in a recently published letter, thinks he has found additional evidence of the correctness of Mr. Spooner's view of the Som-

The Sommersett case has never been supposed to have any further reference to the Colonies than that above specified. In-

mersett case in the following extract from Dr. Belknap's Letter to Judge Tucker, Mass. Hist. Collect. 4. 202. He regards it as a proof that the Massachusetts Court, following what he thinks the authority of that case, did overrule the Slave Laws of the State, and hence he infers that other States ought, and in due time will, follow the example.

"The blacks had better success in the judicial courts. A pamphlet, containing the case of a negro, who had accompanied his master from the West Indies to England, and had there sued for and obtained his freedom, was reprinted here; and this encouraged several negroes to sue their masters for their freedom, and for recompense for their service, after they had attained the age of twenty-one years. The first trial of this kind was in 1770. The negroes collected money among themselves to carry on the suit, and it terminated favorably for them. Other suits were instituted between that time and the revolution, and the juries invariably gave their verdict in favor of liberty. The pleas on the part of the masters were, that the negroes were purchased in open market, and bills of sale were produced in evidence; that the laws of the province recognized slavery as existing in it, by declaring that no person should manumit his slave without giving bond for his maintenance, &c. On the part of the blacks it was pleaded, that the royal charter expressly declared all persons born or residing in the province to be as free as the king's subjects in Great Britain; that by the laws of England, no man could be deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers; that the laws of the province respecting an evil existing, and attempting to mitigate or regulate it, did not authorize it; and, on some occasions, the plea was, that though the slavery of the parents be admitted, yet no disability of that kind could descend to children.

"During the revolution-war, the *public opinion* was so strongly in favor of the abolition of Slavery, that in some of the country towns votes were passed in town-meetings, that they would have no slaves among them; and that they would not exact of masters any bonds for the maintenance of liberated blacks, if they should become incapable of supporting themselves."

The answer to this use of Dr. Belknap's statement is as follows:

Dr. Belknap does not probably refer to the Sommersett case. That was in 1772, whereas his case occurred previously, in 1770. To be sure, other similar cases had occurred before this of Sommersett. The truth is, the movements in behalf of slaves were simultaneous on both sides the ocean. This, however, is of little consequence. The true explanation of the success of the negroes here is quite different from that suggested by Mr. Braddurn.

1st. By the law of 1646, no one *born* in Massachusetts, could legally be a slave. The recognition of this principle doubtless freed some. Parker, C. J., says, 16 Mass. 75:—"By the Colonial law of 1646 no bond slavery could exist, except in the case of lawful captives taken in just war, or such as willingly sold themselves, or were sold to the inhabitants. Of course, the children of those who in fact were, or who were reputed to be, slaves, not coming within the description, could not be held as slaves. And in the year 1796 it was solemnly and unanimously decided by the Court, that the issue of slaves, although born before the adoption of the Constitution, were born free."

2d. As to the rest, a more truly Yankee notion than pure love of liberty probably secured their freedom. Parsons, C. J., 4 Mass. 123, A. D. 1803, remarking that the conclusion above referred to by Judge Parker was, however sound, contrary to general practice and usage, tells us, referring to

stead of deciding Slavery to be illegal here, it made no decision respecting American Slavery either way. But if it is to be quoted at all, the only thing found in it is a tacit recognition of the legal existence of Slavery in Virginia. This view of the case is fully confirmed in the able review of it by Lord Stowell, in the case of the slave Grace, 2 Hagg. Adm. 94.

COLONIAL STATUTES.

4th. THE Colonial Statutes establishing, or relating to Slavery, are void, because they do not define, with sufficient precision, who are to be slaves.

In most of the English colonies in America, Slavery originated in custom. Such has usually been its origin wherever it has existed. Some of the Colonies afterwards regulated, recognized, and established it by particular statutes; some left it to that irregular custom in which it commenced. In this respect, *black* Slavery, on this side the water, exactly resembled *white* Slavery (villeinage) in the mother country. Both originated in custom, and the rules regulating each were, from time to time, laid down by the Courts, or by the Legislatures, as it chanced.

If to this any one shall object, that "all customs must have a reasonable beginning," and that *malus usus abolendus est*, (a bad custom is to be disregarded,) we shall reply :

1st. Why did not these maxims of the Common Law, if they are to be taken literally, abolish villeinage (white slavery) in England? Any explanation which makes them consistent with that system of Slavery, will show that they were consistent with our Slavery also.

2d. We reply, with Lord Coke, that "*reasonable* is not to be understood of every unlearned man's reason, but of *legal and artificial*

those cases where slaves obtained their freedom *previous* to the Constitution of 1780, "The defence of the master was faintly made, for such was the temper of the times, that a restless, discontented slave was worth little; and *when his freedom was obtained in a course of legal proceedings, the master was not holden for his future support, if he became poor.*"

The few lines of Dr. Belknap, which we have italicised, point to the same idea, and afford, probably, the true explanation why men went through Court, to free slaves, in 1776. — See Remarks of Shaw, C. J., in the Med. case, 18 Pick. 193. For an interesting statement as to the first line of the Massachusetts Constitution, and its being specially intended to abolish Slavery, see the Letter of REV. DR. LOWELL, in the Boston Courier, May 20, 1847.

reason, warranted by authority of law ;” and with Sir William Scott, (Lord Stowell,) “ when it is cried out that ‘ bad customs are to be disregarded,’ it is *first* to be *proved*, that even in the consideration of England, the custom of Slavery is considered a *bad custom* in the Colonies.”

But Mr. Spooner goes further, and asserts that Slavery cannot legally originate in custom. It must be authorized, he says, from the very first by express statute. He founds this opinion on the language of Mansfield ; which is the *only* evidence he quotes in support of such a novel and strange idea. See the remarks of Lord Stowell, as to Slavery in Antigua, 2 Hagg. Adm. 94. In the Sommersett case, Mansfield said :

“ So high an act of dominion must be recognized by the law of the country where it is used. * * * The state of Slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political — but only positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from the memory. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law.”

From this Mr. Spooner infers, as follows :

“ Slavery, then, being the creature of positive legislation alone, can be created only by legislation that shall so particularly describe the persons to be made slaves, that they may be distinguished from all others. If there be any doubt left by the *letter* of the law, as to the persons to be made slaves, the efficacy of all other slave legislation is defeated simply by that uncertainty. * * * Custom imparts to Slavery no legal sanction.” — *p. 32, and see p. 24.*

We confess we do not see anything of this in the remarks of Lord Mansfield. He says merely that Slavery must be created by *positive law*, but not a word as to the exactness with which the persons must be pointed out and distinguished. All this is Mr. Spooner’s addition.

Again ; what is meant by *positive law* ? Does it refer exclusively to *statutes*, written *acts* of Legislatures, or may it include usages, customs, and rules of Courts also ?

We answer, it includes all these ; the epithet is as often applied to these as to written statutes. This indeed is evident from the very language of Mansfield ; “ positive law, which preserves its force *long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself, from whence it was created, is erased from the memory.*”

Now the *time*, date, of a written statute endures as long as the statute itself, and so often of the rest. Lord Mansfield is evidently describing a usage or custom, which insensibly grows up in a country, unmarked and unregarded, until by and by, it is impossible to tell precisely where, when, and how it commenced.

Chief Justice Shaw, in the *Med. case*, says of this remark of Lord Mansfield :

“ By *positive law*, in this connection, may be as well understood *customary law* as the enactment of a statute ; the word is used to designate *rules established by tacit acquiescence*, or by the legislative act of any State, and which derive their force from such acquiescence or enactment, and not because they are the dictates of natural justice, and as such of universal obligation.”

We have quoted the above remark of Judge Shaw, not only as reliable authority for our assertion, but also as containing a concise definition of “positive law.” Authority on this point we do not need, for every reader of law books knows the meaning ; and the only wonder is, how so ingenious a man as Mr. Spooner ever fell into the gross error of founding an essential portion of his argument on so plain a mistake. *Positive law* is the term usually employed to distinguish the rules, usages, and laws which are made *by man*, from those which God has implanted in our nature. It matters not whether these rules and laws are written or unwritten, whether they originate in custom, or are expressly enacted by Legislatures. In a word, *positive* means *arbitrary*, and is used as opposed to *moral*.

Our limits will not permit quotations to show the use of this word, neither are they necessary, but any one who is curious on the point, may find the word used in this sense everywhere in law books, and especially, Blackstone, I. pp. 62, 70 ; Chritian's Note to Blackstone, p. 58, and Doctor and Student quoted there ; Selden on Fortescue, quoted at the end of Mr. Spooner's first chapter ; Taylor's Civil Law, p. 132 ; Wooddesson, p. 46, &c. &c. ; Bouvier and Tomline's Law Dictionaries ; Austin's Jurisprudence ; Rutherford, Wheaton, &c. &c.

Such being the meaning of the word *positive*, Mr. Spooner's argument falls to the ground ; and we are authorized, in asserting that custom and usage are not only a usual, but a *legal* commence-

ment of Slavery ; and that there is nothing in the language of Mansfield opposed to this idea.

Nevertheless, the Colonies *did* take care to point out and define by statute, very precisely, who were to be slaves. We need not spread out the laws here. They will be found in Stroud, and a part of them in the notes to Mr. Spooner's fourth chapter. They enact :

1st. That all negroes, Indians, and mulattoes, &c. and their offspring, except those then *free*, shall be slaves.

2d. That, in every trial, it shall be presumed, that every negro and mulatto is a slave until he *proves* the contrary.

We hardly see how a more precise description or direction could be given. The rules may be short, but they speak with "irresistible clearness," leave no case unprovided for, and sweep all clean before them. All of a certain race are slaves, and in case of any doubt, they are to be *presumed* slaves till the contrary is *proved*. Surely there never can be any doubt or hesitation in any Court how to act under such rules ; provided always a Court can be found base enough to act at all under such an accursed system. Indeed the system of Slavery will never be successfully attacked by objections like these. In cold, calculating, *systematic* plan and foresight, the slaveholders of this, as of every other country, have always been distinguished. The people have seldom regained their freedom by finding a loose joint in the harness of their tyrants ; no, it has usually been necessary to trample armor and armor-wearers together in the dust.

Mr. Spooner says, "the fact that Slavery was *tolerated* in the Colonies, is no evidence of its legality." This is true, on his supposition that custom is no legal or competent source of the system, a doctrine which he tries, but in vain, to deduce from Lord Mansfield's language. Having shown the unsoundness of his view of the meaning of "positive law," the above assertion falls also to the ground. Toleration or acquiescence is what gives force, effect, and legal validity to custom, especially when such customs are recognized by legislative action.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

5th. "THE Declaration of Independence abolished it."

In reply, we have only to say, that the Declaration had nothing to do with Slavery. That paper "dissolved the political bands" that bound the Colonies to England, and that was all it did, or was intended to do. No Court has ever held it to be the "fundamental law" of the country. On the contrary, it is simply a State paper, a political act, — changing the form of government, and having no relation to individual rights. We cannot better describe the *legal* character of the Declaration, that given to it by the Courts of the country, than in the words of J. Q. Adams. — (Oration at Quincy, 1831, p. 20.)

"The Declaration of Independence asserted the rights and acknowledged the obligations of an independent nation. * * * *It made no change in the laws* — none in the internal administration of any one of the Confederates, other than such as necessarily followed from the dissolution of the connection with Great Britain. *It left all municipal legislation*, all regulation of private individual rights and interests to the people of each separate colony; and each separate colony thus transformed into a State of the Union, wrought for itself a Constitution of Government."

Every one knows, and every page of our history proves, that the Declaration was neither intended nor supposed to abolish Slavery. Among other facts, we may refer to the insertion, in the Massachusetts Constitution, of a special clause for this purpose; which would have been unnecessary if the Declaration had already done the work. Of such acts as the Declaration, the intention is the main thing, in getting at the meaning. See the Letter of Dr. Belknap, in the Mass. Hist. Coll., and that of Dr. Lowell, in the Boston Courier of May 20, 1847.

6th. The Articles of Confederation do not refer to Slavery; and the State Constitutions of 1789 are either inconsistent with the existence of any such institution, or wholly silent about it.

This is Mr. Spooner's last point. The Articles of Confederation speak of "free inhabitants," and "free citizens." The *natural and obvious* meaning of this language is, inhabitants and citizens not enslaved. This we have shown, and, in fact, Mr. Spooner allows it. He tries to affix a technical meaning to the word "free."

It is true the word has a technical meaning, as we have before stated, when used alone, or with "*men*," as in "free men:" but never, we believe, when joined with "inhabitants," or "citizens." However, the question whether the Articles of Confederation did, or did not, speak of slaves, is of no consequence. We shall leave it, merely remarking that any plain reader of them will at once say that they do; which is the best evidence that the fact is so.

EARLY STATE CONSTITUTIONS.

WE have reached, then, the State Constitutions of 1789. At that time, Slavery existed in the midst of the nation; was tolerated by the acquiescence of the whole people, and known to all as a *great fact*, a prominent part of their social arrangements; recognized by the sovereign power of Parliament; established, regulated and defined, by repeated Statutes of the Colonial Assemblies.

Suppose that Mr. Spooner's assertion be true, and that in such a state of things these Constitutions did not allude in any way to Slavery, what then? Does that prove that the system could not exist after such Constitutions were adopted? Not at all. These Constitutions, many of them, at least, if not all, make no allusion whatever to property in land—to the rights of marriage—to the right of a father to his infant son's earnings—to a man's property being answerable for his debts; some, that of Virginia, for instance, make no provision for raising taxes, or even punishing crime. Are all these things, therefore, *unconstitutional*? Certainly not. Polygamy is not forbidden in any one of them. Is polygamy therefore legal? No; these Constitutions do not attempt to regulate, describe, or even notice, the organic skeleton of social life,—the granite ribs of the social globe. They take them for granted, and proceed to erect upon them, (suffer us to change the figure) as upon a recognized and well-known foundation, the more changeable framework of a Government. That the union of one man and one woman make marriage—that land may be owned and sold—that creditors may sue and debtors must pay,—these things and others, *the customs and usages of the race, for which the Constitution is intended*, are taken for granted. It is not specially provided that Court proceedings shall be in English, or that laws shall be printed

in that language. All these things are presumed; and as according to the well-known rule of law, statutes are to be interpreted according to the *subject matter*, so Constitutions are unintelligible, unless we know first the race, usages, time, country, and general institutions, for which they were intended.

Now, suppose that our Constitutions had taken Slavery, one great American Institution, for granted, as they did the other "*great facts*" of social life, there would have been nothing wonderful in such an occurrence. Unless we found some *express* abolition of the system, or some clause equivalent to it, it would have continued as before. It was the first line in the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Constitutions, "all men are born free," that abolished Slavery in those States. Blot that out, and the omission elsewhere to mention Slavery would have been no bar to its existence. The abolition of so gigantic and deep-rooted a system is never "done in a corner," or by stealth. It is preceded by an agitation sufficient to shake a continent, by long and angry discussion, by convulsion and fierce resistance; and when the long-dreaded and long-wished moment comes, "the boldest holds his breath for a time." Where were all these characteristics of such an event in 1776, or 1789? — when, as Mr. Spooner thinks, one fine morning folks waked up, and were agreeably surprised to find the system gone, although they *all designed and expected its abolition!*

Again; Mr. Spooner says that the Constitution of Virginia commences with the declaration that "all men are by nature equally free,"—and this would abolish all the slave laws of that State. True; it ought to do so. Suppose it had: he has only, by this means, got rid of *one slave State*. There are plenty more to which the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution can apply. The presence of one slave State in the Union is, morally, as bad as the presence of a dozen. But the question now is, not what *we* think *ought* to be the result of certain provisions in the Virginia Constitution; but *what is* the interpretation given to it by that Court, which, and WHICH ALONE is authorized to construe it, namely, — the Supreme Court of Virginia.

The reader will recollect that Mr. Spooner is attempting to show that the United States Supreme Court has, *according to the rules of law*, authority to declare all the slaves in this nation free. One

reason why he thinks so is, that the slave laws of Virginia conflict with her Constitution, and are, therefore, void. Now it happens that the Supreme Court of that State do not think so. And the Supreme Court of the United States hold that they have no right to reverse or control the decisions of State Courts in relation to such a question, "to declare State laws void, although they may be repugnant to the Constitution of the State." (See Story, Comm. 3. 701.) Especially is this the case in questions affecting property, (5 Peters, 291, and the note, 6 Peters, C. R. p. 498.)

However, this question as to Virginia is unimportant. If we grant Mr. Spooner all he asks, it only rids us of *one slave State*, and there were five more in 1789.

But, lastly, the State Constitutions do refer to and recognize Slavery. Virginia speaks of "our negroes," &c. as we have above quoted. Interpreted, as that must be, by the usage of that day, it refers to slaves. So of Pennsylvania, and her mention of "slaves," quoted by Mr. Spooner. Maryland and South Carolina specially provided for the continuance in force of all laws not repugnant to the new Constitutions, and there is nothing in them repugnant to Slavery. Mr. Spooner, on his supposition that the old Charters did not warrant Slavery, says there were no *valid laws* in South Carolina and Maryland to be continued. We have before disposed of this argument, and shown that those laws were valid and consistent with the Charters; consequently they were continued; indeed, whether so consistent or not, having always been considered "*laws*," up to that time, and *all laws* being continued, it seems to us any Court would hold, and common sense would ratify the decision, that those were *the laws* which the SOVEREIGN PEOPLE, the makers of the Constitution, and not bound even by Charters, intended and *had the power* to re-enact and continue. All laws "not repugnant to the Constitution" were continued. It mattered not, *then*, how repugnant they might have been to the old Charter.

The use of the word "*free*," also, in those Constitutions, shows the same thing. We have already sufficiently exposed Mr. Spooner's rash and unfounded assertions as to this term; we shall not repeat what we have before said. Neither shall we go over all the slave State Constitutions; it would require too much space. We simply state that the word "*free*" had been sometimes used technically, and still was so, but not usually in the slave States;

there the primary meaning was preserved to distinguish the class not enslaved. We shall confine ourselves to one State;—one is enough to sustain our argument, and our space forbids us to enlarge. We choose South Carolina.

South Carolina (then including North Carolina,) early recognized Slavery. Her celebrated Constitution, drafted by JOHN LOCKE, and which went into operation in 1669, and continued till 1693, provides that “every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.”

The sanction thus early given was continued by successive legislation down to the Revolution. The Constitution, adopted March 26, 1776, provides, by reference to a former statute, of 1759, that only “free white men, *residents* and *inhabitants* of the Province, for one year,” &c., should vote: and that “free born subjects of Great Britain, residents in the Province one year, &c., having at least five hundred acres of land and *twenty slaves*,” should be eligible to office. In October, 1776, the number of slaves necessary was reduced to *ten*, and only “free white men, *subjects of this State*, and resident in the State twelve months, &c., having at least five hundred acres of land and *ten slaves*,” were declared qualified for the Assembly. Here not only the word “slaves” gives us a distinct recognition of the system, but the use of the word “free.” It cannot mean merely, as Mr. Spooner suggests, men who are citizens, because it would not then have been necessary to go on and specify that they should be “residents,” “inhabitants,” “*subjects* :”—since a “free man” in Mr. Spooner’s sense, that is a *citizen*, must necessarily have been a *subject*. In our sense of “free,” not a slave, there might be many “free white men” in the state, who, not being subjects and citizens, would have been qualified as members, unless it had been specially provided that such should be *subjects*, as well as free. This Constitution continued till 1778, when the one from which Mr. Spooner quotes was adopted, which remained in force till 1790. In this, all direct mention of slaves was dropped. In the Constitution of 1790, the State returned to her old policy, and made the holding of “*ten negroes*,” the being “a free white man, of the age of twenty-one years, and a *citizen* and resident of the State,” the qualifications for a seat in her Legislature. When the Constitution of 1778, from which Mr. S. quotes, speaks of “every

free white man resident and inhabitant of this State," &c., Mr. S. says this word "free" has no reference to Slavery. Let us see. The clause is copied from laws which had been in force for half a century, and distinctly recognized by the Constitution of 1776. In all those, the "free white man" is the holder of "*twenty slaves*," "*ten slaves*," — he is to be a resident — *subject*, and, in 1790, *citizen* of the State. To make the term "free," in this connection, express merely citizenship, as Mr. Spooner proposes, is to make it superfluous and unnecessary. Taken in connection with these terms, there can be no doubt of its true signification. It meant the class that held slaves, and was used to distinguish them from their slaves. The reader will remember Lord Mansfield's rule, the universal rule, that ambiguous words are to be taken to mean what they have *clearly* meant in *other similar laws*. This consideration fixes *beyond a doubt*, the true signification of the word in this place.

Mr. Spooner says "free," in this connection, ("free *white* man,") cannot be the opposite of slave, because it would imply that some *white* men might be slaves. This objection would never have been brought by an Abolitionist. Such know too well by Southern advertisements, Southern law cases, aye, and by the recent action of the Carolina Legislature, how often "*pure white*" men are found in chains.

Finally, suppose any of the slave States were deficient in valid slave legislation in 1789; they have made up for it since. Their Constitutions now are full of Slavery. But, says Mr. S., they cannot enslave people, once free. Who will prove this? We assert, and challenge a contradiction, that Pennsylvania may, in perfect *consistency with the United States Constitution*, re-create Slavery to-day. No clause in that instrument forbids any of the old thirteen States from setting up Slavery, if any one is mad enough to wish it; and once established, it could claim the benefit of all the pro-slavery clauses as fully as the more ancient wickedness of the Old Dominion or of Carolina. It is idle, therefore, to waste time in ferreting out the precise condition of the Constitutions of 1789. That is a very immaterial point. Indeed, the whole discussion is a waste of time. The Constitution of the United States deals with Slavery as a *fact*, and gives it, as such, certain rights. Such is the general rule as to *ante-constitutional* matters. (See Story, 1. 206.) The Constitution no more undertook to decide whether Slavery was

legally planted here, than it did to determine, before it gave Congress the right to regulate commerce with the Indians, whether they had the best original title to this soil, five hundred years ago, &c. Suppose it should turn out, that those tribes had no legal right here, it it would not alter the force or meaning of the Constitutional provisions respecting them.

We close here our protracted review of this essay. The only apology we can offer to the readers of the Standard for occupying so many of their columns, is not the ingenuity of the argument — though that we are willing to confess, in Mr. Spooner's favor, deserves some credit, — but we were told that the book, hoisted into undue notice by the loud vaunts of unthinking friends, was misleading worthy men, whose want of time, or scanty acquaintance with the subject, or too high opinion of its critics, prevented them from fully seeing the unsoundness of the pretended argument. In general, we think the American Society may well take the Constitution to be what the Courts and Nation allow that it is, and leave the hair-splitters and cob-web spinners to amuse themselves at their leisure. Sufficient for us is our appropriate and gigantic work, of trying to convert a community which exults in being, and in being considered, the lover and the supporter of Slavery.

NOTE.

WE have referred so often to the English system of villenage that we make here, for the reader's satisfaction, a few extracts to show its nature and extent,—and to qualify the general statement, so often made, that the Common Law does not allow Slavery. Our American slavery was but a shoot of the same tree, a little varied in its form by the climate. So far from its being repugnant to English Law, the interval between the death of villenage in England and the birth of Negro Slavery on this side the water was so brief, that an active fancy might almost see, on the principle of Hindu transmigration, the vital spirit of Saxon bondage passing with colonists across the ocean, to reappear, in another form, and with fresh life, on the virgin soil of the New World. Though the number of villeins gradually decreased till they finally disappeared, still it would be difficult to say when, if ever, English law distinctly forbade the system; certainly not till some time after the settlement of this country. It was partially destroyed in 1660: but, unless it must be considered to have been too much hated to need a law forbidding it, it waited for final extinction till 1834. Stephens, in his "Slavery," gives an elaborate account of villenage, but the extracts below are from Hargrave's argument on the *Sommersett* case, and from Blackstone's *Comm.* 2. 93, 96. Mr. Hargrave says:

"The only Slavery our law-books take the least notice of is that of a villein. * * * No Slavery can be lawful in England, except such as will consistently fall under the denomination of villeinage. The condition of a villein had most of the incidents which I have before described in giving the idea of slavery in general. His service was uncertain and indeterminate, such as his lord thought fit to require, or, as some of our ancient writers express it, he knew not in the evening what he was to do in the morning—he was bound to do whatever he was commanded. He was liable to beating and imprisonment and every other chastisement his lord might prescribe, except killing and maiming. He was incapable of acquiring property. * * *He was himself the subject of property; as such saleable and transmissible.* * * * If he was a *villein in gross*, he was an hereditament, or chattel real, according to his lord's interest, being descendible to the heir where the lord was absolute owner, and transmissible to the executor, where the lord had only a term of years in him. Lastly, the Slavery extended to the issue, if both parents were villeins, or if the father only was a villein. The ex-

tion of villenage, all agree, happened about the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, or soon after the accession of James. [James came to the throne 1603.] But though villeinage is obsolete, by a strange process of human affairs, the memory of *Slavery expired*, now furnishes one of the chief obstacles to the introduction of slavery attempted to be revived."

Blackstone, after giving much the same account, adds :

"A villein, in short, was in much the same state with us, as Lord Molesworth describes to be that of the boors in Denmark, and which Stiernhook attributes also to the *traals*, or slaves, in Sweden ; which confirms the probability of their being in some degree monuments of the Danish tyranny."

* * * * *

"When tenure in villenage was virtually abolished, by the statute of Charles II., there was hardly a pure villein left in the nation. For Sir Thomas Smith testifies, that in all his time (and he was secretary to Edward VI.) he never knew any villein in gross throughout the realm ; and the few villeins regardant that were then remaining were such only as had belonged to bishops, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical corporations, in the preceding times of popery. For he tells us, that 'the holy fathers, monks and friars, had in their confessions, and specially in their extreme and deadly sickness, convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was, for one christian man to hold another in bondage : So that temporal men by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villeins. But the said holy fathers, with the abbots and priors, did not in like sort by theirs ; for they also had a scruple in conscience to impoverish and despoil the church so much, as to manumit such as were bond to their churches, or to the manors which the church had gotten ; and so kept their villeins still."

Cooper, in his 'Justinian,' p. 414, quotes Smith further, as saying, that "at last some bishops manumitted their villeins for money — and others on account of popular outcry : and at length the monasteries falling into lay hands, was the occasion that almost all the villeins in the kingdom were manumitted."

THE
LAW OF HUMAN PROGRESS:

AN ORATION

BEFORE THE
PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY OF UNION COLLEGE,
SCHENECTADY.

JULY 25th, 1848.

BY CHARLES SUMNER.

*Secta fuit servare modum, finemque tenere,
Naturamque sequi, patriæque impendere vitam,
Non sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.*

LUCAN.

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ORATION.

FROM opposite parts of the country, from various schools of sentiment, we have come together at this happy Anniversary, to interchange salutations, to mingle in friendly communion, and to listen to such words of cheer as the occasion shall convey. Here are the young, with the freshest laurel of Alma Mater, with joy brightening and hope elevating the countenance, still unconscious of the toils which enter into the duties of the world. Here are they, too, of middle life, on whose weary foreheads the sun now pours his meridian rays, resting for a moment in these pleasant retreats and renewing their strength. And here, also, are the fathers crowned with length of days, and rich with the fruits of ripened wisdom, removed at last from active struggles, and dwelling much in meditation upon the Past. The Future, the Present, and the Past, all find their representatives in our Fraternity.

I speak of our Fraternity; for though a stranger among you, yet as a member of this Society in a sister University, and as a student of letters in moments withdrawn from other pursuits, I may claim kindred here. Let me speak then as to my own brethren. Invited by your partial kindness, it is my privilege to-day to unfold to you some subject, which, while claiming your attention during this brief hour, may not improperly mingle

with the memories of this Anniversary. I would if I could utter truths, which, while approved by the old, should sink deep into the souls of the young, filling them with strength for all good works. Mindful, then, of the occasion — deeply conscious of its requirements — solicitous of the harmony which becomes our literary festivals, I cannot banish from my thoughts a topic, which is intimately connected with the movements of the present age — nay, which explains and controls these movements, whether manifested in the march of science, in the triumphs of charity, in the wide-spread convulsions of Europe, or in the generous uprising of our own country in behalf of Freedom.

Wherever we turn is Progress — in science, in literature, in knowledge of the earth, in knowledge of the skies, in intercourse among men, in the spread of Liberty, in the works of beneficence, in the recognition of the Brotherhood of Mankind. Thrones on which Authority seemed to sit secure with the sanction of centuries have been shaken, and new-made constitutions have come to restrain the aberrations of unlimited power. Everywhere men, breaking away from the Past, are pressing on to the things that are before.

Meditate for one moment on what has taken place during a brief span of time, hardly exceeding a year. I do not dwell on that mighty revolution, with whose throes the earth still shakes, and whose issues are yet unrevealed ; I do not pause to contemplate the character of that Pontifical Reformer, who has done so much to breathe into Europe the breath of a new life ; I can only point to Sicily and Naples rising against a besotted tyranny — to Venice and Lombardy claiming their long-lost rights — to all Italy filled with the thought of Unity — to Hungary flaming with republican fires —

to Austria roused at last against a patriarchal despotism — to Prussia taking her place among constitutional states — to all Germany throbbing with the strong pulse of Freedom. All these things are present to your minds.

There are other events of a different character which are not less signs of the age. Discovery has achieved one of its most brilliant, as also one of its most benign results. The genius of Leverrier, traversing the spaces of the heavens, has disclosed a new planet. By the application of ether the dreaded pain of the surgical knife, and even the pangs of nature, have been soothed or removed, while Death himself has been disarmed of something of his terrors.

But these latter times have witnessed two spectacles of a higher order, and less regarded, which are of singular significance in the history of Christian Progress — harbingers, I would call them, of those glad days of promise which we may almost seem to touch. I would not exaggerate their importance; and yet I must speak of them as they impress my own mind. To me they are of a higher order than any discovery in science, or any success in the acquisition of knowledge, or any political prosperity, inasmuch as they are the tokens of that elevation of morals, and of those precious sentiments of Human Brotherhood, without distinction of condition, of nation, or of race, which it is the highest office of all science, of all knowledge, and of all politics, to serve. I refer to the sailing of the Jamestown from Boston with succor to the starving poor of Ireland, and to the meeting of the Penitentiary Congress at Frankfort. All confess the beauty of that act, in which prophecy seems nearly fulfilled, by which a Ship of War was consecrated to a

purpose of charity. Hardly less beautiful is the contemplation of that assembly at Frankfort (perhaps it is new to some whom I have the honor of addressing) where were delegates from most of the Christian Nations — from military France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, the States of Germany, England, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Poland, distant Russia, and frozen Norway — convened for no purpose of war or diplomacy — not to agitate selfish coalitions — not to adjust or disturb the seeming balance of Europe — not to exalt or abase the vaulting ambition of potentate or state ; but calmly and in fraternal council to consider what could be done for the welfare of those who were in prison ; to listen to the recital of efforts in their behalf among all the nations, and to encourage each other to perseverance in this work. Surely such a Congress forms a truer epoch of Christian Progress (does it not ?) than the Congress of Vienna, with the bespangled presence of the autocrats of Europe disposing of the spoils of war ; as the sailing of the Jamestown is a higher Christian triumph than any mere victory of blood.

Profoundly penetrated by these things, all will confess the Progress of Man. The earnest soul, enlightened by history — strengthened by philosophy — nursed to childish slumber by the simple prayer of the Saviour, “Thy kingdom come ; thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven” — confident in the final though slow fulfilment of the daily fulfilling promises of the Future — looks forward to the continuance of this Progress, during unknown and infinite ages, as one of the laws of our being.

It is of this that I propose to speak to-day. My subject is THE LAW OF HUMAN PROGRESS. In selecting

this theme, I trust not to seem to minister to the pride or gratulation of the Present, or to furnish motives for indifference or repose. Rather from the contemplation of this Law, let us derive new impulses to act in conformity with it — well knowing that the duties of life can be adequately performed, only by obedience to the laws of God.

The subject is vast, as it is interesting and important. It might well occupy a volume, rather than a brief discourse. In unfolding it, I shall speak first of the history of this Law, of its origin, of its gradual development and recognition, before considering its character, its conditions and limitations, the duties which it seems to enjoin, and the encouragements which it affords.

I. And, first, of its history. The recognition of this Law has been reserved for comparatively recent times. Like other general laws, governing the courses of nature, it was unknown to antiquity. The ignorance and prejudice which then prevailed, with regard to the earth, and the heavenly bodies and their relations to the rest of the universe, found fit companionship with the wild speculations concerning the Human Race. The ignorant live only in the present, whether of time or place. What they see and experience bounds their knowledge. Thus to the early Greek the heavens seemed to be upborne by the mountains, and the sun traversed daily in fiery chariot from east to west. So things seemed to him. But the true Destiny of the Human Race was as little comprehended.

The origin and history of Man were surrounded with fable ; nor was there any correct idea with regard to the principles which determine the succession of events. The revolutions of states were referred sometimes to

chance, sometimes to certain innate elements of decay. Plutarch did not hesitate to refer the triumphs of Rome—not to the operation of immutable laws—but to the fortune of the Republic. And Polybius, whom Gibbon extols for his wisdom and his philosophical spirit, said that Carthage being so much older than Rome, felt her decay so much the sooner, and the survivor, he foresaw, carried in her bosom the seeds of mortality. The image of youth, manhood, and age, was applied to nations. Like mortals on earth, they were supposed to have a period of life and a length of thread, spun by the Fates, strong at first, but thinner and weaker with advancing time, till at last it was cut, and another nation, with newly-twisted thread, commenced its career.

In likening the life of a nation to the life of an individual man, there was an error, commended by seeming truth, which is not entirely banished from the world. It still prevails with many, who have not yet received the Law of Human Progress, in the clear light of which all revolutions and changes are but links in the chain of development—or turns, it may be, in the grand *spiral line*—by which the unknown infinite Future is connected with the Past. Nations have decayed; but it has never been with the imbecility of age.

The ancients saw that there were changes in history; but they were unable to detect the principles governing these changes, while a favorite fable and popular superstition conspired to turn the attention back upon the Past, rather than forward to the Future. In the dawn of Greece, Hesiod,—standing near the Father of Poetry—sang the descending mutations through which Mankind had seemed to travel. First came, so he fabled, the Golden Age, when men lived secure, without care, without toil, without the ills or weariness of life, in

peaceful pleasant association, with all manner of good, upon the plentiful fruits which the earth spontaneously bore. This was followed by the Silver Age, when a race, inferior in form and in disposition, dwelt upon the earth. The next was the Brazen Age, still descending in the scale, when men became vehement and robust, strong in body and stern in soul, building brazen houses, wielding brazen weapons, prompt to war, but not yet entirely wicked. The last, and unhappily his own, according to the poet, was the Iron Age, when straightway all evil raged forth; neither by day nor yet by night did men rest from labor and sorrow — discord took the place of concord — the pious, the just, and the good, were without favor — the man of force and the evil-doer were cherished — modesty and justice yielded to insolence and wrong. War now prevailed, and men lived in wretchedness.*

Such, according to the Greek poet, was the succession of changes to which mankind had been doomed. This fable found a response. It was repeated by philosophy and history. Plato adorned and illustrated it. Strabo and Diodorus imparted to it their grave sanction. It was carried to Rome with the other spoils of Greece. It was reproduced by Ovid in flowing verses that have become a commonplace of literature. It was recognized by the tender muse of Virgil, by the sportive fancy of Horace, and the stern genius of Juvenal. Songs and fables have ever exerted a powerful control over human opinion; nor is it possible to estimate the influence of this story in shaping unconsciously the thoughts of mankind. It is easy to understand that the youth of Antiquity — let me say, too, the youth of later ages — nay, of our own day, in our own schools and colleges — nurtured

* Hesiodi, Opera et Dies, 108–207.

by this literature, should learn to turn from the Future, and rather regard the Past. The words of Horace have afforded a polished expression to this prejudice of education :

Damnosa quid non imminuit dies ?
 Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
 Nos nequiores, mox daturos
 Progeniem vitiosiore.*

But barren as classical literature shall be found in any just recognition of the continuity of events, in any true appreciation of the movement of history, or in any well-defined confidence in the Future, it were wrong to say that it did not find a voice, which seemed in harmony with the prophets and the evangelists, to proclaim the advent of a better age. Virgil, in his Eclogue to Pollio — the exact meaning of which is still a riddle — breaks forth in words of vague aspiration, which have sometimes been supposed to auspicate from Heathen lips the coming of the Saviour. The blessings of Peace are here foreshadowed, and the Golden Age seems to be, not only behind, but also before us. Thus, has the human heart, notwithstanding the prejudices of superstition and the constraint of ignorance, in its longings for a better condition on earth, gone forward and heralded the way, in which Mankind, strengthened by intelligence, and elevated by morals and religion, were to follow !

To the superstitions of Heathenism succeeded the superstitions of the Christian Church. The popular doctrine of an immediate millennium, inculcated by a succession of early fathers, took the place of ancient fable, and a Golden Age was placed in advance to animate the hopes and perseverance of the faithful. It was believed that the anxieties and strifes, filling the lives

* *Carmina*, Lib. III., 6.

of men, were all to be lost in a blissful Sabbath of a thousand years, when Christ with the triumphant band of saints would return to reign upon earth until the last and general resurrection. Vain and irrational as was the early form of this anticipation, it was not without its advantages. It filled the souls of all who received it with aspirations for the Future, while it rudely prefigured that period — still, alas! too distant — when the whole world shall glow in the illumination of Christian truth. In the history of the means by which the Law of Human Progress has found acceptance, it were wrong not to mention this prophetic vision of the ancient Church.

But all the legitimate influences of Christianity were in the same direction. Christianity is the religion of Progress. There is no single element or feature, which it possesses, so peculiar and distinctive as this; an element or feature, which we seek in vain in any of the Heathen forms of faith professed upon earth. Confucius, in his sublime morals, taught us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; but the Chinese philosopher did not declare the ultimate triumph of this law. It was reserved for the Sermon on the Mount to reveal the vital truth, that all the highest commands of religion and duty, drawing in their train celestial peace and happiness upon earth, and marking the final distant goal of all Progress among men, shall one day be obeyed. “For verily I say unto you,” says the Saviour, “till heaven and earth pass, *one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled.*” *

There is nothing of good so vast or beautiful, nothing so distant or seemingly inaccessible, as to be beyond the reach of these promises. Though imperfectly un-

* Matthew, chap. v. 18.

derstood, or dimly discerned, in the night of ignorance and prejudice, they have been the heralds of the dawn. In the advance of Modern Europe, they have led the way, whispering, *Onward forever*. Long before philosophy had deduced from history the Law of Human Progress, the Gospel had silently planted it in the human heart. There it rested, powerfully, though gently, influencing the march of events.

Slowly did it pass from the formularies of devotion into the convictions of reason and the treasury of science. Strange blindness! They who, in repeating the Lord's prayer, daily called for *the coming of his kingdom on earth*—they who professed implicit faith in the final fulfilment of the Law—still continued in Heathen ignorance of the true significance and spirit of the Prayer, which they daily uttered, and of the Law which they daily recognized. They did not perceive that the kingdom of the Lord was to come, that the Law was to be fulfilled by a continuity of daily labors. As modern civilization gradually unfolded itself, amidst the multiplying generations of men, they witnessed the successive manifestations of power, but perceived no Law. They looked upon the imposing procession of events, as they came sweeping by; but did not discern the rule which guided the mighty series. They passed from triumph to triumph; they saw their dominion extended by the discoveries of intrepid navigators; they saw learning strengthened by the studies of accomplished scholars; they saw universities opening their portals to ingenuous youth in all corners of the land, from Aberdeen and Copenhagen to Toledo and Ferrara; they saw art put forth new graces in the painting of Raphael, new grandeur in the painting, the sculpture, and the architecture of Michael Angelo; they caught the

strains of poets, no longer confined by the idioms of a foreign tongue, but flowing sweetly and strongly in the language learned at a mother's knee ; they received the manifold revelations of science in geometry, in mathematics, in astronomy ; they saw the barbarism of the barbarous Art of War changed and refined — though barbarous still — by the invention of gunpowder ; they saw knowledge of all kinds spring to unwonted power through the marvellous agency of the Printing Press ; they read the character of the *good Man of Peace*, as described in that work of unexampled circulation, translated into all modern languages, the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis ; they listened to the apostolic preaching of Wickliffe in England, of Huss in Bohemia, of Savonarola in Florence, of Luther at Worms ; and yet all these things, — the harmonious expression of the *progressive* energies of Man — the token of an untiring advance — the earnest of a mightier Future, — seemed to teach no certain lesson.

The key to this advance had not been found. It was not seen, that the constant desire for improvement, implanted in men, and the consequent constant effort for improvement, in a life susceptible of indefinite Progress, naturally caused, under the laws of a beneficent God, an indefinite advance — that the evil passions of individuals, or of masses, while unquestionably retarding, could not permanently restrain this divine impulse — and that each generation, by an irresistible necessity, added to the accumulations of the Past, and in this way, prepared for a higher Future. To persons ignorant of this tendency, history was not a chain of causes and effects, wherein the *effect* of to-day becomes the *cause* of to-morrow, but a disconnected irregular series of incidents, like separate and confused

circles, having no common bond. It was a dark chaos, embroiled by "chance, high arbiter," or swayed by the accidental appearance of an individual man, of fortunate position and power. Even Macchiavelli, the most consummate historian and politician of his age, — Bodin, the able speculator upon Government, — Bossuet, the eloquent teacher of religion and history, — Grotius, the illustrious founder of the Laws of Nations, — minds from whom to expect an appreciation of the true philosophy of events, — all failed to recognize in them any prevailing Law. They did not discern their governing principles.

It was reserved to a professor at Naples, Giambattista Vico, in the early part of the last century, to review the history of the Past, to analyze its movements, and finally to disclose the existence of a primitive rule or Law, by which these movements had been affected. His work entitled, *The Principles of a New Science (Principi d' una Scienza Nuova,)* first published in 1725, undoubtedly constitutes an epoch in historical studies. It has been supposed by his recent Italian admirers to vindicate for its author a place among the great discoverers, by the side of Descartes, Galileo, Bacon, and Newton.* Without undertaking to question, or to adopt this exalted homage to a name comparatively little known, all will agree, that as the author of an elaborate work, devoted expressly to the philosophy of history, at a period when history was supposed to be without philosophy, he deserves honorable mention.

Vico taught us to regard, not merely the individual and the nation, but the race, and showed that, whatever may have been the fortunes of individuals, Humanity had

* Cataldo Jannelli, Cenni Sulla Natura et Necessita della Scienza delle Cose et delle storie umane. Cap. 3, § 6.

advanced, — that no blind or capricious chance can control the course of human affairs, but that all that is done must proceed directly, under God, from the forces and faculties of men, and thus can have no true cause, except in the nature of things, — excluding of course the idea of chance. He recognized three principles as lying at the foundation of civilization; first, the existence of Divine Providence, second, the necessity of moderating the passions, and third, the immortality of the soul; these three primal truths answering to as many grand historical facts of universal acceptance in all nations and all times, religion, marriage, and sepulture. Three stages, according to him, had marked the history of mankind; first, the divine, or theocratic; next, the heroic; and lastly, the human. These appeared in Antiquity, and were reproduced, as he fancied, in Modern Times. Here, then, was, not only an ingenious and novel analysis of the Past, but an enunciation of certain principles, which were essential to the life of society, and which necessarily influenced its affairs. To this extent the theory of Vico is important.

But while recognizing Humanity as governed by Laws, he failed to perceive, that these same Laws promise to conduct it through unknown and infinite stages. He was perplexed by the treacherous image of youth, manhood, and age, and seemed to suppose, that nations were to turn in a vicious circle of change, reaching the last point only to fall away and repeat again the same series of transitions.

Meanwhile a gigantic genius in Germany, — whose vision, no less comprehensive than penetrating, embraced the whole circumference of knowledge, and reached into the undiscovered Future, — to whom the complexities of mathematics, the subtleties of philology, the mazes

of philosophy, the courses of history, the rules of jurisprudence, and the heights of theology, were all equally familiar — Leibnitz, that more than imperial conqueror in the realms of universal knowledge, the greatest, perhaps, of Human Intelligences — clearly enunciated the Law of Progress in all the sciences and all the concerns of life. The Present, born of the Past, he said, is pregnant with the Future. It is by a sure series that we shall advance, using and enjoying all our gifts for the health of the body and the improvement of the mind. Every thing, from the simplest substance up to man, proceeds towards God, the Infinite Being, source of all other beings; and in bold words, which may require explanation in order to be received, he says, Man seems to be able to arrive at perfection. *Videtur homo ad perfectionem venire posse.**

Leibnitz saw the Law of Progress, as by intuition; but, though guided by it in many things, it does not appear that he fully appreciated its transcendent importance, as a rule of conduct, and allowed his great powers to be fully penetrated by its influence. The good time had not come for its perfect work. And yet recognizing this Law, the gates of the Future seemed to open to him, and he saw Man in the distant perspective, arrived at heights of happiness which he cannot now conceive — he saw the vision of Universal Peace no longer as a vision, but as the practical idea of humane statesmen, while he bent his incomparable genius to the discovery of a new agent of intercourse among men — sought also by other philosophers since his day, — a Universal Language, in which

* Leibnitz, Opera Omnia, ed. Dutens, Vol. vi. p. 309; *Ut semper certa serie progredi valeamus.* Op. Philosophica, p. 85, Art. xi., De Scientia Universali; Théodicée, § 341.

the confusion of tongues shall be forgotten, and the union of hearts be consummated in the union of speech.

In Germany, Leibnitz was soon followed by Lessing, the regenerator of the literature of his country, who also recognized this law. And almost by the side of Lessing comes Herder, one of the most gifted minds of a gifted people, who in his *Philosophy of History*, *Philosophie der Geschichte von Menschlichkeit*, shows Humanity moving ever forward, from the small beginnings of ignorance and barbarism, when wrong and war and slavery prevail, to the recognition of reason and justice as the rule of life. "There is nothing enthusiastical," he says in that work, which is now one of the classics of German prose, (Book xv. chap. 5,) "in the hope, that wherever men dwell, at some future period will dwell men rational, just, and happy; happy, not through the means of their own reason alone, but of the common reason of the whole fraternal race."

Thus much for the early recognition of this Law in Italy and Germany. It is in France, however, that we can trace its most complete development, by a succession of masters of human thought. First came Descartes, in the middle of the sixteenth century, often called the chief of French philosophy. His life was filled by triumphs of intellect, and his spirit after death seemed for a long time to rule all the departments of study. Like the universal soul of the Stoics it was everywhere. Though not formally enunciating the Law of Progress, he acknowledged its influence in natural science, in his *Discourse on Method*, first published in 1637.* "The experience which I have in physics," he says, "teaches me that it is possible to arrive at a knowledge of many things which will be very useful to life, and that we

* Œuvres de Descartes, Vol. I. p. 192, 193, *Discours de la Méthode*, § 6.

may yet discover methods, by which man, comprehending the force and the action of fire, of water, of the air, of the stars, of the skies, and of all the other bodies, which now environ us, as distinctly as we comprehend the different trades of our artisans, shall be able to employ them in the same fashion for all the usages to which they are appropriate, and thus shall render himself master and possessor of nature." "In these new triumphs of knowledge, men may learn to enjoy the fruits of the earth without trouble — their health will be improved, and they will be able to exempt themselves from an infinitude of ills, as well of the body as of the mind, and even, perhaps, from the weakness of age." As we repeat these words, uttered long before the steam-engine, the railroad, the electric telegraph, and the use of ether, we may seem to listen to a prophecy — the prophecy of science — which each day helps to fulfil. "Without speaking with disrespect of others," he continues, "I am sure that even those engaged in these matters will confess that all which they know, is almost as nothing by the side of what remains to be known."

From Descartes I pass to Pascal, a great name not to be mentioned without a tribute to the early genius which, although removed from life at the age of thirty-nine, has left an ineffaceable trace upon the religion, science, and literature of his time. The Law of Progress received from him its earliest and most distinct statement as a rule of philosophy, applicable to all the sciences which depend upon experience and reason. It is to be found in his posthumous work, of eloquent piety and sentiment, *Les Pensées*, which was first published in 1669, by his companions of the Port Royal, some time after his death; and it is not a little curious, as an

illustration of the prejudices which stood in the way of the reception of this truth, that the chapter entitled *De l'autorité en matière de Philosophie*, in which it is set forth, was suppressed in this early edition. It was not until the next century, that the testimony of Pascal was disclosed to the world. "By a special prerogative of the human race," he says, "not only each man advances day by day in the sciences, but all men together make a continual Progress, as the universe grows old; because the same thing happens in the succession of men which takes place in the different ages of an individual. So that the succession of men, in the course of so many ages, may be regarded as *one man, who lives always, and who learns continually*. From this we see with what injustice we respect Antiquity in philosophers; for, since old age is the period most distant from infancy, who does not see that the old age of this *universal man* must not be sought in the times nearest his birth, but in those which are the most remote. They, whom we entitle Ancients, were indeed new in all things, and properly formed the infancy of mankind; and since we have joined to their knowledge the experience of the ages which have followed them, it is in ourselves that is to be found that Antiquity which we revere in the others."

These remarkable words of Pascal, even while yet unpublished, found an echo. The memorable controversy, in France, with regard to the comparative merits of the Ancients and Moderns, which occupied the close of the seventeenth century, opened the way for a discussion of the principles of Progress, particularly in the arts and in literature. The larger part of the critics of the time, under the lead of Boileau, espoused the cause of the Ancients. Against these, Charles Perrault —

conspicuous among the scholars of his age, and still pleasantly remembered as the introducer into Western Europe of Fairy Tales — entered the list in an elaborate effort, entitled *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes, en ce qui regarde les Arts et les Sciences*, published in 1692. In this work, which has been admired for its scholarship, no less than its true philosophy, he vindicates the Moderns, reviewing the productions of Antiquity in various departments, and, while admitting the degree of perfection to which they had arrived, showing the necessary advantages and accumulations from the subsequent experience of the human family. He too, like Pascal — though it does not appear that the words of the latter were known to him — sees the life of Humanity *as the life of an individual man eternal*, and, though recognizing crises or epochs of retrogression in history, he declares the continuous progress of the race, not only in the sciences, but also in morals and in the arts.

This sentiment found similar utterance in a lively contemporary, Fontenelle, of whom at least this may be said, that he lived to the greatest old age of any person in the history of literature, dying at the age of one hundred, after devoting all that unusual length of days to the exclusive pursuit of letters. “A good mind,” says this veteran,* “cultivated and of our age, is so to speak, composed of all the minds of preceding ages; there is but one and the same mind that has been cultivated during this period. So that this man, who has lived from the beginning of the world to the present, has had his infancy, when he was occupied only with the mere pressing demands of life; his youth when he

* Œuvres de Fontenelle, Vol. II. p. 249 — *Digressions sur les Anciens et les Modernes*.

has succeeded sufficiently well in matters of imagination, such as poesy and eloquence, and when he has begun to reason, but with less of solidity than of fire ; and he is now in the age of manhood, when he reasons with more force and intelligence than ever ; but he would be yet further advanced, if the passion for war had not occupied him for a long time, and had not given to him a contempt for the sciences to which he has at last returned. This same man, to speak properly, will know no old age ; he will be ever capable of the things to which his youth was apt, and ever more and more capable of those which belong to the age of manhood. That is to say, to quit the allegory, men do not degenerate, and the sound views of all the good minds that succeed them will be added always one to the other.”

Thus, in France, was the Law of Progress confessed in the sciences, by Descartes and Pascal — in literature, in the arts, and even in morals by Perrault and Fontenelle. All this was before the expiration of the seventeenth century. It still remained, that it should be distinctly announced, not only as a special Law of certain departments, but as a general Law of Humanity, of universal application, guiding men in all their labors, and erecting before them a goal of aspiration and of certain triumph. This was done by a person, who was not a philosopher only, not a statesman only, not a philanthropist only, but in whom this triumvirate of characters was blended with rare success — Turgot, the well-loved minister of Louis XVI. It was said of him, by Voltaire, that “ he was born wise and just,” and this remark has especial point when it is considered that his views on this Law were first put forth in an Essay, written at the age of twenty-three, in 1750, while he was yet a

student. Let it be mentioned in his praise, that, as he grew in years, in power, and in fame, he did not depart from the happy intuitions of his early life, or forget the visions which, as a young man, he had seen. He perceived clearly the advance which had already been made, and drew from it assurances of yet further advance. In reason, in knowledge, and in virtue, he did not hesitate to place his own age before those which had preceded it. "The corrupt of to-day," he was accustomed to say, "would have been Capuchins a hundred years ago." He regarded the capacity for indefinite improvement, as one of the distinctive qualities of the human race, belonging to the race in general, and to each individual in particular. He believed, for example, that the progress of the physical sciences, of education, of method in the sciences, or the discovery of new methods, would contribute to enlarge the powers of men, and to render them capable of preserving a larger number of ideas in the memory, and of multiplying their relations. He believed that the moral sense was equally capable of improvement — that men would become constantly better, in proportion as they were enlightened — that the advance of society would necessarily keep pace with the advance of morals — that politics, founded, like the other sciences, upon observation and reason, would advance also — that all useful truths must be finally known and adopted by men, while ancient errors will be annihilated by degrees, or will give place to new truths — and that this Progress, increasing always from age to age, has no term, or has none which can be assigned in the present state of our intelligence.*

These views, commended by the earnestness of con-

* Vie de M. Turgot, par Condorcet, pp. 12, 278–283.

viction, were, doubtless, not without their influence upon the great movement, which ended in the earlier revolution of France, or rather, they were a part of that movement. They found a welcome in many bosoms. There is yet another Frenchman, of the last century, who has borne an emphatic testimony to their truth, and whom it would be wrong to omit in this history. I refer to the Marquis Condorcet. This unfortunate nobleman, conspicuous for his learning and genius, particularly in mathematics, and for his devotion to the principles of the Revolution, when at last proscribed, and compelled to flee for his life,—pursued by the very dogs he had helped to arouse, but was impotent to restrain,—sought shelter with a friend, where, in concealment, he passed the last eight months of his life. His first thought was, from his retreat, to send forth a vindication of himself, addressed to his fellow-citizens; but soon renouncing this design, he devoted what remained to him of life—during that most hateful passage of human history, the Reign of Terror in Paris—to the preparation of a work, in which he has brought all his various powers to the development of the Law of Human Progress. It is entitled the Sketch of an Historical Table of the Progress of the Human Mind, *Esquisse d'un Tableau des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*. Here he has reviewed human society in its different stages—unfolding the order of its changes and the influences which have been transmitted from age to age, and pointing out the different steps in the march towards truth and happiness. From observation of man as he has been, and of man as he is to-day, he passes naturally to the consideration of the new triumphs, which are his certain destiny, so long as he continues to possess the faculties with which he has been en-

dowed, and to be governed by the same universal Laws.

Thus wrote Condorcet, while the sword of the assassin yet waited. And here properly closes this branch of our subject. I have traced the high lineage and authority of this Law, not by the testimony of the enthusiasts of Humanity, not by Fenelon, or Saint Pierre, not by Diderot, Voltaire, and Rousseau, but by a succession of minds, who are our acknowledged guides in science, in philosophy and history. The torch was held aloft in Italy by Vico — in Germany, by Leibnitz, Lessing, and Herder — in France, it passed through the hands of Descartes, Pascal, Perrault, Fontenelle, Turgot, and Condorcet,

Et, quasi cursores, vitæ lampada tradunt,

till at last, at the close of the eighteenth century, its flame was seen from afar. It is with regret, I add, that we seem to be little indebted to England for early illustrations of this Law. It appears, however, in the very title of Lord Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* — also in his declaration, that Antiquity was the youth of the world, *Antiquitas sæculi, juvenus mundi*,* and in his aspiration to deliver man from his present weakness, by extending his power over nature. It was cordially embraced at a later day by Dr. Price, a correspondent and friend of Turgot.†

To the eighteenth century, then, belongs the honor — signal honor I venture to call it — of first distinctly acknowledging and enunciating that Law of Human Progress, which, though preached in Judea eighteen hundred years ago, had failed to be received by men ;

* De Augmentis Scientiarum, Lib. I.

† There is a sermon by Dr. Price, published in 1787, on *The Evidence of a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind*.

may, which still fails to be received by men. Writers in our own age, of rare ability and of unexampled hardihood of speculation, while adopting this fundamental Law, have proceeded to arraign the existing institutions of society. My present purpose does not require me to consider these, whether for censure or for praise — abounding as they do in evil, abounding as they do in good. It has been my single aim to follow through the Past the gradual development, and final establishment of that great Law, which teaches that “there is a good time coming” — that there is a Future even on earth, an “All hail hereafter,” to arouse the hopes, the aspirations, and the energies of Man.

There are revolutions in history which may seem, on a superficial view, inconsistent with this Law. Our attention is directed from early childhood to Greece and Rome; and we are sometimes taught that these two states had reached heights which subsequent nations cannot hope to equal, much less surpass. Let me not disparage the triumphs of the ancient mind. The eloquence, the poetry, the philosophy, the art of Athens still survive, and bear no mean sway over the earth. Rome, too, yet lives in her jurisprudence, which, next after Christianity, has exerted a paramount influence over the laws of modern States.

But exalted as these productions may be, it is impossible not to perceive, that something of their present importance is derived from the peculiar period in which they appeared — something from the habit of unquestioning and high-flown admiration with regard to them, which has been transmitted through successive generations — and something also from the disposition still prevalent, blindly to elevate antiquity at the expense

of subsequent ages. Without now undertaking to decide the question of the supremacy of Greek or Roman genius, as displayed in individual minds, it would be easy to show, that the ancient standard of civilization had never reached the heights of many modern States. The people were ignorant, vicious, and poor, or degraded to abject slavery,—slavery itself the sum of all injustice and all vice. And even the most illustrious characters, whose names still shine with stellar brightness from that distant night, were little more than splendid barbarians. Architecture, sculpture, painting, and vases of exquisite perfection, attested their appreciation of the beauty of form; but they were strangers to the useful arts, as well as to the comforts and virtues of home. Abounding in what to us are luxuries of life, they had not what to us are its necessities.

Without knowledge there can be no sure Progress. Vice and barbarism are the inseparable companions of ignorance. Nor is it too much to say, that, except in rare instances, the highest virtue is attained only through intelligence. And this is natural; for in order to do right we must first understand what is right. But the people of Greece and Rome, even in the brilliant days of Pericles and Augustus, were unable to arrive at this knowledge. The sublime teachings of Plato and Socrates — calculated in many respects to promote the best interests of the race — were restrained in their influence to the small company of listeners, or to the few who could obtain a copy of the costly manuscript in which they were preserved. Thus the knowledge and virtue, acquired by individuals, failed to be diffused in their own age or secured to posterity.

But now at last, through an agency all unknown to

antiquity, knowledge of every kind has become general and permanent. It can no longer be confined to a select circle. It cannot be crushed by tyranny or lost by neglect. It is immortal, as the soul from which it proceeds. This alone renders all relapse into barbarism impossible, while it affords an unquestionable distinction between Ancient and Modern Times. The Press, watchful with more than the hundred eyes of Argus — strong with more than the hundred arms of Briareus — not only guards all the conquests of civilization, but leads the way to future triumphs. Through its untiring energies, the meditations of the closet, or the utterances of the human voice, which else would die away within the precincts of a narrow room, are prolonged to the most distant nations and times, with winged words circling the globe. We admire the genius of Demosthenes, of Sophocles, of Plato, and of Phidias ; but the printing-press is a higher gift to man than the eloquence, the drama, the philosophy, and the art of Greece.

There is yet another country which presents a problem for the student of Progress. In vivid phrase Sir James Mackintosh pictures “the ancient but *immovable* civilization of China.”* But in these words he spoke rather from impressions, than from actual knowledge. By the side of the impulsive movement of modern Europe, the people of this ancient country may seem stationary ; but it can hardly be doubted that they have advanced, though according to a scale unlike our own. It may be difficult to assign satisfactory reasons for the seeming inertness of their national life. Perhaps I shall not err, if I refer it to the peculiar constitutional characteristics of this people — to the inherent

* Lecture on the Law of Nature and of Nations.

difficulties of their language as an instrument of knowledge, and also to the habit of unhesitating deference to antiquity, and of “backward-looking thoughts,” which has been cultivated by the Chinese from the distant days of Confucius. They do not know the Law of Human Progress.

II. The way is now prepared for a consideration of the true character, conditions, and limitations of this Law, of the duties which it seems to enjoin, and the encouragements which it affords.

Let me state the Law as I understand it. Man, as an individual, is capable of indefinite improvement. Societies and nations, which are but aggregations of men, and, finally, the Human Race, or collective Humanity, are capable of indefinite improvement. And this is the Destiny of man, of societies, of nations, and of the Human Race.

In thus restraining the proposition to the capacity for indefinite improvement, I believe I must commend it to the candor and intelligence of all who have meditated upon this subject. And this brings me to the remarkable words of Leibnitz. We have already seen that he boldly says, that man seems to be able to arrive at perfection; and Turgot and Condorcet also both speak of the “perfectibility” of man — a term which has been adopted by many recent French writers. If by this is meant simply, that man is capable of indefinite improvement, then it will not be questioned. But whatever may be the heights of virtue and intelligence at which he shall arrive in future ages, who can doubt that to his grander vision new summits will ever present themselves, provoking him to still grander aspirations? God only is perfect. Knowledge and virtue, which are his

attributes, are infinite ; nor can man hope, in any lapse of time, to comprehend this immensity. In the infinitude of the universe, he will seem, like Newton, with all his acquisitions, only to have gathered a few stones by the margin of the sea. It is in a similar strain that Leibnitz elsewhere distinctly says, that the place which God has assigned to man in space and time, necessarily bounds the perfections which he has been able to receive. As the asymptote, in geometry, may constantly approach its curve, so that the distance between them is constantly diminishing, and yet they can never meet; though prolonged indefinitely, so, according to him, are infinite souls the asymptotes of God.

In receiving this Law, two conditions of Humanity are recognized ; first its unity or solidarity ; and second, its indefinite duration upon earth. And now of these in their order.

1. It is true, doubtless, that there are various races of men ; but there is but one great Human Family, in which Caucasian, Ethiopian, Chinese, and Indian, are all brothers, children of *one* Father, and heirs to *one* happiness. Though variously endowed, they are all tending in the same direction ; nor can the light which is obtained by one be withheld from all. The ether discovery in Boston shall soothe pain hereafter in Africa and in Asia, in Abyssinia and in China. So are we all knit together, that the words of wisdom and truth, which first sway the hearts of the American people, shall yet help to elevate the benighted tribes of the most distant regions. The vexed question of modern science, whether these races proceeded originally from one stock, does not interfere with the sublime revelation of Christianity, the Brotherhood of Mankind. In the light of science and of religion, Humanity is an organism, complex but

still one — throbbing with one life — animated by one soul — every part sympathizing with every other part — and the whole advancing in one indefinite career of Progress.

2. And what is the measure of this career? It is common to speak of the long life already passed by Man on earth; but how brief and trivial is this compared with the untold ages before him! According to our received chronology six thousand years have not yet elapsed since his creation. But now the science of Geology, that unquestioned interpreter of the Past, has demonstrated (and here the geology of New York has only recently furnished most important evidence) that this globe had endured for ages upon ages, baffling human calculation or imagination, before the commencement of the history of Man. Without losing ourselves in the stupendous speculations with regard to the different geological epochs, before this globe assumed its present figure, and when it was occupied only by races of animals, that have now become extinct, it may not be without interest to glance at an illustration of the age of the epoch in which we now live. This happily we are able to do.

It is from the flow of rivers, that we have the gigantic measure of geological time. It is supposed that the falls of Niagara were once at Queenstown, and that they have gradually worn their way back, for a distance of seven miles, in the living rock, to the place where they now pour their thunders. An ingenious English geologist, a high authority in his science, Sir Charles Lyell, assuming that this retreat might have been at the rate of one foot a year, has shown that the cataract must have been falling over those rocks for a period of at least 36,960 years. And the same authority has

taught us, that the alluvion at the mouth of the Mississippi — the delta formed by the deposits of that mighty river — (here let it be remarked that the alluvions and sand-banks are the most recent geological formations on the surface of the earth — they are the nearest to our own age,) could not have been accumulated within a shorter tract of time than 100,500 years.* And even this period, so vast to our small imagination, is only one of a series, composing the present epoch; and the epoch itself is but a unit in a still grander series. These measurements, adopted by our masters in this department of knowledge, can be little more than vague approximations; but they teach us, from the lips of science, as perhaps nothing else can, the infinite ages through which this globe has already travelled, and the infinite ages which seem to be its Future Destiny.

Thus we stand now between two infinities; — the infinity of the Past and the infinity of the Future; and the infinity of the Future is equal to the infinity of the Past. In comparison with these untold spaces, both before and after, what, indeed, are the six thousand years of human history! In the contemplation of Man, what littleness! What grandeur! How diminutive in the creation! How brief his recorded history! And yet how vast in hopes! How majestic and transcendent in the Future!

If there be any analogy between his life on earth, and that of the frailest plant or shell-fish, as now seen in the light of science, he must still be in his earliest and most helpless infancy. It is in vain that we speak of Antiquity in his history; for all his present records

* Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, (7th ed.) Vol. 1. p. 216; Lyell's *Travels in North America*, cap. 2; Horner's Anniversary Address, for 1847, before the London Geological Society, pp. 23–27; *Histoire des Progrès de la Géologie* par le Vicomte D'Archiac, Tom. 1. p. 358.

are but as a day, an hour, a moment, in the unimaginable immensity of duration which seems to await the globe, and its inhabitants. In the sight of our distant descendants, all the eras of the brief span, which we call history, shall fade into one; and, as to our present vision, stars far asunder seem near together, so Nimrod and Sesostrius, Alexander and Cæsar, Tamerlane and Napoleon, shall seem to be contemporaries. Nor can it be any exaggeration to suppose, that in these unborn ages, illumined by a truth — now alas! too dimly perceived — the class of warriors and conquerors, of which these are the prominent types, shall become extinct, like the gigantic land reptiles, and monster crocodilians, which belonged to a departed period of zoölogical history.

Assuming the Unity of Mankind, and their Indefinite Future on earth, it becomes easy to anticipate triumphs of Progress, which else would seem impossible. Few will question that man, as an individual, is capable of indefinite improvement, so long as he lives. This capacity is inborn. There is none so poor as not to possess it. Even the idiot, so abject in condition, is at last found to be within the sphere of education. Circumstances alone are required to call this capacity into action; and in proportion as knowledge, virtue, and religion prevail in a community, will that sacred atmosphere be diffused, under whose genial influence, the most forlorn shall grow into forms of unimagined strength and beauty. But this capacity for indefinite improvement, which belongs to each individual, must belong also to society; for society does not die, and through the improvement of its individuals, it has the assurance of its own advance. It is immortal on earth,

and will constantly gather new and richer fruits from the successive generations, as they stretch through unknown time. To Chinese vision, the period of the present may always seem barren, but it is sure to yield its contribution to the indefinite accumulations, which are the token of an indefinite Progress.

Figures speak sometimes as words cannot speak. Let me illustrate, then, in one aspect only, by the statistics of life, the capacity for improvement in the Human Race. Could Descartes, that seer of science, now revisit this place of his comprehensive labors and divine aspirations, he might well be astonished to know the present fulfilment—in so short a period of the life of Humanity—of his glowing anticipations, uttered a little more than two centuries ago, of the improved health and life of men. The following table, compiled from authentic sources, shows that even the conqueror Death has been slowly driven back, and his inevitable triumph at least postponed.

Table showing the Diminution of Mortality in Countries.

Deaths in England,	in 1690,	1 in 33	in 1848,	1 in 47
“ France,	in 1776,	1 in 25½	in 1848,	1 in 42
“ Germany,	in 1788,	1 in 32	in 1848,	1 in 40
“ Sweden,	in 1760,	1 in 34	in 1848,	1 in 41
“ Roman States, . .	in 1767,	1 in 21½	in 1829,	1 in 28

Diminution of Mortality in Cities.

Deaths in London,	in 1690,	1 in 24	in 1844,	1 in 44
“ Paris,	in 1650,	1 in 25	in 1829,	1 in 32
“ Berlin,	in 1755,	1 in 28	in 1827,	1 in 34
“ Vienna,	in 1750,	1 in 20	in 1829,	1 in 25
“ Rome,	in 1770,	1 in 21	in 1828,	1 in 31
“ Geneva,	in 1560,	1 in 18	in 1821,	1 in 40

Look at the cradles of the nations and races which have risen to grandeur, and learn from the barbarous wretchedness by which they were originally surrounded,

that no lot can be removed from the influence of the Law of Progress. The Feejee Islander, the Bushman, the Hottentot, the Congo negro, cannot be too low for its care. No term of imagined "finality" can arrest it. The polished Briton, whose civilization we now admire, is a descendant, perhaps, of one of those painted barbarians, whose degradation still lives in the pages of Julius Cæsar. Slowly and by degrees, he has reached the position where he now stands; but he cannot be arrested here. The improvement of the Past is the earnest of still further improvement in the long ages of the Future. And who can doubt, that, in the lapse of time, as the Christian Law is gradually fulfilled, the elevation which the Briton may attain will be shared by all his fellow-men?

The signs of improvement may appear at a special period — in a limited circle only — among the people, favored of God, who have enjoyed the peculiar benefits of commerce and of Christianity; but the blessed influence cannot be restrained to any time, to any place, or to any people. Every victory over evil redounds to the benefit of all. Every discovery, every humane thought, every truth, when declared, is a conquest of which the whole human family are partakers. It extends by so much their dominion, while it lessens by so much the sphere of their future struggles and trials. Thus it is, while nature is always the same, the power of Man is ever increasing. Each day gives him some new advantage. The mountains have not grown in size; but Man has broken through their passes. The winds and waves are capricious ever, as when they first beat upon the ancient Silurian rocks; but the steamboat,

"Against the wind, against the tide,
Now steadies on with upright keel."

The distance between two places upon the surface of the globe is the same to-day, as when the continents were first heaved from their ocean bed ; but the inhabitants can now, by the art of man, commune together. Much still remains to be done ; but the Creator did not speak in vain, when he blessed his earliest children, and bade them “to multiply, and replenish the earth, and *subdue it.*”

But there shall be nobler triumphs than any over inanimate nature. Man himself shall be subdued — subdued to abhorrence of vice, of injustice, of violence — subdued to the sweet charities of life — subdued to all the requirements of duty and religion — subdued, according to the Law of Human Progress, to the recognition of that Gospel law, by the side of which the first is as the scaffolding upon the sacred temple, the Law of Human Brotherhood. To labor for this end was man sent forth into the world, — not in the listlessness of idle perfections, but, endowed with infinite capacities, inspired by infinite desires, and commanded to strive perpetually after excellence — amidst the encouragements of hope, the promises of final success, and the inexpressible delights which spring from its pursuit. Thus does the Law of Human Progress

“ — assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men,”

by showing Evil no longer as a gloomy mystery, binding the world in everlasting thrall, but as an accident, destined, under the Laws of God, to be slowly subdued by the works of men, as they press on to the promised goal of happiness.

But while recognizing Humanity as progressive, it is important to consider a condition or limitation of this

Law, which may justly temper the ardors of the reformer. Nothing is accomplished except by time and exertion. Nature abhors violence and suddenness. She does every thing slowly and by degrees. It is some time before the seed grows into the "bright consummate flower." It is many years before the slender twig grows into the tree. It is slowly that we pass from infancy and imbecility to manhood and strength. And when we have arrived at this stage, we are still subject to the same condition of nature. A new temperature, or a sudden stroke of light may shock us. Our frames are not made for extremes; so that death may come, according to the poet's conceit, "in aromatic pain."

Gradual change is a necessary condition of the Law of Progress. It is only, according to the poetical phrase of Tacitus—*per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum*—by intervals and breathings of time, that we can hope to make a sure advance. Men grow and are trained in knowledge and in virtue; but they cannot be compelled into this path. This consideration teaches candor and charity towards all who do not yet see the truth as we do. It admonishes us also, while keeping our eyes steadfast on the good which we seek to secure, to moderate our expectations, and to be content to see the day of triumph postponed.

It is this essential condition of the Law of Progress, that serves to reconcile movement with stability, and to preserve order even in change; as in nature all projectile forces are checked and regulated by the law of inertia, and the centrifugal motion of the planets is restrained by the attraction of gravitation. In this principle of moderation, honestly pursued, from motives of justice and benevolence, and promising "the well-ripened fruits of wise delay," we may find a proper

Conservatism, which, though it may not always satisfy our judgment, can never fail to secure our respect.

But there is another Conservatism — and in the treatment of the subject it becomes necessary for me to exhibit it — of a widely different character, which performs no good office, and cannot secure our respect. Child of indifference, of ignorance, of prejudice, of selfishness, it seeks to maintain things precisely as they are, deprecates every change, and in disregard of the *transitory* condition of all that proceeds from the hands of man, blindly prays for the *perpetuity* of existing institutions. In its influences it is productive of disorder, rather than of order, and, indeed, is destructive rather than justly conservative. In violation of the Law of Progress, it plants itself upon the irreligious sophism of Bolingbroke and Pope, that *Whatever is is right*, or vainly exalts all that has been done by our ancestors as beyond addition and above amendment. Such a conservatism is the bigotry of science, of literature, of jurisprudence, of religion, of politics. An example will best illustrate its character.

When Sir Samuel Romilly proposed to abolish the punishment of death for stealing a pocket-handkerchief, the Commons of England consulted certain officials of the law, who assured the House, that such an innovation would endanger the whole criminal law of the land! And when this illustrious reformer and model lawyer (for of all men in the history of the English law Romilly is most truly the model lawyer) afterwards proposed to abolish the obscene punishment for high treason, requiring the offender to be drawn and quartered, and his bowels to be thrown into his face, while his body yet palpitated with life, the Attorney-general of the day, in opposing this most humane amendment, asked, “Are

the safeguards, the ancient landmarks, the bulwarks of the Constitution to be thus hastily removed?" Which gave occasion for the appropriate exclamation in reply, "What! to throw the bowels of an offender into his face, one of the safeguards of the British Constitution! I ought to confess that until this night I was wholly ignorant of this bulwark!"* An irrational enormity, which finds a fit parallel only in our own country — where slavery is sometimes called a "divine institution," and important to the stability of our Constitution!

Esto perpetua was the dying conservative ejaculation of Paul Sarpi of Venice, over the constitution of that atrocious republic; and this same phrase has been since applied by Sir William Blackstone to the British Constitution, enfolding so many inequalities, and so many abuses. It were well — and all must agree in this — to exclaim of Truth, of Justice, of Peace, of Freedom, *may it be perpetual!* But is it not irrational to claim this for any institutions of human device, and, of course, finite? How can they hope to provide for the Infinite Future? The finite cannot measure itself with the Infinite. Nothing from Man's hands — nor laws nor constitutions — can be perpetual. It is God alone who builds for eternity. His laws are everlasting.

It is this pernicious prejudice, which has been the fruitful parent of the persecution and neglect, that has been the lot of too many of the discoverers of truth. Among the ancient Greeks, they who first assigned the natural causes of thunder and storms, while the ears of men were still unaccustomed to such explanations, were condemned by the conservative savages of that day for impiety to the gods. In the eighth century an ignorant, conservative Pope persecuted a

* Essays of Basil Montagu, p. 69.

priest, who declared that the world was round. And at a later day, to the everlasting scandal of mankind, the book of Copernicus, unfolding the true system of the universe, was condemned, as heretical and false, by a conservative Papal bull; and Galileo, after announcing the annual and diurnal motions of the earth, was sentenced to the dungeons of the conservative Inquisition. This was in Italy; but in England—and here we come nearer home—Harvey was accustomed to say, that after the publication of his book on the circulation of the blood—one of the great epochs of modern discovery—"he fell mightily in his practice, and it was believed by the vulgar that he was crack-brained, and all the physicians were against his opinion."* And on another occasion, he is reported to have declared that no persons older than forty, at the time of his discovery, received it as true. In short, the age of forty was a dividing line of life—a Mason and Dixon's line!—determining the capacity to receive that truth. Surely this little story may well admonish all who have passed this conservative line to be careful how they are inhospitable to any new truth.

This same undue tenacity of existing things, and repugnance to what is new, has thrown impediments successively in the way of the great improvements by which travel and intercourse among men have been promoted. It might be supposed that stage-coaches, when first introduced into England, would have been welcome, though novel, as an acknowledged aid to the comfort of men. But this was not universally the case. An early writer calls for their suppression, breaking forth against them in this wise: "These coaches," he says, "are one of the greatest mischiefs that hath happened of late

* Aubrey's Letters and Lives, Vol. II. p. 383.

years to the kingdom — mischievous to the public, destructive to trade, and prejudicial to lands. First, by destroying the breed of good horses, the strength of the nation, and making men careless of attaining to good horsemanship, a thing so useful and commendable in a gentleman; for, hereby, they become weary and listless when they ride a few miles, and unwilling to get on horseback, not able to endure frost, snow, or rain, or to lodge in the fields; and what reason, save only their using themselves so tenderly, and then riding in these stage-coaches, can be given for this their inability? Secondly, by hindering the breed of watermen, who are the nursery for seamen, and they the bulwark of the kingdom; for if these coaches were down, watermen, as formerly, would have work, and be encouraged to take apprentices, whereby their number would every year greatly increase. Thirdly, by lessening of his majesty's revenues; now four or five travel in a coach together, without any servants, and it is they that occasion the consumption of beer and ale on the roads, and all inn-keepers do declare, that they sell not half the drink, nor pay the king half the excise they did before these coaches set up.* Such was the conservative bill of indictment against stage-coaches. But the history of canals, of steamboats, and lastly of railways, shows the existence of similar prejudices. Even Mr. Jefferson, (and I cannot mention him as an immoderate conservative,) when told that the State of New York had explored the route of a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie and found it practicable — that same canal which now, like a thread of silver, winds its way through your imperial State — replied that “it

* Harleian Miscellany, Vol. viii. pp. 32-35; (ed. 8vo. 1810); The Grand Concern of England, 1673.

was a very fine project, and might be executed a century hence." It is related that the Chelsea pensioners, on first seeing the steamboat upon the waters of the Thames, as they looked out from their palatial home, said ; "we do not like the steamboat ; it is so contrary to nature." In our own country Fitch early brought forward the idea of a steamboat amidst ill-disguised sneers ; and at a later day, Fulton, while building his first steamboat at New York, was viewed with indifference, or with contempt, as a visionary ; and when at last, he had accomplished the long distance to Albany, distrust of the Future still held the public mind, and it was doubted if the voyage could be accomplished again, or, if done, it was doubted if the invention could be made of any permanent value. Thus did this evil spirit perplex the noble aims of these beneficent discoverers ! And in England, almost within our own day, as late as 1825, railways were pronounced "altogether delusions and impositions," and the conservative *Quarterly Review*, alluding to the opinion of certain engineers that the railway engine could go eighteen or twenty miles an hour, says ; "These gross exaggerations may delude for a time, but must end in the mortification of those concerned. We should as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine, going at such a rate." *

* Quarterly Review, Vol. xxxi., p. 361. The illustrations of this spirit might be indefinitely extended. There is one, that has been made familiar to the world, by Mr. Macaulay's History, since this Address was delivered, which has too much point to be omitted. As late as the close of the reign of Charles II., the streets of London, with a population of half a million, were not lighted at night, and, as a natural consequence, became the frequent scene of assassinations and outrages of all kinds, perpetrated under the shelter of darkness. At last, in 1685, it was proposed to place a light before every tenth door, on moonless nights. This projected improvement was enthusiastically applauded and furiously attacked. "The cause of darkness," says

It is related that the Arve, a river of Switzerland, swollen by floods, sometimes drives the waters of the Rhone back into the lake of Geneva, and it once happened that the force was so great as to make the mill-wheels revolve in a contrary direction. There seem not a few in the world, who by their efforts, would cause the stream to flow back upon the fountain, and even make the mill-wheels revolve in a contrary direction.

But unhappily, this same bigotry — conservatism if you will — which has blindly opposed improvements in physical comforts, has set its face more passionately still against many of those movements whose direct object has been the elevation of the race. In all times and places you have persecuted the prophets, and stoned those who have been sent to you. Milton has pictured the boldest type of this conservative in Satan, who, knowing well the sins and offences of mortals, would keep them ever in their present condition — holding them fast in their degradation — binding them in perpetual slavery — nor indulging in any aspiration, except of long dominion over a captive race, whose sorrows and hopes cannot touch his impenetrable soul. From a sketch by another hand, we may learn something of the activity of this character. It is with an honest plainness, characteristic of himself and his age, that the early English prelate, Latimer, says in one of his sermons, “the Devil is the most diligentest bishop and preacher in all England.” Surely it might be said with equal truth,—and none will ques-

Mr. Macaulay, “was not left undefended. There were fools in that age who opposed the introduction of what was called the new light, as strenuously as fools of our age have opposed the introduction of vaccination and railroads, as strenuously as the fools of an age anterior to the dawn of history doubtless opposed the introduction of the plough and of alphabetical writing.” — *History of England*, cap. 3.

tion it — that he is the busiest and most offensive Conservative.

Time would fail me to dwell on the ample illustrations of this influence. One world-renowned example shall suffice. The early efforts in England for the overthrow of the gigantic crime of the slave-trade, were encountered by an enmity, which seemed to partake of the bad passions of the crime itself. In Liverpool, the excited slave-traders threatened to throw Clarkson into the sea. But the heart of the nation was gradually touched, until at last the people of England demanded the abolition of this foul traffic.

Thus has Truth ever moved on — though opposed and reviled, still mighty and triumphant. Rejected often by the rich and powerful, by the favorites of fortune and of place, she finds shelter with the poor and lowly. Let it be said boldly, it is such as these that most freely welcome moral truth, in its immediate application to the concerns of life. It is the humble and retired, not the dwellers amidst the glare of the world, who most clearly perceive this truth; as the watchers, placed in the depths of a well, may observe the stars which are obscured to those who live in the effulgence of noon. Free from the prejudices of self-interest, or of a class, — free from the cares and temptations of wealth, or of power — dwelling in the mediocrity of common life, in seclusion, or obscurity — they discern the new signal, they surrender themselves unreservedly to the new summons. The Saviour knew this. He did not call upon the Priest, or Levite, or Pharisee, to follow him; but upon the humble fisherman by the sea of Galilee.

Let us then be of good cheer. From the great Law

of Progress we may at once derive our duties and our encouragements. Humanity has ever advanced, urged by the instincts and necessities implanted by God—thwarted sometimes by obstacles, which have caused it for a time,—a moment only, in the immensity of ages,—to deviate from its true line, or to seem to retreat—but still ever onward. At last we know the Law of this movement; we fasten our eyes upon that star unobserved in the earlier ages, which lights the way to the Future, opening into vistas of infinite variety and extension. Amidst the disappointments which may attend individual exertions, amidst the universal agitations which now surround us, let us recognize this Law, let us follow this star—confident that whatever is just, whatever is humane, whatever is good, whatever is true, according to an immutable ordinance of Providence, in the golden light of the Future, must prevail. With this faith, let us place our hands, as those of little children, in the great hand of God. He will ever guide and sustain us—through pains and perils it may be—in the path of Progress.

In the recognition of this Law, there are motives to beneficent activity, which shall endure to the last syllable of life. Let the young embrace it; they shall find in it an ever-living spring. Let the old cherish it still; they shall derive from it fresh encouragement. It shall give to all, both old and young, a new appreciation of their existence, a new sentiment of their force, a new revelation of their destiny. It shall be another covenant, like the bow in the heavens, that no honest, earnest effort for the welfare of man can be in vain—that it shall send its quickening influence through the uncounted ages before us, and contribute to the coming of that blessed Future of Intelligence, of Peace,

of Freedom, which we would now fain secure for ourselves, but cannot. And though not, in our own persons, the partakers of these brighter days, ours may be the pleasure at least of foreseeing them, of enjoying them in advance, or the satisfaction sweeter still of hastening by some moments the too distant epoch.

A life filled by this thought shall have comforts and consolations, which else were unknown. In the flush of youthful ambition, in the self-confidence of success, we may be indifferent to the calls of Humanity; but history, reason, and religion, all speak in vain, if any selfish works — not helping the Progress of Mankind — although favored by worldly smiles, can secure that happiness and content which all covet as the crown of life. Look at the last days of Prince Talleyrand, and learn the wretchedness of an old age, which was enlightened by no memory of generous toils, by no cheerful hope for his fellow-men. Then, when the imbecilities of existence rendered him no longer able to grasp power, or to hold the threads of intrigue, he surrendered himself to discouragement and despair. By the light of a lamp which he trimmed in his solitude, he traced these lines — the most melancholy lines ever written by an old man; — think of them, politician! — “Eighty-three years of life are now passed! filled with what anxieties! what agitations! what enmities! what troublous complexities! *And all this with no other result than a great fatigue, physical and moral, and a profound sentiment of discouragement with regard to the Future, and of disgust for the Past.*” * Poor old man! Poor indeed! In his loneliness, in his failing age, with death waiting at his palace gates, what to him were the pomps he had enjoyed! What were titles! What were offices! What

* Louis Blanc, Histoire de Dix Ans. Tom. v. cap. 10.

was the lavish wealth in which he lived ! More precious far at that moment would have been the consolation, that he had labored for his fellow-men, and the joyous confidence that all his cares had helped the Progress of his race.

Be it, then, our duty and our encouragement to live and to labor, ever mindful of the Future. But let us not forget the Past. All ages have lived and labored for us. From one has come art — from another jurisprudence — from another the compass — from another the printing-press — from all have proceeded priceless lessons of truth and virtue. The earliest and most distant times are not without a present influence on our daily lives. The mighty stream of Progress, though fed by many tributary waters and hidden springs, derives something of its force from the earlier currents which leap and sparkle in the distant mountain recesses, over precipices, among rapids, and beneath the shade of the primeval forest.

Nor should we be too impatient to witness the fulfilment of our aspirations. The daily increasing rapidity of discovery and improvement, and the daily multiplying efforts of beneficence, in later years, outstripping the imaginations of the most sanguine, furnish well-grounded assurance that the advance of man will be with a constantly accelerating speed. The extending intercourse among the nations of the earth, and among all the children of the Human Family, gives new promises of the complete diffusion of Truth, penetrating the most distant places, chasing away the darkness of night, and exposing the hideous forms of Slavery, of War, of Wrong, which must be hated as soon as they are clearly seen. And yet, while confident of the Future and surrounded by heralds of certain triumph,

let us learn to moderate our anticipations ; nor imitate those children of the Crusaders, who, in their long journey from Western Europe,

—— “to seek him dead in Calvary
Who lives in Heaven,”

hailed each city and castle which they approached, as the Jerusalem that was to be the end of their wanderings. No ; the goal is distant, and ever advancing ; but the march is none the less certain. As well attempt to make the sun stand still in his course, or to restrain the sweet influences of the Pleiades, as to arrest the incessant, irresistible movement, which is the appointed destiny of man.

Cultivate, then, a just moderation. Learn to reconcile order with change, stability with Progress. This is a wise conservatism ; this is a wise reform. Rightly understanding these terms, who would not be a conservative ? Who would not be a reformer ? A conservative of all that is good — a reformer of all that is evil ; a conservative of knowledge — a reformer of ignorance ; a conservative of truths and principles, whose seat is the bosom of God — a reformer of laws and institutions which are but the wicked or imperfect work of man ; a conservative of that divine order which is found only in movement — a reformer of those earthly wrongs and abuses, which spring from a violation of the great Law of Human Progress. Blending these two characters in one, let us seek to be, at the same time, Reforming Conservatives and Conservative Reformers.

And, finally, let a confidence in the Progress of our race be, under God, our constant faith. Let the sentiment of loyalty, earth-born, which once lavished itself on King or Emperor, give place to that other senti-

ment, heaven-born, of devotion to Humanity. Let Loyalty to one Man be exchanged for Love to Man. And be it our privilege to extend these sacred influences throughout the land. So shall we open to our country new fields of peaceful victories, which shall not want the sympathies and gratulations of the good citizen, or the praises of the just historian. Go forth, then, my country, "conquering and to conquer," not by brutish violence ; not by force of arms ; not, oh ! not, on dishonest fields of blood ; but in the majesty of Peace, of Justice, of Freedom, by the irresistible might of Christian Institutions.

THE
FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW;
TRIED BY THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

BY
JOSEPH P. THOMPSON,
Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church.

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THE Scriptural portion of the following argument was first delivered as a discourse in the Broadway Tabernacle, on Sabbath evening, Sept. 22nd, and was repeated, by request, on Sabbath evening, Oct. 13th. On its first delivery it was prefaced with the following remarks, which it may be important to preserve in this connection.

Whatever may be thought of the lawfulness or the expediency of introducing the general subject of slavery into the pulpit, there can be no question that the treatment due to fugitives from slavery is a legitimate topic for discussion there. That is a subject of which the Bible treats, and in making it a subject of discourse I am not preaching politics but am preaching the Gospel; applying the principles of the Bible to an important public interest. The subject legitimately belongs to the pulpit, and politicians should be careful how they tamper with it, lest they betray an ignorance of the principles of Biblical interpretation and of the spirit of Christianity, as gross as that ignorance of political affairs which they are prone to charge upon ministers of the Gospel. The treatment of fugitive slaves has indeed been made a political question; but it was a Biblical question and a question of morality long before it was dragged into the arena of politics, and it was legislated upon by the King of heaven and earth ages before the Congress of the United States had an existence. The discussion of it in the church, therefore; is not to be tabooed by the captious cry of 'Politics and the Pulpit.' The claim of Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah was made a political question by those who could not or would not comprehend the spirit-

ual character of his mission, and he was crucified under the pretense that he was guilty of treason. The disciple is not above his master, and the servants of Christ should not be deterred from the discussion of any moral question by the hue and cry of politicians. The question before us is not a political question, but a question of Biblical interpretation.

It is also a *practical* question. With slavery in general,—except where it exists in territories belonging to the national government—we of this locality have no direct concern. But the treatment of fugitive slaves is with us a personal matter—a question of almost daily interest. In the houses of some who hear me, fugitives from slavery are often harbored; while others are accustomed to contribute money to help such fugitives on their way. As a pastor, therefore, knowing, or at least suspecting such practices to exist among my congregation, it is my duty to expound to them the teachings of the word of God respecting fugitives from slavery, that those who are accustomed to hide the fugitive, or to aid his escape, may be led to desist from this course if it is wrong, or may be confirmed in it if it is right. There are also many who for the first time are inquiring thoughtfully and conscientiously about their duty with respect to fugitive slaves, and who are disposed to be guided in the matter not by mere human enactments, but by the word of God.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Passed by Congress, September, 1850.

AMONG the measures passed toward the close of the late session of Congress, and known as the "Compromise" or "Peace" measures—which after lumbering in the Senate for months in the shape of an omnibus, were at length worked through the opposition of North and South in disjointed fragments—was a Bill to amend the act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters." This act is familiarly called the Fugitive Slave Law, yet the term slave or slavery does not once occur in it. The phraseology of the act is "fugitives from service or labor," "persons owing service or labor," &c., after the phraseology of the Constitution of the United States, which says, (Art. IV. Sec. 2.) "No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This studious avoidance of any verbal recognition of slavery in the very act which is framed for the security of the institution, is quite significant; it shows that the public sentiment of the world forbids the inconsistency of an avowed legislation for slavery in a free republic, and that the abettors of slavery have not the shamelessness to face that sentiment.

With the provisions of this law the reader is already familiar; but we shall here give an abstract or analysis of the act as an introduction to some considerations drawn from the Scriptures upon the treatment due to fugitives from slavery.

The *first* section authorizes and requires all commissioners of the circuit courts of the United States in whom are vested the powers of a justice of the peace in respect to offenders, for any crime or offense against the United States, to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this act.

The *second* section provides that the superior court of each organized territory of the United States shall have the same power to appoint commissioners to take acknowledgments of bail and affidavit, and to take depositions of witnesses in civil causes, which is now possessed by the circuit court of the United States, and those commissioners also are required to perform like duties, with the former, under this act.

Section *third* empowers the United States courts, both circuit and superior, to enlarge the number of commissioners in order the better to carry into effect this act.

The *fourth* section gives to said commissioners concurrent jurisdiction with the judges of the circuit and district courts of the United States over persons claimed as fugitives from service, according to the provisions of the act.

By section *fifth* it is made the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed, under the penalty of one thousand dollars for each instance of refusal, or neglect, or of the value of the fugitive in case he shall escape from custody. This section likewise authorizes the marshals to appoint agents and to summon the *posse comitatus* to assist them in executing the law.

The *sixth* section authorizes the claimant of a fugitive, or his or her agent or attorney, to pursue and reclaim such fugitive, to seize and arrest him either with or *without* process; requires the court, judge, or commissioner before whom the case is brought, to determine it in a *summary* manner; makes the deposition or affidavit of the claimant taken either in the state in which the arrest is made or in the state in which he resides, satisfactory proof of the fact that the person arrested owes him service or labor, and makes also the mere affidavit of the claimant proof of the identity of the fugitive; declares that "in no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of the alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence;" and authorizes the claimant, upon receiving a certificate from the court, judge, or commissioner, to use all necessary force to take back the fugitive to his own state.

The *seventh* section provides penalties for any attempt to harbor, conceal or rescue a fugitive. As this may be a matter of personal interest to the reader, we give the section entire.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid; or shall rescue or attempt to rescue, such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given and declared; or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such

claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offenses, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States for the district in which such offense may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized Territories of the United States; and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars, for each fugitive so lost as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt, in any of the district or territorial courts aforesaid, within whose jurisdiction the said offense may have been committed.

By the *eighth* section the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the courts acting in the case, are declared to be entitled to the fees for similar services in other cases, and a special provision is made that a commissioner hearing such a case shall receive a fee of *ten* dollars if the alleged fugitive is delivered over, and *five* if he is not, and that any person or persons appointed by the commissioner to execute his process shall receive *five* dollars for each person he or they may arrest and take before the commissioner, and also such additional fees as the commissioner shall deem reasonable for the incidental expenses of keeping the fugitive in custody.

The *ninth* section provides that a sufficient force shall be deputed by the marshal to ensure the safe delivery of the fugitive to the claimant in his own state, whenever an affidavit is made by the claimant that he fears an attempt to rescue the fugitive from his hands; the expense of transportation to be paid out of the treasury of the United States.

The *tenth* section makes the transcript of a record of any court of record in any state, territory or district of the United States, duly authenticated, sufficient proof of the fact of the escape from service of the person therein described, and that record with an affidavit of the claimant to the identity of the alleged fugitive shall be a sufficient authority for the surrendry of the fugitive according to the former provisions of the act.

Such for substance are the provisions of this act. They should be studied and analyzed by every citizen, for every citizen has a direct personal interest in the law. There is no man north of Mason and Dixon's line who may not be required to act as a slave-catcher, under the fifth section, which commands all good citizens "to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law," and who may not be subjected to the penalties provided by the seventh section, for any overt act of sympathy or succor to the fugitive. Should the venerable ex-President Day be passing by at the moment when a marshal or any of his subalterns is attempting to arrest an alleged fugitive, he could be

summoned by the officer to aid in the capture, and should he refuse to render that aid, for thus "knowingly and willingly obstructing" the arrest by his example, influence and lack of service, and at least "indirectly" aiding, abetting and assisting the escape of the fugitive, he would be liable to a fine of one thousand dollars and to imprisonment for six months, and also, in case of the actual escape of the fugitive through his refusal to aid in the arrest, to a further penalty of one thousand dollars "by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct." Perhaps the venerable ex-Professor at Andover would be saved by his exegesis from incurring the penalties of the law, and yet we incline to think that if a fugitive slave stood before him in the concrete, his humane feelings and his intense love of liberty would get the better of his exegesis, and he would be the last man to help to send back a fellow man to that state of slavery which he has denounced with such indignant eloquence. Rather would he say to the slave-catcher,—we use his own language on a kindred point—"I would hold out my right hand to have it cut off, sooner than lift it up for such a [purpose]. I would not have upon my conscience the guilt of turning God's image, (redeemed by the blood of his Son, and made free by the Lord Jesus Christ himself,) into *goods* and *chattels*. I would not bring on my soul that guilt, for ten thousand worlds. To fine a man in the enormous sum of \$1,000, to imprison him moreover for six months, and then subject him to a civil action besides, for injury done to the master—and to do all this merely because of an interference which humanity pleads for, although the law condemns it, is 'Turkish justice, not American—at any rate not New England justice.'" To the honor of Prof. Stuart we believe that no where would a fugitive slave be more safe than on Andover hill; and yet for harboring him, or even refusing to aid in arresting him, the man whose name is venerated wherever learning and piety are esteemed, must submit to fines and imprisonment. This is one feature of the law.

It is remarkable that the bill has no provision against mistake, and no penalty for arresting and enslaving a freeman. It requires but the collusion of two men to seize a freeman in the streets of New York or of Boston, to drag him before a commissioner, to make affidavit of his escape from service and of his personal identity, and in one hour that freeman shall be in the custody of an armed force on his way to the slave-coffles of Bruin and Hill, to be sold to the rice plantations of the South. For such an outrage, entirely feasible under this law, there is no penalty and no redress. True the sufferer has his action at common law for false arrest; but if he should ever get back from bondage, how shall he, poor and defenceless, maintain such an action against the United States power that oppresses him? The law rides over the

right of trial by jury as if the plain of Runnemede were a fiction, and ignores the *Habeas Corpus*, as if the court of High Commission were established by the Constitution of the United States. It applies to apprentices at the north no less than to slaves at the south.

One of the most infamous features of the law is its appeal to the mercenary feelings of the commissioner against the liberty of the alleged fugitive, and to like feelings in the rabble against the liberties of a class of their fellow citizens. Five dollars reward, with incidental expenses *ad libitum*, to whoever shall arrest a fugitive whether he shall prove to be a fugitive or not; five dollars to the commissioner for hearing each case, and *ten* dollars for each case of conviction! Never was a bill more adroitly framed to array the baser passions of men against the instincts of humanity and the claims of justice; never was a bill more adroitly framed to give to the abettors of slavery absolute power over personal liberty, and over all the guards and bulwarks which centuries of conflict on the field of battle and in the hall of legislation have reared about that liberty. Of the constitutionality of such a law we do not purpose here to speak. That will be tested ere long before the proper tribunal upon some case of resistance designed for that very purpose. The Constitution of the United States (Art. IV, Sec. 2) declares, that "no person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." But it is a question whether the Constitution, which provides (Art. VII, Amended) that, "in suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved," can allow the liberty of a man to be put in jeopardy without the judgment of his peers; or whether the instrument which declares (Art. V, Amend.) that "no *person* shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," will recognize a law dispensing with trial by jury in such cases as come within the intent of the phrase "*due process* of law;" or whether the declaration in Art. I, Sec. 9, made without exception of persons, that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it," will admit of a standing exception against any class of persons living under the government of the United States.

These questions we leave to be determined by the proper authority, enduring meanwhile, as best we may, the disgrace of the fact, that the federal government of the United States is the only government in the civilized world that reduces to slavery by force of law, men born under its protection and innocent of crime,

while the border government of a British province affords to thousands of men, women and children, flying from this oppression, the welcome of a free but inclement clime.

The morality of the fugitive slave law is with us a question of higher moment than its constitutionality. The treatment of fugitives from slavery is a question of morality; it is also a scriptural question, for it was a subject of positive enactment in the civil constitution which Jehovah gave to the people of Israel. In that code we read, "*Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant which is escaped from his master to thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.*" (Deut. xxiii, 15, 16.)

The meaning of this command is so obvious to an unsophisticated reader, that it does not seem to admit of dispute or even of a difference of opinion. Upon the face of it is seen the spirit of the Mosaic institutes toward slavery. Those institutes prohibited man-stealing and trafficking in Hebrew slaves, (Ex. xxi, 16, and Lev. xxv, 39-47); they provided for the manumission of slaves at brief and stated intervals; they secured to slaves many domestic, civil and religious rights and privileges; they guarded the life and the person of the slave from violence and abuse; they restricted the system of slavery at every point, with a view to the relief of the servant and the final overthrow of the system itself; and in this spirit and for this purpose—as a restraint upon the cruelty of masters, and as a means toward the abolition of slavery—they prohibited the delivery of a fugitive. But this view of the precept above quoted, so natural, and so entirely in accordance with the legislation of Moses, or rather of Jehovah through Moses, in reference to slavery, is rejected by some distinguished exegetes, who regard the precept as a local statute and not a law of universal application. The following is Professor Stuart's comment on the passage:

"The first enquiry of course is: Where does his master live? Among the Hebrews, or among foreigners? The language of the passage fully develops this, and answers the question. He "has escaped from his master unto the Hebrews (the text says—*thee, i. e., Israel;*) *he shall dwell with thee, among you in one of thy gates.*" Of course, then, he is an *immigrant* and did not dwell *among them* before his flight. If he had been a Hebrew servant, belonging to a Hebrew, the whole face of the thing would be changed. Restoration or restitution, if we may judge by the tenor of other property laws among the Hebrews, would have surely been enjoined. But be that as it may, the language of the text puts it beyond a doubt that the servant is a *foreigner*, and has fled from a *heathen master*. This entirely changes the complexion of the case. The Hebrews were God's chosen people, and were the only nation on earth which worshipped the only living and true God. On this ground, as they were the living depository of the oracles of God, great preference was given to them, and great caution exercised, to keep them from all tangling alliances and connection with the heathen. In case a slave escaped from them and came to the Hebrews, two things were taken into consideration, according to

the views of the Jewish legislator. The first was, that the treatment of slaves among the heathen was far more severe and rigorous, than it could lawfully be under the Mosaic law. The heathen master possessed the power of life and death, of scourging, or imprisoning, or putting to excessive toil even to any extent that he pleased. Not so among the Hebrews. *Humanity* pleaded for the protection of the fugitive. The second and most important consideration was, that only among the Hebrews could the fugitive slave come to the knowledge and worship of the only living and true God. The clause which says: "Thou shalt not oppress him," of course means, that he shall be denied none of the privileges of a resident in the land, and that he shall not be subjected to peculiar taxation or labor. The verses before us do not say, that such a refugee servant shall be circumcised; but the admission of him to the privileges of a freeman implies this. The servants of Hebrews, whether of domestic or foreign origin, were all to be circumcised, Gen. 17; 12-15. Of course the admitted denizen, in the present case, would be required to comply with such an injunction. By the right in question he became incorporated into the Jewish theocratical commonwealth, and therefore entitled, as even bond-men were, to all its religious privileges. Moses, therefore, would not suffer him to be forced back into the darkness of heathenism, nor allow that he should be delivered up to an enraged heathen master. Was he not in the right?

"But we now put the other case, viz: that of escape from a *Hebrew* master, who claimed and enjoyed Hebrew rights, is not the case greatly changed? Who would take from him the property which the Mosaic law gave him a right to hold? Neither the bond-man himself, nor the neighbor of his master to whom the fugitive might come. Reclamation of him could be *lawfully* made, and therefore must be enforced.

"With this view of the matter before us, how can we appeal to the passage in question, to justify, yea, even to urge, the retention of fugitive bond-men in our own country? We are one nation—one so-called *Christian* nation. Christianity is a *national* religion among us. I do not mean that all men are real Christians, or that Christianity is established by law; but I mean, that immeasurably the greatest part of our population, North and South, profess to respect Christianity, and appeal to its precepts as a test of morals, and as furnishing us with the rules of life. What state in the Union does not at least tacitly admit Christianity to hold such a place.

"When a fugitive-bondman, then, comes to us of the North, from a master at the South, in what relation do we of the North stand to the Southern master? Are our fellow-citizens and brethren of the South to be accounted as *heathen* in our sight? No, this will never do. I know not what the proportion of real Christians in the South may be, compared with those of the North; but this I do know, from personal observation made at the South, to some extent, and from a considerable acquaintance with people of the South, that there are among them many warm hearts and active hands in the cause of true Christianity. There is no state where such persons may not be found, and many of them too. A bond-man, fleeing from them to us, is a case of just the same kind as would have been presented among the Hebrews, if a Hebrew bond-man had fled from the tribe of Judah to that of Benjamin. We do not send back the refugee from the South to a *heathen* nation or tribe. There is many a *Christian* master there, and many too who deal with their servants as immortal beings. It may be, that the fugitive has left a severe and cruel master, who will wreak his vengeance upon him for escaping. And it may be, also, that if the fugitive takes up his abode here, he will find those who will maltreat him, and defraud him, and do other grievous things. Crimes of this sort have not as yet quite vanished from the North. But be the master as he may, since we of the North are only other tribes of the same great commonwealth, we can not sit in judgment on cruel masters belonging to tribes different from our own, and having by solemn compact, a separate and independent

jurisdiction in respect to all matters of justice between man and man, with which no stranger can on any pretence whatever intermeddle. We pity the restored fugitive, and have reason enough to pity him, when he is sent back to be delivered into the hands of enraged cruelty. But if he goes back to a lenient and a Christian master, the matter is less grievous. The responsibility, however, for bad treatment of the slave, rests not in the least degree on us of the North. The Mosaic law does not authorize us to reject the claims of our fellow countrymen and citizens, for strayed or stolen property—property authorized and guarantied as such by Southern States to their respective citizens. These states are not *heathen*. We have acknowledged them as *brethren and fellow citizens* of the great community. A fugitive from them is not a fugitive from an idolatrous and polytheistic people. And even if the Bible had neither said nor implied anything in relation to this whole matter, the solemn compact which we have made, before heaven and earth, to deliver up fugitives when they are *men held to service* in the state from which they have fled, is enough to settle the question of *legal* right on the part of the master, whatever we may think of his claim when viewed in the light of Christianity.”—*Conscience and the Constitution*, pp. 30–33.

The first point in this interpretation is the emphasis put upon the word *thee*, which makes it refer not to the Hebrews individually, but to the Hebrew nation collectively. The stress of this whole argument to prove that the injunction is not absolute and universal, but refers only to a special case, lies in the assumption that the pronoun *thee* relates to the Hebrew commonwealth, and not to each and every member of that commonwealth. As there is nothing in the construction of the Hebrew that requires this interpretation, an English reader who will take pains to compare this with other similar forms of expression in the laws of Moses, is competent to decide whether this interpretation is probable from usage and the context, or whether it is an instance of special pleading to make out a case. *Thee*, says Prof. Stuart, means *Israel*, i.e. Israel collectively, the nation and land of Israel; that it often has this meaning we do not dispute; but his argument claims that in the passage under consideration it has this meaning only, to the exclusion of any other; whereas there is no proof that the word does not in this, as in many other cases, refer to Israel *partitively* as well as collectively, which of course would spoil his reasoning. The fifth commandment is an example of this usage: *Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee*. Now though the land was given to Israel as a nation, it was also given in sections to each individual Israelite, and this command and promise have reference not to the nation collectively, but to each individual of the nation. Honor *thy* father and *thy* mother, is a command not to Israel but to each Israelite; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth *thee*,—the land in which thou *as* an Israelite hast an inheritance. The nation as such was required by statute to enforce filial respect and obedience; but the fifth commandment was strictly personal in its application. Here then is a sentence of precisely the same

construction with that in Deut. xxiii, 15, in which the word *thee* denotes not Israel as a nation but each individual of the nation. And what proof is there that it has not the same meaning in that place also? Examples of this partitive sense of the word *thee* in such commandments might be multiplied to almost any extent. We give but two or three in addition. "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land the Lord thy God giveth *thee* to possess it." (Deut. xix, 14.) Here of course *thee* refers to each individual owner or heir in the land of Israel. "Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given *thee*;" i.e. each man. (Deut. xvi, 17.) The same phraseology is used in precepts regulating the conduct of the Israelites toward each other. "Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray, and hide thyself from them: thou shalt in any case bring them to thy brother. And if thy brother be not nigh to *thee*—(does this mean if thy brother does not dwell in the land of *Israel*?)—if thy brother be not nigh to *thee*—(is not a near neighbor)—or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring it to thine own house, and it shall be with *thee* (with whom?—Israel? or with the land of Israel?—or with this man, in his own house?) it shall be with thee until thy brother seek after it, and thou shalt restore it to him again." (Deut. xxii, 1,2.)

These instances will suffice to show that the use of the word *thee* in the passage under consideration does not prove that the precept relates solely to fugitives from surrounding nations to the land of Israel, but may refer as well to fugitives from one part of Israel to another. If it had been intended to apply solely to the former, we can not but think that it would have been made thus explicit by a qualifying clause; that it would have read "Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant which is escaped to thee from his master"—*from any of the nations which are round about thee*. Such a phrase is used in another instance where it is even superfluous: "Ye shall not go after other gods, *of the gods of the people which are round about you*." Why was not this explanatory clause inserted? The precepts of Moses are given with much precision; and special care is taken to discriminate in various ways between different classes of servants and the claims of their masters upon them. Why then if Moses meant only fugitives from among the heathen, did he not say so in a single word. But what has Moses said? He has given an unqualified injunction *not* to return the fugitive servant to his master; it is so plain that he that runs may read, and the obvious reading accords with every man's humane feelings and moral convictions, and with the entire legislation of Moses upon this subject, which, as Prof. Stuart says, "provided for many mitiga-

tions of the usual rigors of slavery." And the utmost that the ingenuity of learning can do to counteract this obvious meaning—the meaning which every man's heart tells him *must* be true—is to torture and twist that little word *thee*, so as to make it limit a command which is universal in its spirit, its reason, and its terms, and limit it against liberty, and against the genius of the Mosaic institutes which guarded and promoted liberty. We submit whether common sense is not better than learning so employed; yet it is not learning, it is not criticism, that begets such an interpretation, and sacred learning and the science of Biblical criticism should not be held accountable for it.

The ancient Hebrew doctors took a different view of this passage from that which Prof. Stuart has taken. They applied it to the case of Judaized servants of Hebrew masters, when threatened with removal from the land of Judea; as well as to fugitives from heathen masters. According to Selden, no mean authority in Hebrew antiquities, if a Hebrew master removed from the land of Israel to any other country, he could not compel his servant to go with him, if that servant was a Hebrew or had become in faith a Jew; and if the master should attempt to compel his servant to go with him and the servant should flee from him, the servant was safe in any part of Israel; the whole land and every part of it was his sanctuary. The master could not recover a fugitive in such a case.* Thus the Hebrew doctors made a broader application of the command in Deut. xxiii, 15 than is given to it by Prof. Stuart; yet there seems to be no just ground for even the limitation which they put upon it.

Count *Pastoret*, in his elaborate history of legislation, understands this prohibition to surrender the fugitive to be universal; and his opinion is the more valuable because it comes from one accustomed to the interpretation of laws, and who wrote not as a theologian, nor as a controversialist, but as an historian. Alluding to the servant who had been enfranchised by six years service, he says, "It is for such an one, or rather for *all* slaves, (the Scripture does not particularize,) that the Lord forbids the Israelite with whom one of these shall take refuge, to deliver him to his master, and commands to let him rest in the city which he shall choose as an asylum."† This opinion is fortified by quotations from Jewish authorities.

The author of the article in *Kitto's Cyclopædia* on Hebrew slavery, quotes this very passage to prove that among the Hebrews, "servants had the power of changing their masters, and of seeking protection where they pleased." Drs. Scott, Marsh, Wayland, and other judicious interpreters, take the same view.

* De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discipl. Hebr. b. vi, c. 8, p. 745.

† Histoire de la Legislation, Tom. iii.

The learned, therefore, do not all agree with Prof. Stuart in his interpretation of this passage, and as we have before said, the unlearned are competent to judge for themselves of its meaning. Was it not an universal law, designed to give the slave security against the cruelty of his master, and, by rendering slavery insecure, to hasten its final abolition?

It is important to notice in this connection, that this is the *only* law respecting fugitives to be found in the institutes of Moses. Prof. Stuart assumes, or rather guesses, that there was a different law relating to the servants of Hebrew masters, but he does not tell us where it may be found, and we are sure that it can not be found in the Pentateuch. He says, "if the fugitive had been a Hebrew servant, belonging to a Hebrew, the whole face of the thing would be changed. Restoration, or restitution, if we may judge by the tenor of the other property-laws among the Hebrews, would have surely been enjoined. . . . Reclamation of him could be *lawfully* made, and therefore must be enforced." But where *is* the law under which reclamation could be made? Why do we not find it in the statute-book? Why did not Prof. Stuart produce it? He argues that fugitives could have been recovered under the *property*-laws given by Moses. But was this so? Were slaves among the Hebrews regarded as property, in such a sense that they could be recovered under a mere property-law in which they were not named? Have not slaves always been regarded as a peculiar species of property requiring special legislation? Suppose that the Constitution of the United States, instead of providing for the return of "fugitives from service," simply provided that property taken without permission from one state to another should be restored to its rightful owner; would any man dream of recovering a fugitive slave under such a law? Though slaves are regarded as property in the states in which they are held, a fugitive slave could not be reclaimed under any national law relating to strayed or stolen property, but only under a specific law relating to slaves. There was no such law among the Hebrews, and no property-law could by any possibility cover the case. The servant of a Hebrew was the property of his master in a very limited sense,—the property was in his service rather than in his person. If a Hebrew, he could go free after six years service, and his master must provide him an outfit; if a foreigner, though the Hebrews had permission to make continual drafts upon the heathen for slaves (Lev. xxv, 46, where 'for-ever' refers not to individual slaves in perpetuity, but to slaves *in perpetuo* from a certain class), yet he too might go free in the year of jubilee, when liberty was to be proclaimed "throughout all the land, to *all the inhabitants thereof*." (Lev. xxv, 10.) Such a proclamation at the south every fiftieth year, would materially change the character of slave-property.

Moreover the foreigner enslaved among the Hebrews, by embracing the Jewish religion, became entitled to many immunities in common with Hebrew servants. It is absurd to suppose that slaves held by such a tenure could have been reclaimed as fugitives under any property-law in the statute book of the Hebrew nation. Moses never regarded slaves as "chattels" or "things;" least of all did he so regard *Hebrew* servants, who could themselves hold property; and yet it is of such that Prof. Stuart says, they could have been reclaimed under *property-laws*. This is directly against the Mosaic laws on slavery. There was but *one* statute applicable to fugitive servants, and that prohibited their being sent back to the master *in any case, or upon any condition whatever*. It was the design of Moses by this and every other law upon the subject, to abolish slavery at the earliest day.

This law is as binding in its principle and spirit now as then: the *reason* for it still exists, and there is no safer canon of criticism than that which has always been a favorite canon with Prof. Stuart, "*manente ratione, manet ipsa lex.*" Prof. Stuart assigns two reasons for making such a law in favor of fugitives from among the heathen. "The first was, that the treatment of slaves among the heathen was far more severe and rigorous, than it could lawfully be under the Mosaic law. The heathen master possessed the power of life and death, of scourging, or imprisoning, or putting to excessive toil, even to any extent that he pleased. Not so among the Hebrews. *Humanity* pleaded, then, for the protection of the fugitive. The second and most important consideration was, that only among the Hebrews could the fugitive slave come to the knowledge and worship of the only living and true God."

But he argues that our relations to the South are not analogous to the relations of the Hebrews to the surrounding heathen, but to the relations of the different tribes of Israel toward each other. "A bond-man, fleeing from them to us, is a case of just the same kind as would have been presented among the Hebrews, if a Hebrew bond-man had fled from the tribe of Judah to that of Benjamin. (But we have seen that in such a case there was no law by which a fugitive could be reclaimed.) We do *not* send back the refugee from the South to a *heathen* nation or tribe. There is many a *Christian* master there, and many too who deal with their servants as immortal beings." Very true; there are Christian masters scattered through the South. And so in the course of time there were many devout and kind Hebrew masters scattered among the surrounding heathen nations. Will Prof. Stuart inform us whether a fugitive to "*thee*," from a *Hebrew* master residing in a *heathen* nation, should have been delivered up to his master or protected from him? According to his view of the *property-laws* among the Hebrews, such a fugi-

tive must have been surrendered to his master; but that would have been to send him out of *thée*—"land of Israel," which Prof. Stuart admits, was expressly forbidden. How could this conflict of laws have been adjusted?

But passing this, we will proceed to test the law in Deut. xxiii, 15, by the principle that a law stands while the reason for it remains. The reasons given by Prof. Stuart for such a law touching the slaves of heathen masters are—1. That slavery existed in a much worse form among the heathen than among the Hebrews; and 2. That among the heathen, slaves could not come to the knowledge of God.

Is then the condition of slaves at the south in any respect like that of slaves among the heathen in the time of Moses? Upon this point Prof. Stuart shall be our witness; he has visited the South, and his testimony on this point may be presumed to be impartial. In the same pamphlet from which the previous extracts were made, he says, "As existing among us, slavery has taken its worst form; it degrades men made in the image of their God and Redeemer, into brute-beasts, or (which makes them still lower) converts them into mere *goods* and *chattels*."

Does then the law which forbade the Hebrews to send back a fugitive slave to a servitude "more severe and rigorous" than that which was tolerated by Moses, require or permit us to send back a fugitive to slavery in "its *worst* form?"

"In this form of slavery," he continues, "all the sacred, social relations of life are destroyed. Husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, are not known in law, nor protected nor cognized by it. In conformity with this, these relations are every day severed by some slave-dealers, without regard to the feelings of the wretched beings who are torn asunder; and all their parental, conjugal, and filial sympathies, are the subject of scorn if not of derision. No invasion of human rights can be worse than this; none more directly opposed to the will of God, inscribed upon the pages of the Scriptures, and on the very nature of mankind." And does a law that prohibited the surrender of fugitives from heathen masters, sanction or permit the surrender of men and women who have fled to us from such a state of brutality and cruelty as is here described?

But to proceed with Prof. Stuart's specification of the evils of American slavery. "As the inevitable consequence of this, the mass of slaves must live, and do live in a virtual state of concubinage; which, so far from being restrained, is often encouraged for the sake of increasing slave property." A further consequence of this violation of the conjugal relation is, "a widely diffused profligacy and licentiousness;" of which the Professor says, "If there were no other argument against slavery, this alone would be amply sufficient to secure the reprobation of it, in the eyes of

every impartial and enlightened Christian man." Shall we then compel men and women who have taken refuge among us, and who are living in the sacred relation of husband and wife, to return to this horrible state of profligacy and pollution? Does not "*Humanity* plead for the protection of the fugitive?" If there was anything worse than this in heathen slavery in the time of Moses, we know not what it could have been.

But we must not forget the second reason which Prof. Stuart assigns for the prohibition to surrender fugitives from heathen masters; viz. that among the Hebrews alone could the slave come to the knowledge of the true God. Now, according to Prof. Stuart, what is the prospect that a slave at the South will come to the knowledge of God? "Ignorance profound, and nearly universal, is the inevitable lot of the great mass of all who are held in bondage. In some of the states, the learning even to *read* is forbidden; thus contravening, with a high hand, the command of Heaven to search the Scriptures." In such a case, obedience to a human law is crime; it is treason against the Majesty of heaven and earth. [Let us hear Prof. Stuart, by the way, on the "higher law."] "There *is* a law then, higher than human law. There *is* a case—and of that case, not Prof. Stuart only but any slave on a southern plantation is a competent judge—there is at least *one* case or class of cases, in which "*obedience to a human law is CRIME*;" and why? Because "it is treason against the Majesty of heaven and earth." Let Prof. Stuart be heard on the "higher law" of conscience! "Not only the temporal, but the eternal welfare of the slaves is often grievously neglected." And does a law which forbade the sending back of fugitives into heathen ignorance, require or permit us—who are commanded to give the Gospel to every creature—to send back our fellow men to a state in which "ignorance profound" shall be their "inevitable lot," in which they shall be forbidden to read God's word, and in which in all probability their eternal welfare will be "*grievously neglected*?"

Such is American Slavery as depicted by Prof. Stuart.* But is there no mitigation of the picture? May we not discriminate in favor of Christian masters? Alas! the horrid picture has no relief; for says the Professor, "*Slavery in its best attitude in our country, even among humane and Christian masters, is a degradation of a whole class of the community, below their proper rank as men.*" Well may he exclaim, "Enough, and more than enough, on this painful—this revolting subject. When a true hearted Christian runs his eye over such an assemblage of evils, which of necessity stand connected with our present system of slavery, is it possible that he can have a doubt as to what Christianity demands?"

* For the preceding quotations, see *Conscience and the Constitution*, pp. 104-106.

We thank Prof. Stuart for alluding to the demands of *Christianity* in such a connection. He elsewhere expresses still more strongly what is here implied; viz. that the *principles* of Christianity against slavery supersede all the *precedents* in its favor alleged from the Old Testament. "If we appeal to the patriarchs to justify slavery, then why not appeal to them in order to justify polygamy and concubinage? Undoubtedly they neither thought nor intended to do wrong in either of the cases that are before us. But this will not justify us in imitating them. The Gospel has given us better light. . . . Perhaps we may see, before we are through, that slavery is as little commanded or even permitted by the highest form of Christianity, as those practices. . . What Christ has *commanded* is our rule; and not what the patriarchs *did*, who lived when the light was just beginning to dawn."* This may serve as an offset to what Prof. Stuart seems to teach on page 32, of our obligation by compact to respect "the *legal* right of the master, *whatever we may think of his claim when viewed in the light of Christianity*;" and also to his own narrow interpretation of Deut xxiii, 15. If that command had originally the limits which Prof. Stuart would assign to it, then by his own showing the principles of Christianity have enlarged its margin, or have even superseded it altogether by their clearer light.

But that command had no such limitation. Words are to be taken in their *fullest meaning*, unless there is something in the nature of the subject, or in the context, or in the specific reference and occasion, or in the usage of the writer, to restrict that meaning. This principle lies at the foundation of all our interpretation of language. Especially does it apply to the interpretation of laws; it is the only safe and just rule by which a statute can be interpreted. Now here is a law which in its language is absolute and universal;—nothing could be more so. "*Thou shalt not deliver to his master the servant which is escaped from his master to thee.*" It is impossible to frame a proposition more general than this. There is no class of servants specified; it reads, "*the servant*," which is *any* servant. The law makes no distinction in favor of a class of masters, and it makes no provision for compensating the master. It declares without any qualification, that *the* fugitive servant shall not be surrendered to *his* master, whoever that master may be. So the law reads; and it must be taken as it reads, unless good reason can be shown to the contrary. But what warrant is there for limiting the application of the law? There is none in the language itself, none in the usage of the author, none in any specialties of the case, none in the context, none in any known facts, none in the subject for

* Conscience and the Constitution, pp. 25-26.

which the law was made. The law as it stands, is in perfect harmony with all the legislation of Moses with respect to slavery. Says *Pastoret*, "Among no people have slaves received so much of the kind superintendence of law as among the Hebrews. Moses conformed to an existing state of things in tolerating slavery, but by keeping it within strict limits, he sought to harmonize its rigor with the benevolence of the Supreme. Slavery among the Hebrews terminated by redemption, by enfranchisement, by due course of law, by the death of the master, if a Gentile or proselyte, and by his death without issue, if a Hebrew." Is it credible that the author of such a code for the regulation of slavery—a code which, by the severest penalties, guarded the servant from the oppression and cruelty of his master, and which provided in so many ways for the emancipation of the servant, both voluntarily and compulsorily on the part of the master—is it credible that the author of such a code regarded servants as *chattels*, and left them in any case to be disposed of by the laws of property? Did he who with his own hand wrote that man was made in the image of God, regard man as *property* or a *thing*? The laws of Moses were given in the wilderness, to a people just escaped from bondage, and who therefore had no slaves; they were given in anticipation of the introduction of slavery among that people when they should come to be settled as conquerors in Canaan; they were given to restrain the lust of conquest and oppression, and to hedge in as much as possible the natural tendency of the emancipated to retaliate upon others the cruelties of their own bondage,—to prevent the Israelites from becoming to each other and to the Canaanites what the Egyptians had been to the Israelites; they were given in order, by a qualified and an onerous permission, to secure the overthrow of a system which, as the times and the people were, could not have been shut out by an absolute prohibition. And as the crowning act of legislation for the ultimate overthrow of an evil tolerated from necessity, it was decreed that no fugitive from slavery should ever be delivered up to his master. The slave was at liberty to escape from his master whenever he desired to better his condition, and in whatever part of Israel he should choose an asylum, there was he to be allowed to remain without molestation. Such was the *only* statute in the Hebrew institutes respecting "fugitives from service." It is an honor to the wisdom and the benevolence of its author; and shows that we should neither "consign Moses over to reprobation," nor "regard him as an *ignoramus*," however much Prof. Stuart's comments upon the Hebrew law-giver might dispose us to either. The principle of that law remains,—eclaircised by the Golden Rule of Christianity into a law for all time: "THOU SHALT NOT DELIVER TO HIS MASTER THE SERVANT WHICH IS ESCAPED FROM HIS MASTER TO THEE."

Should the slaveholder here ask, what redress we would give to one whose slave has escaped from him, we would commend to him the wisdom of Diogenes. When a slave ran away from Diogenes he would not pursue him, but observed, that it would be a frightful thing if Diogenes could not do without the slave, since the slave could do without Diogenes. Let the master prove himself to be as independent as the slave; and if the slave cares nothing about him, let him show the world that he cares nothing about the slave.

But it is claimed that we have the example of an Apostle for sending back a slave to his master, and therefore that this is a *Christian* duty. We will let Prof. Stuart state the case.

“What did Paul do at Rome? A slave of Philemon, at Colosse, ran away and came to Rome. There he was converted to Christianity under Paul’s preaching. The Apostle was so pleased with him, that he was desirous to retain him as a friend and a helper. Did he tell the slave that he had a right, nay, that it was his duty, to keep away from his master, and stay with him? Not at all. He sent back Onesimus, the slave, to his master, (Phil. v. 12,) and he tells the master, that he could not venture to retain Onesimus without knowing whether he would consent, v. 14. ‘Perhaps,’ says the Apostle, ‘he departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him forever.’ He then expressed his ardent desire that Onesimus may be treated with great kindness, and as a *Christian* ought to be treated.

“What now have we here? Paul, sending back a *Christian* servant, who had run away, to his *Christian* master; and this even when Paul had such an estimation of the servant, that he much desired to keep him as a helper, while he himself was in bonds for the gospel’s sake. Yet he would not continue to do this, although it was so desirable to him. He enjoins it upon Onesimus to return to his master *forever*. This last phrase has reference to the fact, that Paul supposed that the sense of *Christian* obligation, which was now entertained by Onesimus, would prevent him from ever repeating his offense. And all this too, when Philemon, being an active and zealous Christian, would in a moment have submitted to any command of Paul respecting Onesimus. Why then did Paul send him back? There is only one answer to be given, viz., that Paul’s *Christian conscience* would not permit him to injure the vested rights of Philemon. He could not think of keeping the servant, even to minister as a friend to his own necessities while in prison. Paul’s conscience, then, like his doctrines, was very different from that of the abolitionists. Paul’s conscience *sent back* the fugitive slave; theirs *encourages him to run away*, and then protects him in the misdeed, yea, justifies, applauds, glorifies him, as a noble, independent fellow. The conscience of Paul sends back the fugitive, without any obligation at all on the ground of compact; theirs encourages and protects his escape in the face of the most solemn national compact.”—*Conscience and the Constitution*, pp. 60, 61.

In considering the case of Onesimus, the first question which arises is, *Was Onesimus a slave in the common acceptation of that term?*

There can be no doubt that Onesimus had run away from the service of Philemon, a citizen of Colosse in Phrygia, and had come to Rome, where Paul was at that time a prisoner, though not in close confinement. Onesimus had seen Paul at the house of his master, and either being in want, or desiring to see a fa-

miliar face, or becoming thoughtful on the subject of religion, or for some unknown reason, he came to Paul, who received him kindly and instructed him till he was brought to repentance and faith in Christ, and who then sent him back to Philemon, with a letter of intercession and commendation. In this way he is introduced to us, and all our knowledge of him must be derived from this epistle. In v. 16 of the epistle, there is an allusion to the relation which had subsisted between Onesimus and Philemon. Paul exhorts Philemon to receive Onesimus "not now as a *servant*, but above a servant, a brother beloved." It is plain therefore, that Onesimus had been a *servant* of Philemon; and the question is important, what that state of service was. Was Onesimus a *slave*, in our sense of the word;—i. e., "a person who is wholly subject to the will of another;—one whose person and services are wholly under the control of another." We do not affirm that he was *not* a slave; but no one, with any pretensions to scholarship, would attempt to prove that Onesimus was a slave, from the mere fact that he is spoken of as a servant, (*δοῦλον*.)

The whole question here turns upon the meaning of the Greek word *δοῦλος*, (*doulos*), which in our version is translated by the term, *servant*. This meaning is to be ascertained from a comparison of the places in which the word is used in the New Testament, and from the common use of the term in Greek writers with respect to a then existing class of society. We shall consider it, therefore, exegetically and historically.

If we should speak of one as a *slave* there would be no mistaking his position; the term itself would define it. But if we should speak of one as a *servant*, it could not be known from the word whether he were a slave or a voluntary servant; for though every slave is a servant, not every servant is a slave. Or if we should speak of one as having been a slave or a servant in a remote period, *e. g.*, in feudal times, one could not fully understand his position till he had learned something of the state of society and the modes of service *at that time*. Now we affirm of the word *δοῦλος*, as commonly used in the New Testament, that it does not answer *generically* to the English word *slave*, but rather, as it is given in the English Bible, to the word *servant*. This will be plain from a few examples. In Matt. xx, 27, Christ says to his disciples, "whosoever will be chief among you, (*ἔστω ὑμῶν δοῦλος*,) let him be your *servant*;" but the disciples of Christ do not sustain toward each other the relation of slaves. Acts ii, 18. "And on my servants, (*τοὺς δούλους μου*,) and on my handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit;" but God does not call his people his *slaves*.

Acts xvi, 17. "The same," i. e. the female soothsayer at Philippi, "followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, these men are the *servants* of the most high God, (*δούλοι τοῦ θεοῦ*,) which show

to us the way of salvation." How absurd to have called them slaves! Rom. i, 1. "Paul a *servant* of Jesus Christ" (*δοῦλος Ἰη. Χρ.*) Was Paul the *slave* of Christ or his willing servant? Again and again he speaks of himself as the servant of Christ, using always the same word.

So James begins his epistle (i, 1), "James a *servant* (*δοῦλος*) of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ." In the first verse of the Apocalypse this word is twice used: suppose we should read that verse thus—"The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him, to show to his *slaves* things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel to his *slave* John." Does not every one see the violence of such an interpretation?

In the same book the prophets (x, 7) and the martyrs (xix, 2) are called the *servants* of God. Did their relation to God resemble that of *slaves*, or of free-servants? Yet they were *δοῦλοι*. To crown all, we read in Rev. xxii, 3, that in heaven "there shall be no more curse; but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his *servants* shall serve him." Will the condition of the redeemed in heaven be in any respect analogous to that of *slaves* upon earth? Yet they will be the servants (*δοῦλοι*) of God.

It is evident therefore that the generic meaning of the term *δοῦλος* is expressed not by the word slave, but by the word servant. It is often applied to the *voluntary service* of the followers and worshipers of God, and of the followers and ministers of Christ, implying obedience, devotedness, fidelity and the like, but without the remotest allusion to a state of slavery. The fact therefore that Paul speaks of Onesimus as a *δοῦλος* is not in itself proof that Onesimus was a *slave*, any more than Paul was a slave, or anything like a slave when he called himself a *δοῦλος* of the Lord Jesus Christ. The generic meaning of the word in the prevailing usage of the New Testament is *servant* and not slave, though in some instances the context requires that the latter meaning should be given to the word.

It is a significant fact in this connection, that while the word *δοῦλος* occurs one hundred and twenty-two times in the New Testament, it is not once translated in our Bible by the term slave, but always by the term servant, except in one or two instances where the word *bondman* is used to heighten a contrast. The qualifying clause in 1 Tim. vi, 1, *under the yoke* (*δοῦλοι ἐπὶ ζυγόν*) shows that *δοῦλοι* alone did not define a state of servitude. In the opinion of the scholars who made our excellent version the word *δοῦλος* does not mean specifically a slave, but a servant in general; and this opinion has the more weight because the translation was made long before the morality of slavery began to be discussed in England, while slave-trading and slave-holding were practised by Christians without compunction, and therefore the word servant was chosen by the translators for philological rea-

sons only,—not because they had a point to carry, but because that word expressed the meaning of the original.

De Wette, who perhaps stands at the head of German expositors for critical knowledge and philological accuracy, translates the word δούλος, not by the German word *slave* or *slave*, but by the word *knecht*, which means a man-servant, especially one employed upon a farm,—and also a workman or journeyman at a trade. The precise difference between the two terms is this; “the right of a master over a *knecht* can extend only so far as to require from him that labor or service *which he has pledged himself to render*: but the *slave* is not only bound to do every kind of labor for his master, but all he has or acquires, nay, even his own person is subjected to him.”* This eminent scholar, so nice in the selection of words, in choosing a term to express the meaning of the Greek δούλος, rejects *slave* and takes *knecht*, the word which is used also in the German version of the New Testament. And since *De Wette* lived in a country where the subject of slavery is not agitated as it is with us, we have every reason to regard this as his unbiassed opinion as an interpreter: indeed, he was too jealous of his reputation as a scholar to have allowed any personal prejudice to have biassed him upon such a point.

From the philological view of the case we turn to another, viz.: the historical view. What light does the institution of slavery as it actually existed among the Greeks shed on the point before us? We say among the *Greeks*, because Philemon was a Greek, and a citizen of a Grecian state, and although at the date of this epistle the Roman empire extended over Asia Minor, it is not probable that in domestic institutions the Roman law superseded as yet the laws and usages of conquered provinces, any more than the Roman mythology and worship superseded theirs. We know that in Judea social customs and institutions were not molested by the conquerors; and we certainly should not form our idea of Greek slavery at this period from the code of Justinian, of a much later date. The Greek slave was commonly in a better condition than the Roman, and was more frequently manumitted. Roman slavery was slavery in its most absolute form, giving the master unconditional control over the person, the services and the life of the slave; but this power was somewhat restrained, and the whole system ameliorated, by the enactments of several of the emperors. The slave could not hold property; yet in large business transactions, which were sometimes committed to his care, a *peculium* was allowed him. Among the Greeks, or at least in Athens and in some affiliated states, the life and person of the slave were protected by law; a person who struck or maltreated

* Adler's Lexicon.

a slave was liable to an action; and a slave could not be put to death without a *legal* sentence. If a master was cruel, the slave could take refuge in the Theseion, and there remain till he could procure his transfer to a new master; for any one who conducted himself too harshly toward his slaves was by law compelled to sell them. A slave could even indict his master for assault and battery, and men were put to death for crimes against their bondmen as for crimes against their fellow citizens. Slaves were often hired out by their masters to work in mines, in agriculture, or in manufactures; and in such cases they sometimes worked on their own account, paying their masters a certain sum, or a percentage. In this way slaves sometimes amassed considerable property. Slaves acquired by conquest remained fixed to the soil, like the serfs in feudal times, but those obtained by purchase could be transported from place to place. Such in general was the state of slavery among the Greeks.*

We come now to a fact of much importance to the case in hand. Archbishop Potter of Canterbury, in his Greek Archæology—a work which passed rapidly through six editions in England, and was translated into foreign languages—speaking of slavery in Athens, says, “*Slaves*, as long as they were under the government of a master, were called *οἰκέται*, (*oiketai*,) but after their freedom was granted them, they were *δοῦλοι*, (*douloi*,) not being, like the former, a part of their master’s estate, but only obliged to some grateful acknowledgments and small services, such as were required of the *μέτοικοι*, to whom they were in some few things inferior; but seldom arrived to the dignity of citizens, especially if they had received their freedom from a private person, and not upon a public account.”† This testimony is the more reliable from the manner in which it is introduced. Bishop Potter wrote his antiquities upward of a century ago, before the modern discussions about slavery, and therefore without any bias from these; his work is one simply of antiquarian research, and in giving an account of slavery as it existed in Athens, he makes incidentally the remark quoted above. He is not trying to settle the meaning of *δοῦλος*—that does not seem to have been in his mind—but in writing a history of Athenian slavery, he finds that there were two classes of servants, one called *οἰκέται*, who were absolute slaves, and another called *δοῦλοι*, of which were *quondam* slaves,—*freed-men* or servants under limited obligations,—a class lower than the native born citizen, but higher than the slave. He states the fact, and gives his authority by citations from the Greek classics. But this fact does not rest upon the sole authority of Archbishop Potter. *Eschenburg* in his Manual of Classical Lit-

* Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, and St. John, History of the Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece.

† Vol. I, p. 68.

erature—a work of high authority—makes nearly the same statement. “The slaves,” he says, using the term *δοῦλοι* generically, “were of different sorts, those belonging to the public, and those belonging to private citizens (*οἰκῆται*). The latter were completely in the power of the master, and were often treated with great severity. Yet they sometimes purchased freedom by their own earnings, or received it by gift as a reward for merit. Public slaves also were often set at liberty, when they had rendered the state some valuable service. *Freedmen* very seldom, if ever, obtained the rights of *citizens*, and were still termed *δοῦλοι*.”*

Other standard writers on Greek antiquities give the same view. Prof. Edwards of Andover—who has written the most thorough and elaborate article upon Slavery in Ancient Greece which has yet appeared in this country, an article which has been republished and extensively circulated in Great Britain—adopts without qualification the statement of Potter that the *δοῦλοι* were not a part of their master’s estate, but were only required to render some small services, and that the name *δοῦλοι* was applied to slaves “after their freedom was granted them.”†

Anacharsis, describing slavery among the Greeks, says :—

“The laws gave protection to the slave ; but when slaves were intelligent or had promising talents, interest guarded them better than the law ; they enriched themselves by obtaining a part of the salary they received from one and another. These profits being multiplied, put them in a position to procure protection, to live in revolting luxury, and to join insolent pretensions to base ideas. . . . No one could injure another’s slave, under severe penalties. . . . When a slave was freed, he did not enter into the class of citizens, but of *domicilii*, who resembled citizens in their liberty, and slaves in the little consideration they enjoyed. The *domicilii* to the number of about ten thousand, were strangers fixed with their families in Athens, for the most part employed in trades or in the marine service, protected by the government, without participating in it ; free but independent ; useful to the republic, which dreaded them because it dreaded liberty when separated from a love of country ; despised by the people who were jealous of the distinctions of citizenship. These had each to choose from the citizens a patron who became responsible for their conduct, and paid into the treasury a yearly tribute of twelve drachmas for the head of the family and six for their children. They lost their property when they did not comply with the first, and their liberty if they did not comply with the second ; but if they rendered signal service to the state, they obtained exemption from tribute.”‡

Xenophon, in his *Athenian Republic*, says :—“The licentiousness of slaves and of aliens at Athens is excessive ; none are allowed to strike them ; nor will the slave yield to the freeman.” . . . He also speaks of the importance of “an equality of rights to slaves and freemen.”

St. John speaks of a class of serfs in *Crete*, lying off the coast of Phrygia, analogous to the *domicilii* of *Anacharsis* ; who “were compelled to furnish the body of the citizens a certain sum of money, together with a part of their flocks and herds and agricultural produce. . . . These were sufficiently numerous and powerful to inspire their masters with dread.” . . . In *Thessaly*, also, there was a large class of “*voluntary villeins*” who cultivated the land subject to a yearly tribute.§

* p. 180.

† *Bib. Rep.*, Vol. V, p. 155.

‡ *Travels*, Vol. II.

§ *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, Vol. III, pp. 62, 64.

The same author gives an extended vocabulary of names applied to slaves according to their condition. With reference to the distinction referred to by Potter, he says:—"Chrysippos makes a distinction between *οικέτης* and *δούλος*, but without much foundation;" but he then adds, "the term *οικέτης* [and the same would hold true, therefore, of *δούλος*] was applied to any person employed about a house, *whether slave or free*."*

Some lexicographers, we are aware, regard *slave* as the primitive meaning of *δούλος*; and where authorities differ, we would not hazard an opinion. But the facts adduced above cannot be gainsaid; and these fully establish our position on the subject, viz., that so various were the classes of servants among the Greeks, and so various the uses of the term *δούλος*, that the application of that term to Onesimus by no means proves that he was a *slave*. Is not the presumption rather that he was a servant in some other capacity? especially as it is intimated in the 18th verse that he was in *debt* to Philemon, which would have been more likely if he was a hired servant, than if he was absolutely a slave. We do not affirm that he was *not* a slave; but it would be well for those who are eager to testify their regard for Apostolic example by sending back fugitives from slavery, and especially for those political journalists who read homilies upon this as a Christian duty, to settle first the point whether Onesimus ever was a slave. Till this is done we might rest the argument, for the burden of proof lies on the other side; but we are willing to waive this advantage and proceed to a second query.

Did Paul send back Onesimus *authoritatively* to his master? We will admit, for the sake of the argument, that Onesimus was a slave. Did the Apostle use any authority or coercion in order to return him to his master? There is no evidence that Paul even *urged* Onesimus to return to Philemon. Nothing could be plainer than that the return of Onesimus was voluntary. Paul, himself a prisoner, could use no force to restore a fugitive servant to his master. Paul was neither a commissioner from the court, nor a marshal, nor a deputy marshal, nor a *sub-commissioner*, empowered to summon the *posse comitatus* to arrest a fugitive, and under a thousand dollar bond to have him delivered over to his master; nor was he under the temptation of a five dollar fee to inform of a fugitive and secure his arrest. Whatever Paul did to promote the return of Onesimus to Philemon was simply in the way of advice and of friendly offices between the two. The phrase "whom I have *sent* again," requires nothing more than this; for Paul uses the same of his fellow-laborers, who were at different times his willing messengers to the churches, *e. g.*, "I suppose it necessary to *send* to you Epaphroditus my brother, and companion in labor." (Phil. ii, 25.) "All my state shall Tychicus de-

* Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece, Vol. III, p. 27.

clare to you, who is a beloved brother, and a faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord: whom I have *sent* to you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate." (Col. iv, 7, 8.) There is no evidence that Onesimus was *sent* in a manner different from that in which Epaphroditus and Tychicus were sent by Paul upon errands of love. It is evident, that Paul *did not at once send back Onesimus* to his master;—not till Onesimus was converted, and had been for some time "profitable" or useful to himself as a ministering brother. He does not seem to have thought of sending him back until this change took place in his character. He did not, therefore, send him back simply because he was a "fugitive held to service" in another state, nor did he send him by authority or any manner of constraint.

The whole letter of Paul to Philemon is entirely consistent with the supposition that Onesimus had proposed to return. This he may have been led to do by the change which had taken place in his character, causing him to feel that he had wronged Philemon by robbery or fraud, or by some abuse of trust for which he desired now to make reparation; or he may have wished to rejoin his family and acquaintances at Colosse, or he may have been pinched for the means of living in a strange city. It is quite evident that Onesimus went back willingly or he would not have gone at all—for nobody compelled him to return. The utmost that Paul could do was to *urge* him to go back, and there is no proof that he did even this, or anything more than to second the proposal of Onesimus himself to return. Paul undertook to negotiate with Philemon for the return of Onesimus in order to make his return easy and pleasant. Here again it lies with those who argue from this example for the *compulsory* return of fugitives—to *give the proof*.

Our third inquiry is, *In what character and for what intent* was Onesimus sent back to Philemon? Was he sent back to be again a *δοῦλος*, to live in the same capacity as before? Did Paul send him back to be made a slave? To answer this question satisfactorily we need only to read with care a few sentences of the letter to Philemon. "Wherefore," says the Apostle, "though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient"—though I might command what is proper to be done toward Onesimus, and even detain him here with me, "yet for love's sake, I rather beseech thee, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ,"—an old man, a prisoner, might reasonably expect favors from a Christian friend,—"I beseech thee" as a personal favor, for my son Onesimus, "whom I have begotten in my bonds"—who has been converted by attending on my preaching in the prison, "which in time past was to thee unprofitable,"—a negligent and a fraudulent servant—"but now profitable," disposed to be useful "to thee and

to me : whom I have sent again ; thou therefore receive him, that is mine own bowels"—one dear to me as a son,—“whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered to me in the bonds of the gospel,” rendering such friendly offices as you yourself would do if here. “But without thy mind would I do nothing ;” I would not keep him without thy free consent ; “that thy benefit”—the good which your servant would do to me—“should not be as it were of necessity, on your part, but *willingly*.” This language does not imply that Philemon had a hold upon Onesimus as his *slave*, for it is such language as one gentleman of honor and delicacy would use toward another with respect to a servant in any capacity. Suppose the servant of an old friend of the writer in New Haven should come to New York and enter into his service as a domestic ; and while in that relation should become converted, and then should acknowledge that he or she had left New Haven wrongfully, in violation of a contract, or by dissimulation and fraud. Suppose it was a girl or a boy who had been bound out to that friend and whose time had not yet expired. Would it be honorable in the writer to keep the servant in such circumstances ? Should he not write to his friend and say, “Your servant is at my house, is much changed in character and of great value to me ; but being now willing to return to you, I would on no account detain him or her without consulting your pleasure.” The language of Paul is perfectly consistent with the supposition that Onesimus was not a slave, but a freedman held by contract to certain services, which by running away he had failed to perform.

Paul next suggests that the temporary loss of Onesimus may in the end be a gain to Philemon, since he will now return with a much improved character—“For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him forever.”—But *how* should he receive him ? “*Not* now as a servant,” not as a slave surely, not even as a *δοῦλος*, a servant bound in any sense, “but above a *δοῦλον*—a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more to thee, both in the flesh—as a part of thy domestic establishment—and in the Lord.” Whatever Onesimus had before been as a *δοῦλος*, that he was *not* to be hereafter. “If thou count me therefore a partner,—or an intimate friend—receive him as myself.” Paul wished moreover to have the past cancelled, so that Onesimus might be introduced to the confidence of Philemon, and so he adds, “If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account ; I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it.” Is it not probable that Onesimus had previously sustained the relation of a confidential servant, in which he had been unfaithful, and now Paul would not have him required even to make good that deficiency of service, but received as a brother in Christ ? It is palpable that Paul in send-

ing back Onesimus did not even dream that he should become a *slave*. Whatever relation he may hitherto have sustained to Philemon, in whatever capacity he may have served him, it was the wish of Paul that he should not be treated as in that inferior relation, but received as a Christian brother and an equal. Such is the plain sense of the letter; such the impression which it makes on every candid mind. This is also the interpretation of the ablest Biblical commentators, such as DeWette of Germany and Mr. Barnes of our own country. The view of the latter is so appropriate that we will give it in his own words.

"It would be impossible for Philemon to comply with the wishes breathed forth in this letter, and meet exactly the desires of Paul in the case, and yet retain Onesimus as a slave, or regard him as property, as a 'chattel'—as a 'thing.' For *if* he had been formerly a slave; if this is the fair meaning of the word δούλος—then this is expressly declared. Thus in v. 16 he is commanded to receive him *not now as a servant*—οὐκέτι ὡς δούλον. If he had been a slave before he did not *wish* that he should be received as such now, or regarded as such any longer. How *could* Philemon comply with the wish of the Apostle and yet regard Onesimus as a slave? The very attempt to do it would be directly in the face of the expressed desire of Paul, and every moment he held him as such he would be disregarding his wishes. He desired him to receive and treat him, in all respects, as a Christian brother—as one redeemed, as a man:—*above a servant, a brother beloved!* How could he do this, and yet regard and treat him as a slave? *Is* it treating one as a Christian brother to hold him as property; to deprive him of freedom; to consider him an article of merchandize; to exact his labor without compensation? Would the man himself who makes another a slave suppose that *he* was treated as a Christian brother, if *he* were reduced to that condition? Would he feel that his son was so regarded if *he* was made a slave? There are no ways of reconciling these things. It is *impossible* for a master to regard his slave as, in the proper and full sense of the phrase, '*a Christian brother.*' He may, indeed, esteem him highly as a Christian; he may treat him with kindness; he may show him many favors; *but he regards him also as his slave*; and this fact makes a difference wide "as from the center thrice to the utmost pole" in his feelings toward him and other Christians. He is *not* on a level with them *as* a Christian. The notion of his being *his slave* mingles with all his feelings toward him, and gives a coloring to all his views of him. He can not but feel, if he himself is under the influence of religion, that that slave, if he were treated in all respects *as* a Christian, would be as free as himself; would have a right to his time, and skill, and liberty; would be permitted to form his own plans, and to enjoy the avails of his own labor; and would be secure from the possibility of being *sold*.

"Suppose now that Paul, after a short interval, had actually come to the residence of Philemon, as he expected to, and had found him regarding and treating Onesimus *as a slave*, would he have felt that Philemon had complied with his wishes? Did he ask this of him? Did he not request just the contrary? Would it not be natural for him to say to him that he had *not* received him as he *wished* him to? And how would Philemon reply to this?"

Paul desired Philemon to receive Onesimus as he would receive himself, or his son. If Paul had visited Philemon, would Philemon have clapped chains upon him and have sent him out into the field to work under the lash? or would he have held him to any sort of compulsory service? Would Philemon have

given such a reception to Timothy the adopted son of Paul ? No more could he have treated Onesimus as a slave.

Our last inquiry relates to *the character of Philemon*, to whom Onesimus was returned. This is an important link in the chain of argument. If Onesimus was a fugitive slave and was sent back as such,—which we do not at all admit,—to what sort of a master was he returned ? Philemon was a Christian ; a convert of Paul, and an intimate personal friend of the Apostle. In this very letter Paul requests him to prepare for him a lodging against his next visit to Colosse. Paul knew him well, and had so much confidence in him as a kind and candid Christian man that he was willing to trust Onesimus in his hands. Onesimus knew him also, and was willing to go back and to put himself at the disposal of Philemon. If then Onesimus was a slave, the fact that he was sent back, *with his own consent*, to *such* a master, gives no warrant for sending back by force every fugitive slave to any and every master. The example of Paul admits of no such latitude.

We have now examined the four sections of the Fugitive Slave Bill of the New Testament. Under the first section it is doubtful whether the bill treats at all of fugitive slaves. The term *δοῦλος* does not prove it, and there is no evidence that Onesimus was a slave. Under the second section; it is plain that no authority or coercion was used to restore the fugitive slave, if such he was.

Under the third section, it is evident, that the fugitive was not sent back to be again a slave, if such he was before, but to be a freeman, a friend, and a brother in Christ : While from the fourth section it appears, that he was sent back to one who recognized his own obligations to Christ, and who would treat him according to the law of justice and the kind spirit of the gospel.

We are quite willing that this New Testament Bill should be compared section by section with any Fugitive Slave Law of a later date. We do not think there has been any improvement upon the original bill as drafted by Moses and illustrated by Paul—though we are living in a free country and in the middle of the nineteenth century. Upon that bill we take our stand. That is our law as Christians in relation to this matter. And now what is the utmost that the example of Paul requires or even warrants with respect to the surrender of fugitives from service ? Admitting that Onesimus was a slave,—of which there is no adequate proof—what is the utmost which that example requires of a Christian citizen ? A fugitive comes to a Christian citizen, one who is a Christian minister, (for we wish a definite and strong case,) and expresses a desire to return to his master ; that master is known to be a benevolent and Christian man ; the slave is quite

willing to trust himself in his hands, but wishes this minister to aid his return and to intercede for him with his master that he may be freed from certain liabilities. The minister complies with the request, and sends him back to his master, his own friend, with the earnest request that he will receive and treat him as a Christian,—just as he would treat himself. In such a case he might perhaps feel that he was imitating Paul. But suppose a man comes to him and says ;

“Sir, I am a run-away slave, will you not help me to a place of safety.”

“A run-away slave ! And do you come to me, a minister of the gospel, to countenance you in running away from the master whom God has placed over you ? It is my duty to send you back as Paul sent back Onesimus.”

“Ah sir,” he replies, “but I am a Christian, and for the love of the Savior who bought us with his blood, I pray you have pity upon me.”

“A Christian indeed ! And do you not know that it is the duty of servants to obey their masters, and that it is your duty to return to yours ?”

“But, Sir, my master is cruel, and I carry with me the marks of the lash and of the brand ; I can not have the Bible ; I am torn away from my wife and children ; how can I go back to be whipped and tortured and made wretched ? I had rather die first.”

“Well, if you will not be persuaded, I must try other means ;” —so seizing him by the collar, this minister of Christ calls to the bystanders, the *posse comitatus*, “What, ho ! here is a run-away slave, help me to secure him for his master.” And with that they bind the struggling fugitive with ropes, and drag him to a commissioner to await the appearance of a claimant ; and having thus discharged his duty to “Conscience *and* the Constitution,” he draws upon the treasury of the United States for five dollars and expenses as by law provided. Now is he not a saint ? Does he not walk in the footsteps of the Apostle Paul ? Is he not a glorious representative of the spirit of Christianity ? Is he not a worthy follower and minister of the Lord Jesus Christ ?—The slave indeed expected different treatment from a minister of Christ, but he did not know how much light has been shed upon the gospel duty of catching negroes, by the discussions of politicians and other learned and godly men.

Does any one believe that the man who wrote this epistle to Philemon would be a slave-catcher under modern law ? Would Paul have laid hands upon *James Hamlet* to force him back to slavery ? He would have rotted in jail first. In the time of Paul, the Roman law respecting fugitives was stringent and severe. A runaway slave could not be lawfully received or har-

bored ; to conceal him was *furtum*—theft. The master was entitled to pursue the fugitive, and it was the duty of all the authorities to aid in his arrest ; there was also a class of men called *fugitivarii*,—a despicable class, as such men must ever be,—whose business it was to recover fugitives ; and yet Paul retained Onesimus for some time as his own servant, and finally sent him back only when he was willing to go. As Christians we dare not, in this matter, go beyond the example of the Apostle Paul.

But what if the laws require us to go farther and make it penal for us to recognize a fugitive slave as a man and a Christian, and to minister to his necessities. How shall we regard such a law ? That is a question which every man must answer for himself according to the light which God has given him. We will answer it by asking another. The constitution of the republic of Chili establishes the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the state to the exclusion of all others. Suppose that there was such an article in the Constitution of the United States—how ought we to regard it ? Suppose the law of the land, instead of guarding religious liberty, should require all citizens to worship according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church—how ought we to act under such a law ? Or suppose that Congress should pass an act legalizing polygamy or kidnapping, should we feel bound in conscience to carry out its provisions ? These questions may help to show that not every thing which is passed into a human statute is binding on the conscience before God. But how shall we act toward an unrighteous law—a law demanding what conscience and the word of God forbid ? We know how the Puritans acted under the oppressive measures of Laud and the tyrannical Stuarts, and we are accustomed to praise them, as does Hume, as the fathers of civil and religious liberty. We know how the martyrs and confessors of the Christian faith in all ages, have acted under laws that did violence to their religious convictions. These have been orderly and peaceable citizens, supporting government, making no rebellion, but choosing to suffer the *penalty* of unrighteous laws, rather than to sin against God by obeying such laws. Nearly all that is noble and heroic in history, nearly all that has been accomplished for the emancipation and the progress of the race, stands connected with the decision, the self-denial and the suffering of these conscientious, these “obstinate” men. As to what is duty toward fugitives from slavery, let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind. The laws of the free states know no such thing as a slave ; and for our part, living where personal liberty and life are made secure, we shall never acknowledge any man in the streets of our abode to be anything but a man, having the same right to walk the streets and breathe the air, the same right to protection in life, liberty,

and the pursuit of happiness, that God has given us. If to act on such a principle be an iniquity to be punished by the judge, then do we accept the penalty; saying with Paul before Festus, "for if I be an offender, or have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die." The fugitive shall have bread; he shall have money; he shall have shelter; though at the cost of fines and imprisonment.

Some will denounce such language as treason, and will thereat fly into paroxysms of eloquence about the Constitution and the Union. We are quite willing to take our stand by Prof. Stuart, and say, "In such a case, obedience to a human law is crime; it is *treason* against the Majesty of Heaven and earth." The Professor applauds Dr. Palmer of Charleston, S. C., for having told Gov. Hayne, "that he should not obey the law" which forbade him to teach the blacks to read; a law which the Professor thoroughly denounces as "unlawful, anti-Christian," and "an invasion of the high prerogatives of Heaven's court." In this matter of treason, therefore, we find ourselves in excellent company both at the North and at the South. But *is it* treason simply to refuse to obey a civil law, while we offer no violence, stir up no rebellion, but accept its penalty and thus render a passive obedience? The Quakers have uniformly refused to obey any law relating to military service; yet the Quakers are everywhere most peaceable and orderly citizens. The Constitution itself is an *amendable* instrument, and in order to procure its amendment, if that is required, we must discuss the bearing of laws enacted to carry out its provisions, and if those laws are opposed to conscience, then must we peaceably but firmly oppose such laws, and suffer till the hour of full redress.

Some are perplexed because they do not find in the epistle to Philemon an express prohibition or denunciation of slavery, inasmuch as the epistle throughout borders upon the subject, and the occasion would seem to have been a fit one for expressing the mind of the Spirit with regard to this institution. But if Philemon was not in any proper sense of the term a *slave-holder*, there was no occasion to advert to the subject of slavery in a letter to him; and even if he was a slaveholder, would not the apostle have been less likely to discuss the general subject of slavery in a familiar letter to a friend than in his more formal letters to the churches? In this letter the Apostle plainly teaches Philemon his own duty, and gives him instructions which, if followed, would soon cause him to cease all connection with slavery; and it was doubtless better to approach him thus upon the side of personal friendship and Christian principle and affection, than to give him an argument against slavery in the abstract. Christ and the Apostles were more concerned to *introduce principles* into the world than to *apply* those principles to specific institutions; the

application of principles was left to time ; they were infused into society like leaven, and the progress of light and inquiry makes more palpable the meaning of the precepts of the gospel and the extent of their application. It is so with slavery. The principles of the gospel are opposed to it. Its doctrine of the unity and the essential equality of the human race—the doctrine of a true and universal brotherhood among all men made of one blood by one Father ; its doctrine of redemption for all alike, and of the absolute equality of all believers, in rights and privileges ; its precepts of charity, of justice, and of humility ; its golden rule, and its doctrine of man's immortality—these are all diametrically opposed to slavery, and these can not prevail without overthrowing slavery, wherever and however it exists ; therefore it is that slavery hates the Bible, and therefore it is that we must oppose slavery with the Bible. But first of all we must retrieve the Bible itself from the dishonor put upon it by those who would use its toleration of evils in remote ages, because of the hardness of men's hearts, to bolster up oppression in this nineteenth century. Let all Christians act up to the Bible in their spirit and conduct toward all mankind, and by personal holiness and impartial benevolence conspire to render complete and universal the reign, already begun, of truth, liberty and love—the reign of the Redeemer, who came, according to the sublime promises of inspired prophecy, to preach deliverance to the captives and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT:

A SERIES OF ARTICLES WHICH APPEARED IN THE

Journal of Commerce and in The Independent,

DURING THE YEAR 1850.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN ARTICLE FROM THE INDEPENDENT OF FEB. 21, 1850, ENTITLED

“SHALL WE COMPROMISE?”



NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM HARNED,

48 BEEKMAN STREET.

1851.

P R E F A C E.

WHILE the world-wide infamous Fugitive Slave Bill was yet pending, a controversy sprung up between the Journal of Commerce and the New York Independent, upon topics collateral to it. It seems that many Clergymen took occasion to deliver their sentiments upon this Bill, in their pulpits. For this they were severely blamed by the Journal of Commerce, and the doctrine propounded by it was, in essence, that Clergymen had no right to discuss any but merely spiritual topics, in the pulpit. We have selected from both sides such articles as will give the body of the discussion. We have omitted all that part which involved mere personalities, as far as it could be done, and also from the articles of the Journal the letters commendatory of its course.

After the controversy closed, its conclusive effects were witnessed in the whole after-procedure of the Journal of Commerce. Thenceforward nothing was left undone to repair the error which it had formerly committed. Ministers who preached politics in the pulpit, were not only encouraged and praised, but their sermons were either reported or solicited in MS. and the columns of the Journal of Commerce, for a period of many weeks, were a sermon-gallery.

The writers of The Independent were, from the first, sanguine of success; but had never presumed to expect so marvelous a conversion as this. And it must ever remain a monument of the benefits accruing from faithful controversy. We believe that there is now no doubt in the public mind on the great topic of Politics in the Pulpit. But the steps which have led to that unanimity, in so far as they were involved in this discussion, deserve an historical record.

Funds were volunteered immediately on the issue of the last article from The Independent, for its republication in pamphlet form. Nothing was done, however, and the money has laid idle. The frequent inquiries for these articles have revived attention, and the money is now appropriated to the use for which it was proffered. A selection of other articles bearing upon the Fugitive Slave Law has been added.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.

From the Supplement to the Journal of Commerce, June 8, 1851.

A DISCUSSION of some length having arisen between the *Journal of Commerce* and *The Independent*, on the topic above named, and having extended to various collateral topics connected with Slavery and Abolition, we have thought it might be desirable to some of our readers to have the whole discussion before them in a connected form. We therefore issue this supplement, which contains all the editorials on both sides pertaining to the controversy, including those of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn, a stated contributor to the columns of *The Independent*, though not one of the responsible editors. The articles are inserted in the order of time.

From the Journal of Commerce, April 12, 1850.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.—We should be among the last to question the right of a clergyman to vote at elections in this free country, or even to electioneer for his favorite candidate. The expediency of so doing, especially when politics run high—and it is only at such times that clerical influence or votes are sought for at elections—is another matter entirely, and about which every clergyman may safely be left to his own judgment. Many, however, have found to their sorrow, that what appeared to be, and in fact was, only an exercise of their civil rights, as recognized by the constitution and laws, has cost them their places; while a still greater number, by the same process, have rendered their positions uncomfortable and precarious.

If there are objections against clergymen's meddling with politics out of the pulpit, what shall be said of those who bring politics into the pulpit, on the Sabbath! Of such there are many. Not that they bring into the pulpit mere party politics, although in some cases there is a near approximation to it. Free Soilism, used in its technical, party sense, expresses the idea in black and white. What we mean to say, then, is, that many clergymen, at this day, preach Free Soilism, and pray Free Soilism, in the pulpit, on the Sabbath; and we mean to say that this is an outrage upon the Sabbath and upon the pulpit; an abuse of privilege; and affords to any congregation just ground of complaint, and if persisted in, of repudiation. In proof of what we assert, we appeal to the experience of thousands of our readers. We also appeal to a religious paper in this city, avowedly edited by three distinguished Congregational ministers, and receiving editorial contributions from a fourth, and how many more we know not. In that paper (*The Independent*) of the 21st ult., is a long editorial headed "Mr. Webster—Mr. Seward—Recapturing Slaves," in which, among other things, it is said,—

"The people are opposed to slave catching on free soil. No enactments will be of any use. TEN THOUSAND PULPITS are every week pouring light upon the public mind. Every religious paper (save a few whose subscribers are in the valley of vision, a great army of dry bones), is standing for the right. Some few there be that dare not speak for the oppressed; but they are equally too cowardly to speak against the public sentiment of humanity which lives in the North. And Daniel Webster might as well pour oil on Niagara to calm it, as honeyed words on the true conscience and outbursting humanity of northern freemen and Christians, to quiet them."

Our present object in quoting this paragraph, is merely to cite the testimony of *The Independent* to the fact, that great numbers of clergymen, who were set apart to preach the Gospel, are in fact prostituting their professions and their pulpits and the Sabbath day to the preaching of Free Soilism, which comprehends the whole family

of Ultraisms so zealously espoused by *The Independent*, and by many other papers, both religious and irreligious. *The Independent*, however, goes farther than we should venture to go, when it says that "TEN THOUSAND pulpits" are so employed, "every week." Ten thousand is a great many; and it is probable that some who preach Abolitionism occasionally, do not do it "every week." We hear of one clergyman who preached three hissing hot abolition sermons in one day (the Sabbath), and it is possible he may have taken himself as a specimen of the rest.

The particular connection in which the ten thousand pulpits are mentioned, brings them more immediately in contact with the subject of fugitive slaves. What the writer means by "diffusing light" on that subject, is plain enough from his own sentiments, which are thus indicated in the same article. He says:

"When such men as Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, and Daniel Webster, stand up without a blush to declare that northern citizens are bound to provide for catching and restoring fugitive slaves, they separate themselves from the sympathy of nine out of every ten true men in the North and West. Does Mr. Webster believe that he is the exponent of Massachusetts, or of New England, in this monstrous inhumanity? Pass enactments enough to fill all the archives of the Senate, and your slave-catcher shall not budge an inch faster or farther than he now does in the North. Every village will spurn him. Every yeoman along the valleys will run the slave and trip the shameless hunter. Bread and shelter, protection and direction, will be the slave's portion north of Mason & Dixon's line, with more certainty and effect every year that elapses, until the day of Emancipation."

Ten thousand pulpits, then, are every week thundering forth their anathemas against the surrender of fugitive slaves; every week encouraging a breach of the national compact, and a violation of the national faith; every week, under the shield that protects them, hurling shafts of ignominy against its framers and defenders. That the Constitution *requires* the surrender of fugitive slaves, *The Independent* does not deny. Wendell Phillips does not deny it, but distinctly admits it. He says,—“It is true, as we have always argued, that all who support the Constitution, are bound not only to submit to the return of fugitive slaves, but to aid in it if necessary.” *The Evening Post* admits it, and only requires proof of the fact that the person claimed is a fugitive slave, and that the person claiming him is his legal master. Says the *Post*,—

"We are unquestionably bound to carry out, in good faith, all the requirements of the Constitution—by federal legislation, if the authority to enforce them resides exclusively in that branch of the government, and by local legislation when the States have a concurrent jurisdiction. No matter how much the performance of the duty may conflict with private feeling or views of policy, the duty remains the same. And if we refuse or decline to abide by the compact in one particular, we can neither exact acquiescence in others, nor condemn them for setting all obligations arising under it at defiance."

Senator Hale of New Hampshire says,—“Whenever a bill can be framed honestly to carry out the obligations of the Constitution, and carefully guarding against abuses, I will consent to carry out all the obligations in good faith.” These are honorable sentiments, in contrast with the mob-exciting language of “*The Independent*” just quoted. “Pass enactments,” it says, “enough to fill the archives of the Senate, and your slave-catcher shall not budge an inch faster or farther than he now does in the North. Every village will spurn him. Every yeoman along the valleys will run the slave and trip the shameless hunter.” No doubt they will, if they have “ten thousand” preachers such as this, and all the religious (?) presses except a few “whose subscribers” are far down in the valley of dry bones, to set them on. The provision of the Constitution is at present inoperative, by reason of the imperfection of existing laws. Congress proposes to pass a new law which shall reach the case. *The Independent* tells them it “*shall not*” be carried into effect. What is this but preaching rebellion, both against the Constitution and Laws! This bold and shameless doctrine *The Independent* justifies, on the ground that “man cannot plant parchments as deep as God plants principles.” Agreed. But one of the “principles” of God’s law is, obedience to civil Governments. Another is, the obedience of servants [slaves, as is shown by the context,] to their masters. With these “principles” before him, a man, and especially a minister of the Gospel, needs to examine his ground very care-

fully before he makes up his mind to resist the laws of his country. Even then, it does not follow that he is bound to exhort others to do so. A question between his own conscience and his Maker, is not a question between other peoples' consciences and their Maker. Besides; the doctrine of rebellion for conscience' sake, (though we admit its correctness in supposable cases,) strikes at the foundation of all human laws. If admitted as a justification of rebellion, probably not one of the edifices preached in by the editors of *The Independent* would stand three days. Even their own lives might not be safe. In a world as wicked as this, no class of men owe more to the protection of human laws than evangelical Christians, and especially clergymen. They cannot afford to rest that protection on a basis so frail as *conscience*, which with many persons is synonymous with judgment or opinion, or perhaps with *will*.

It is a singular and instructive fact, that these extra sticklers for the rights of conscience in their own case, are of all men in the world, the least indulgent toward the consciences of others. Claiming full liberty to over-ride the Constitution and laws whenever their own consciences require it, they at the same time set down every man who differs from themselves, as either dishonest or conscience-seared. They discard all slaveholders, refusing to commune with them, and excluding them, if ministers, from their pulpits. If Philemon, whom the Apostle Paul called "our dearly beloved," and to whom he wrote, "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers, hearing of thy love and faith which thou hast towards the Lord Jesus, and towards all saints,"—if Philemon were alive and in this country, they would refuse to commune with him. Why should such holy men have anything to do with "man-stealers" and "robbers"? Next they denounce all Northern men who cannot go the full length with themselves on the slavery question, as "pro-slavery;" and the more conspicuous any one becomes by his position as the exponent of moderate views, the more abundantly are their vials of wrath poured out upon him. If a reaction against the Wilmot Proviso and its associate humbugs commences in the large cities, where almost every important movement commences, they denounce the merchants as a set of money-makers, whose interests have blinded their judgments, or who have sacrificed their consciences to filthy lucre. Hear what *The Independent* says of them in the article before alluded to:—

"That portions of the commercial world approve his speech, is as true as that they would favor any man and any speech which would settle the Slavery question and leave commerce unthreatened, unjarred. They do not so much care how it is settled, as that it be in some way settled. With such men a *moral principle* is an abstraction—a thing for philosophic leisure. They talk of practical judgments, of common-sense views, of business-like wisdom; and all these things mean such a handling of a question as will give thrift to business. Enterprise is the sum of manhood with them; *profits* are the great realities of life; prosperity is always commercial, and the deepest moral delinquencies and the widest laxity are venial, if commerce still flourishes and riches increase. In personal morals the commercial world are no whit behind others; but national questions and personal morals they put upon different bases."

How? "Moral principle an abstraction" with them;—"the deepest moral delinquencies and the widest laxity venial if commerce still flourishes"—and yet "in personal morals no whit behind others!" What does all this mean? We thought that personal morals were a much surer guarantee of public morals, than public morals of personal. Perhaps it means, that the merchants build us very good churches, pay us very good salaries, and in short are a worthy set of people, but won't go the Wilmot Proviso and its kindred ultraisms, and therefore are a set of unprincipled rascals. We can make nothing else of it.

We personally appear to belong to the same category. Our Journal is "most respectable and influential" according to "*The Independent*," but we exhibit "an absolute deadness of moral sense on the subject of slavery." The editor of the American Review is in the same condemnation. In the number of the paper which contains the article from which we have quoted above, is another, the leading editorial, headed "moral sense in politics," which denounces the reviewer for doubting the "expediency" [a word which fills *The Independent* with manifest horror] of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland from which the District was taken, and the consent of the inhabitants of the District, together with compensation to the owners. *The Independent* devotes a paragraph to each of these heads, and closes

each with the remark, "Such is the moral sense of callous politicians," or to that effect. If we rightly understand *The Independent*, it adopts the opposite view in all these particulars; maintaining that slavery ought to be immediately abolished in the District, without the consent of Maryland, without compensation to the owners, and without the consent of the District, unless the slaves are permitted to vote in common with the rest of the inhabitants. This is Giddings exactly.

Mr. Clay, Mr. Cass, and Mr. Webster, are also without moral sense; everybody, in short, who cannot see things exactly as *The Independent* does. In regard to Mr. Webster, the *Evangelist* joins the chorus. It says:—

"In the history of the country we hardly know of a case, all things considered, in which there was a more cool, deliberate, statesmanlike, dispassionate exchange of principle for enthronement of expediency, on a great moral question, than in that speech."

And again, alluding to Mr. Webster:

"God sometimes carries a man onward very far, before his radical unsoundness comes out; he arrives at a great commanding position, stands upon a pinnacle for a season, and then falls and falls for want of right principle."

We should like to ask these editors, who made you judges of another man's conscience? Can you not conceive it possible that in some things you may yourselves be mistaken? But admitting you are infallible, like the Pope, whose tone you too much imitate, is it not a supposable case that those who differ from you, may at least be conscientious in their opinions? You have seen that this very speech of Mr. Webster, which you regard with so much horror, has elicited the warmest approval of some of the wisest and best men in the nation; of those venerable theologians, eminent alike for talents, learning and piety, Reverend Dr. Woods and Reverend Professor Stuart of Andover; of Honorable Samuel T. Armstrong, long distinguished in the religious community of Boston, and whose last act almost, before he was translated to the better world, was to sign the letter of thanks to Mr. Webster; of Perkins, Jackson, and a host besides of the greatest and best men of Boston; of thousands of the most upright and intelligent men in this city; that in short, the sentiments of that speech are fast becoming the sentiments of an immense body of people at the North, in many cases against their preconceived opinions and prejudices. In view of these facts, we ask again, can you not, by a special effort of charity, imagine that some one of all these people may have "a good conscience, void of offense, towards God and towards men." But remember, if one may, all may, for aught you can say to the contrary, and it may follow that you are defamers and slanderers of better men than yourselves. If so, the wrong is the greater, because you give them no chance to be heard in self-defense. You publish Seward's speech on an Extra, and laud it to the skies; but Webster's you abuse and vilify, without publishing. Is this equal justice? Is it justice at all? Would not even "the moral sense of callous politicians" shrink from it? We think it would.

We close this rather desultory article with the following paragraph, comprising the substance of some remarks made by a clergyman in Brooklyn, two Sundays ago, immediately after his sermon, and before the last prayer. It was written down from memory by a member of the congregation, and has since been submitted to other members, who confirm its general correctness:

"As to the sincerity of Mr. Clay's compromise, he had no doubt. He wished he could say as much of Mr. Webster, but *he* had acted like a fool. The manly ground assumed by Mr. Seward in vindicating *abstract right* as superior to all constitutions made by man, he could not too highly commend. For himself, he was no politician. He had no sympathy with politicians. Their dishonesty was universal. He believed that God hated them. And he rejoiced that there was one man among the host of trucklers to *expediency*, who dared to stand forth (although reproved by Mr. Cass) and do right."

Now for a minister of the Gospel, in his pulpit, on the Sabbath day, to use such language in regard to the greatest of living statesmen, or in regard to any man, appears to us so exceedingly reprehensible that we dare not trust ourselves to characterize it as it deserves. Others of his remarks are scarcely less objectionable. Clergymen ought

to understand that while they attend to the proper duties of their calling, they will be respected, honored, and beloved; but that if they descend to the arena of politics, their black coats will most likely be rolled in the dirt. The peaceable, quiet men of more congregations than one, are becoming very much dissatisfied with the course of their pastors in regard to the slavery question, and it is to be feared that separations will ensue in consequence. Ministers should recollect that one Abolitionist makes more noise than twenty quiet members, and that consequently they are very liable to be deceived as to the real sentiments of the congregation. The quiet ones only speak out when they can stand it no longer.

From The Independent, April 18, 1850.

"POLITICS AND THE PULPIT."*

Such is the title of a leading article which fills a column and a half in the *New York Journal of Commerce* under date of April 12th. We have had occasion several times, of late, to allude to the course of that and some other political and commercial journals, in regard to the measures which are in progress for the extension of slavery. But till now that journal has not been named by us, in connection with the censures which we have been constrained to offer, on the manner in which the institution of slavery is commonly treated, by men whose habits lead them to regard it only in its relations to commercial interests or to the interests of political parties. While we have alluded to it in such terms that its readers and admirers could doubtless identify it, our general respect for the old *Journal of Commerce*, and our personal regard for the editor, restrained us from holding it up by name to public reprobation. But that journal has not hesitated to denounce us, and as we shall show, to misrepresent us to thousands upon thousands of its readers, who know nothing about *The Independent* beyond what they learn from such representations.

The article to which we are now adverting, is mainly an attack upon all those pastors of churches and ministers of the gospel, who at such a time as this do not altogether hold their peace in regard to the oppression of their fellow-men. After some remarks on the impropriety of a clergyman's taking an active part in electioneering, the editor proceeds as follows:

"If there are objections against clergymen's meddling with politics out of the pulpit, what shall be said of those who bring politics into the pulpit, on the Sabbath! Of such there are many. Not that they bring into the pulpit mere party politics, although in some cases there is a near approximation to it. Free Soilism, used in its technical, party sense, expresses the idea in black and white. What we mean to say then, is, that many clergymen at this day preach Free Soilism, and pray Free Soilism, in the pulpit, on the Sabbath; and we mean to say that this is an outrage upon the Sabbath and upon the pulpit; an abuse of privilege; and affords to any congregation just ground of complaint, and if persisted in, of repudiation. In proof of what we assert, we appeal to the experience of thousands of our readers."

The assertion is in one sense true and in another sense utterly false. There are thousands of clergymen in whose public prayers the petition goes up to God, that this wide land from North to South, and from ocean to ocean, may be filled with knowledge and justice, and with the habitations of free and happy Christian households. Thousands of religious assemblies there are, in every one of which, on every Sabbath-day, the minister, conducting the devotions of his fellow-worshippers, offers the petition that God would enlighten the ignorant, raise up the degraded, and deliver the oppressed. In many a Christian assembly, every Sabbath day, prayer is offered not only that Antichrist may be dethroned and the altars of superstition be overturned, but also that everywhere the rod of the oppressor may be broken, and that all men of every clime and lineage may stand up in the freedom of the sons of God. Wherever the injunction to pray for all that are in authority is duly remembered by those who lead the worship in our American churches, there, at such a crisis as that through which we are now passing, there the prayer is that the President and the Congress may have that wisdom which begins in the fear of God, may be saved from the influence of mis-

* Understood to be by Dr. Facon, of New Haven.

leading passion and of base and selfish motives, and may be led to such measures as God will approve and bless for the establishment of righteousness and freedom. Sometimes the prayer is, that God would stay the progress of slavery, and baffle the counsels of those who are plotting to frame iniquity by a law. And as for the preaching, doubtless thousands of sermons are preached, every Sabbath day, which no man could hear, and inwardly digest to his spiritual edification and to his soul's health, without some quickening of his moral sense against all injustice, or without some determination of his will against lending himself, however indirectly, to the crime of opening a new market for the sale of human beings. If this is what the *Journal of Commerce* means by "preaching Free Soilism, and praying Free Soilism in the pulpit, on the Sabbath," the assertion is quite true. Many clergymen preach thus, every Sabbath day, for the reason that there is no other way of preaching repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ—no other way of preaching which would not misrepresent and dishonor Him who came to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound. Many clergymen pray thus every Sabbath day, for the reason that otherwise they would suppress some of the most devout desires of the assembled worshippers whose petitions it is their office to guide and to utter; and for the further reason that all this is only praying in the spirit, and according to the model prayer of Him who taught us to pray, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven*. Perhaps the *Journal of Commerce*, in its archiepiscopal care over the churches and their pastors, will condescend to set forth a form of prayer in which the God who loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity, the avenger of the wronged and helpless, and the chastiser of guilty nations, shall be entreated to smile upon the designs of those who "sell the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes"—or at least some form of prayer which all Christian people may use in their assemblies, and which God may accept and answer without putting an end to the existence or extension of slavery,—some form which shall give no utterance to the devout desires of those who, believing that God is no respecter of persons and that black men as well as white are created in his image, are shocked at the atrocities of the slave trade, and cannot believe that God's will is done in earth as in heaven, so long as that miscreant slave-trader in the District of Columbia sells mulatto girls bright and young for eighteen hundred dollars apiece.

But if the *Journal of Commerce* means to say, as it seems to say, that many clergymen—so many that thousands of the readers of that paper are witnesses to the fact—"preach and pray Free Soilism" "in its technical party sense," in other words, that all these clergymen preach and pray for the Free Soil party in distinction from the Whig party and the Democratic party—then we have to say that the *Journal of Commerce* asserts that which the editor never would have thought of asserting if he had not lost his temper.

To prove the assertion that many clergymen pray and preach "Free Soilism" "in its technical party sense," the editor not only appeals to the experience of thousands of his own readers, but pretends to cite the testimony of *The Independent*. He quotes from an article signed [*] in our number for March 21st—an article for which he very well knows that we are responsible only in the same way, and in the same measure, in which he is responsible for the articles which he is continually publishing from his Washington letter-writer and from his "regular correspondent" at Paris. We shall not defend—still less shall we stop to censure—the brother whose communications in our columns are distinguished by the *, as not editorial. That brother can answer for himself. But it is pertinent to our purpose to say, that the *Journal of Commerce* puts a forced construction on the language which it quotes. "Mr. Calhoun," said [*], "declared the truth that no enactments would be of any use, if the people of the North were indisposed to arrest fugitive slaves. The people ARE opposed to slave-catching on free soil! No enactments will be of any use! Ten thousand pulpits are every week pouring light upon the public mind." This language (those of our readers who preserve their papers are requested to read it in its connection) is quoted as our testimony to what?

"Our present object in quoting this paragraph, is merely to cite the testimony of *The Independent*, to the fact that great numbers of clergymen, who were set apart to preach the Gospel, are in fact prostituting their professions and their pulpits and the Sabbath day to the preaching of Free Soilism, which comprehends the whole family of Ultraisms so zealously espoused by *The Independent*, and by many other papers, both

religious and irreligious. *The Independent*, however, goes farther than we should venture to go, when it says that 'TEN THOUSAND pulpits' are so employed 'every week.' Ten thousand is a great many; and it is probable that some who preach Abolitionism occasionally, do not do it "every week."

The statement, then, of our friend [*], that "ten thousand pulpits are every week pouring light upon the public mind," and that *therefore* "the people of the North are opposed to slave-catching on free soil," is "the testimony of *The Independent* to the fact that great numbers of clergymen who were set apart to preach the gospel," are preaching some thing very different from the gospel—"are in fact prostituting their professions, and their pulpits, and the Sabbath day, to the preaching of Free Soilism," as distinguished from the ethics and religion of the gospel, that is, "Free Soilism in its technical party sense." Ten thousand pulpits pouring upon the public mind the light which there is in the story of the good Samaritan—in the precept "Whatsoever things ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them—in those two great commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets—in the fact that God hath made of one blood all nations of men—in the character of God whose tender mercies are over all his works, and whose wrath is revealed from heaven against all injustice and ungodliness—in the life and death of Christ who gave himself a ransom for all—and in the doctrine of that kingdom of God upon earth before which all the forms of oppression shall yet be broken to pieces and become like the chaff of the summer threshing floors—ten thousand pulpits pouring light upon the public mind from all the diversified facts and doctrines of the Bible—are pulpits *prostituted* to the preaching of Free Soilism in the obnoxious "technical and party sense." Doubtless the editor has some way of reconciling his representation with his conscience.

But here we get a glimpse of what the *Journal of Commerce* means by Free Soilism. It "comprehends," says the editor, "the whole family of Ultraisms so zealously espoused by *The Independent*, and by many other papers both religious and irreligious." Is not this an honest and honorable way of representing *The Independent* to ten thousand readers who know nothing about it save what the *Journal of Commerce* chooses to tell them? Our readers know—and the author of the article before us knows in his cooler moments—that we have espoused no "whole family of Ultraisms"—no ultraism whatever, as the word is commonly understood among respectable and religious people. Our readers know too that *The Independent* is no more committed to the Free Soil party than the *Journal of Commerce* is committed to the Whig party. On the subject of slavery itself, we hold no ultraism—nothing beyond what is held by all who understand the law of nature and of nations.

In this connection the *Journal* introduces "the subject of fugitive slaves." Our friend [*] had said, "When such men as Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, and Daniel Webster stand up without a blush to declare that Northern citizens are bound to provide for catching and restoring fugitive slaves, they separate themselves from the sympathy of nine out of every ten true men in the North and West." He had asserted with great emphasis—as our readers with his article before them can see for themselves—that all acts of Congress founded on such an idea will be utterly useless save to provoke a strong and conscientious reaction at the North. That all this is true—every word of it true—the *Journal of Commerce* knows perfectly well. And it knows perfectly well—AND SO DOES THE HON. DANIEL WEBSTER KNOW—that "Northern citizens are" NOT "bound to *provide* for catching and restoring fugitive slaves," and yet the *Journal* represents us as saying to this effect, viz.:

"Ten thousand pulpits then, are every week thundering forth their anathemas against the surrender of fugitive slaves; every week encouraging a breach of the national compact, and a violation of the national faith; every week, under the shield that protects them, hurling shafts of ignominy against its framers and defenders."

Does not the *Journal* know that the *catching* of fugitive slaves is one thing, and the *surrender* of fugitive slaves is another thing? Has this editor ever examined the Constitution of the United States on this point? Does he know what construction has been put upon this provision by the supreme judicial authority? Has he read the admirable and unanswerable argument on this subject, addressed to the Senate on the 3d inst., by that true, independent, old-fashioned New England man, Roger Sherman Baldwin? To say that ten thousand pulpits are every week thundering forth anathe-

mas against the *surrender* of fugitive slaves; every week encouraging a *breach* of the *national compact* and a violation of the national faith; every week under the shield that defends them (the shield of the Constitution) hurling shafts of ignominy against its framers and defenders—is to say what is not true in any sense whatever. To represent us as having said anything to that effect, or anything from which such a statement may reasonably be inferred—indicates either great confusion of ideas or great unfairness on the part of the writer.

As for this matter of the recapture and surrender of fugitives from service, we exhibited our views at great length more than a year ago, in an article which the *Journal* is welcome to copy from our files. (*Independent* 1849, March 1.) It is enough to say that the Constitution of the United States, as expounded by the Supreme Court, imposes no duty whatever on the Free States, or on the individual citizens thereof, in relation to the recapture of such fugitives. All acts of the State Legislatures to facilitate the recapture of such fugitives are null and void. The master of the fugitive—if Philemon is determined to recover his Onesimus—must come and get him. And if he wants help, he cannot call out the *posse comitatus*: he cannot call on any individual citizen to render any reluctant aid; he cannot call on any State magistrate or officer; he can only call upon the federal government. All his help (except such as may be rendered freely and conscientiously by such good men as the Hon. Daniel Webster at Marshfield, the venerable ex-professors Woods and Stuart at Andover, and our old friend of the *Journal of Commerce*, and what he can buy of ruffians base enough to employ their strength for wages in such a business)—must come from the Government of the United States. He must apply to some judicial officer of that government for a warrant, if a warrant is necessary; and the warrant must be executed not by a sheriff or a constable, but by a marshal or his deputy.

And now the outcry is at the South, that all this is very inconvenient and expensive; that it costs more to recover a fugitive in this way, than he is worth in the market. To which we reply: Very well, we cannot help that, and we would not if we could: we stand for the Constitution, and for all constitutional and legal defenses of human liberty; and we cannot consent to have them broken down for your convenience.

What then shall Congress do to help the owners of this uneasy and fugitive property? "The provision of the Constitution," says our friend of the *Journal*, is at present inoperative, by reason of the imperfection of existing laws. Congress proposes to pass a new law which shall reach the case." What sort of a law? Has Congress any constitutional power to impose upon citizens of the free States, as a duty, the disgraceful business of chasing over their own free soil the ragged and famished fugitives just escaped from the land of Egypt and the house of bondage? Can Congress send a man into the office of the *Journal of Commerce*, with authority to call out editor and sub-editors, compositors and proof-readers, pressmen and carriers, when the wires are just flashing along from Halifax the news of another French Revolution, and to put them, one and all, upon the hot pursuit of a negro claimed as a slave by John Nokes, Esq., of the Eastern Shore of Maryland? Can Congress in the exercise of its constitutional powers turn us and our children into bloodhounds to scent the track and follow the flight of every dark-complexioned or light-complexioned person that may be charged with the crime of being a slave? In a word, can the federal government do anything in the case but by the agency of its own judicial and executive officers? Let Congress attempt any such thing, and, our word for it, the editor of the *Journal of Commerce* himself will not be found base enough to render obedience. Disobedience to unconstitutional laws is a duty. "OPPOSITION TO TYRANTS IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD."

The *Journal* charges us with Abolitionism. It quotes Wendell Phillips as an authority against us. What have we to do with Wendell Phillips, or Garrison, or Theodore Parker, or Abby Folsom? The *Journal* knows perfectly well that we are not Abolitionists, in any other sense than that in which every honest man, who believes that the institution of slavery violates the law of nature and of God, is an Abolitionist. We never belonged to any Anti-Slavery Society. The Abolitionists, so called, have never claimed us as belonging to their party. When the *Journal of Commerce* says of us, "They discard all slaveholders, refusing to commune with them, and excluding them, if ministers, from their pulpits," it says what is false. No slaveholder, simply as such, is excluded from our churches; and if any Southern clergyman has ever been

excluded from our pulpits, it was not for the reason that he was a slaveholder, but for the same reason for which we could not ask the editor of the *Journal of Commerce* to preach for us.

We are sorry to occupy so much time and space with a discussion of this nature ; but we have not done yet, and we want to finish the subject, so far as we are concerned, at once. Our readers, we trust, will excuse us for this once if we run too far into the second column. We come now to the topic of moral sense in regard to slavery, and in relation to political subjects generally. And on this point the editor shall speak for himself.

"We personally belong to the same category [*i. e.* the category of those who do not duly consider the right and the wrong of public questions]. Our journal is 'most respectable and influential' according to *The Independent*, but we exhibit 'an absolute deadness of moral sense on the subject of slavery.' The editor of the *American Review* is in the same condemnation. In the number of the paper which contains the article from which we have quoted above, is another, the leading editorial, headed 'Moral Sense in Politics,' which denounces the reviewer for doubting the 'expediency' [a word which fills *The Independent* with manifest horror] of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland, from which the District was taken, and the consent of the inhabitants of the District, together with compensation to the owners. *The Independent* devotes a paragraph to each of these heads, and closes each with the remark, 'Such is the moral sense of callous politicians,' or to that effect. If we rightly understand *The Independent*, it adopts the opposite view in all these particulars ; maintaining that slavery ought to be immediately abolished in the District, without the consent of Maryland, without compensation to the owners, and without the consent of the District, unless the slaves are permitted to vote in common with the rest of the inhabitants."

The grossness of the misrepresentation in this paragraph, almost constrains us to think that the moral sense of the editor is a little deficient in regard to some other subjects beside slavery. His description of that article of ours in which we noticed the *American Review*, is wrong from beginning to end. We made no objection whatever to the Reviewer's use of the word 'expediency,' nor did we manifest any 'horror' at it. On the contrary we took pains to show, and it was pertinent to our argument to show, that he used the word in its highest and best sense, as "having a moral as well as a prudential significance and value." Nor did we adopt or express any one of the three views which the *Journal* imputes to us. There is nothing in the article to justify the inference that we favor, under any conditions, the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Our criticism in its whole scope and drift was simply this. The writer in the *American Review* had undertaken the question of slavery in the District, not on the low ground of party expediency, nor with exclusive reference to any merely prudential consideration, but from a high moral point of view. His arguments were offered as drawn from the sense of honor, from justice, and from the love of freedom. But in discoursing of honor, it never seemed to occur to him that any dishonor could possibly accrue to the federal government from a sixty years' entire neglect of some thousands of wronged and helpless human beings who can look to no other human government under the throne of God for any intervention between them and the masters who hold them as chattels. In discoursing of justice, it never seemed to occur to him that the government—the only government in the District—could owe any duty to the slaves ; he was alive to the vested pecuniary rights of a few hundred masters, but of the inborn and inalienable human rights of some four thousand slaves he seemed to have no sense whatever. And in discoursing of freedom and of the necessity of avoiding the imputation of tyranny in legislation, it never seemed to occur to him that the laws by which those thousands of slaves are robbed of every human right—laws which Congress for the last sixty years has refused to repeal or modify—are nothing else than absolute tyranny. Such, we said, is the moral sense of callous politicians, alive to the least appearance of commercial or conventional injustice in the abolition of slavery, but utterly dead to the stupendous injustice, the broad and glaring outrage upon natural right, which there is in slavery itself.

And now, in what respect is the moral sense of the *Journal of Commerce*, on the subject of slavery, any better than that of the writer in the *American Review* ? Can any reader of that "most respectful and influential journal," remember having seen in its

columns since the death of Mr. Hale, or since his retirement from editorial labor, one paragraph, one word, one syllable, implying or conceding that the institution of slavery as it is constituted or upheld by law in the slaveholding States, is in any respect offensive to the moral sense? Whether the editor has any moral sense on the subject, it is not our business to say; we have to do only with the journal which he edits, and we say that his journal needs in this respect a sound conversion—life from the dead. If we have done that journal any injustice, let it speak for itself, and put us to shame by uttering its own moral sense in regard to the institution of American slavery. The question is not whether among the owners of those whom the law enslaves, and whom it will not permit to be free, there may not be many men and women of the highest character for honor, kindness and justice. It is not whether a great mass of population born and educated under the barbarizing influence of slavery, ought to be instantaneously released from all superintendence and control. It is not whether the Union ought to be dissolved for the sake of getting rid of the obligation to surrender fugitives. It is not whether the citizens of the free States ought to fit out privateering expeditions by land or sea to deliver the slaves from their servitude. Nobody has any curiosity to know the sense of the *Journal* on any of these questions. The question on which thousands of readers would like to have that most respectable and influential journal declare itself unequivocally and manfully, without dodging or mystification, is simply this—*Whether the institution of Slavery, as defined and maintained by the laws of the slaveholding States, is RIGHT?* If that institution is not *right*—if those laws by which three millions of human beings, with all their posterity, are delivered over into the hands of arbitrary power to be bought and sold as merchandise, and to be denied all the rights of property, and all that is sacred in the conjugal and parental relations, are grossly and atrociously wrong—then any legislation, any arrangement or compromise, by which that institution shall be, or may be set up where it does not now exist, is a crime against God; and any right-minded man, sooner than he would lift his hand or his voice for it, would go with Daniel into the den of lions. Let the *Journal of Commerce* tell its readers then, if it can, whether this institution of slavery, for the extension of which the great slave-breeding and slave-trading interest is so clamorous, is *RIGHT*.

The threat, more than once given out in the article, that those pastors whose preaching and prayers are considered to be unfavorable to the extension of slavery are in danger of losing their places, is not likely to be very effectual. Instead of being uttered so coarsely, it should have been insinuated so delicately as to produce its effect unconsciously. The *Journal* should have remembered that with all ministers of the Gospel it is a point of honor as well as of conscience not to be influenced by such motives. Doubtless, many good men are influenced in this way without being aware of it, and even in spite of their habitual efforts to the contrary. But the minister of Jesus Christ who, through fear of losing his salary, deliberately suppresses any part of what he conceives to be God's truth, brings a dreadful load upon his conscience, and if he has not grace to go out with Peter and weep bitterly, he is tempted to go out with Judas and hang himself.

From the *Journal of Commerce*, April 24, 1850.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.—Our recent article on this subject has produced the effect which we intended. It has turned public attention to the proper duties of clergymen as such, in relation to current political questions. The numerous expressions of thanks which, in one form or another, we have received for that article, both from clergymen and laymen, convince us that it was timely and appropriate. The same inference we deduce from the effervescence which it has occasioned in certain quarters where its admonitions were most needed. The *Independent* is particularly sensitive on the subject, and devotes four mortal columns to a reply. We are afraid that the congregations of some of its editors heard old sermons last Sabbath, but they may have been good ones notwithstanding.

As the *Independent* failed to reach us last week, we had no opportunity to read it until yesterday, though we suppose we might have had, if we had taken the trouble to send to the office for a copy.

We are surprised at the degree of heat which the gentlemen manifest, as if the object of our article were personal to themselves or their paper; whereas the worst thing we wish them is, that they may have wisdom to fulfill their multifarious and responsible duties in a manner which shall leave them no just cause of regret, and their

readers and hearers no just ground of complaint. As to the *Independent*, we have always wished that it might be so conducted as to deserve success. We wish so still. * * * * But we wish clergymen to understand, that if they bring politics into their pulpits, and especially if they resort to gross personalities, decrying the conduct, and impeaching the motives of eminent statesmen, whom we believe to have acted with a sincere regard to the public welfare, and in opposition to their personal preferences and interests, we shall consider such remarks as belonging to the public, and govern ourselves accordingly. What is said publicly to a congregation, is said to the world. Reporters have a right to report it, and publishers to print it. They will do so at their pleasure.

We will quote one more paragraph from the *Independent*, just to show the uncomfortable mode of the editor who penned it. He says—

“We had not before realized how much of the nobleness, and candor, and liberality of the *Journal of Commerce* died with its senior editor. Who would have believed that a journal established by the energy and business tact of DAVID HALE, and sustained by his talents and reputation, could have become so prostituted as to abuse his personal friends, to cast foul dishonor upon prayer, and preaching, and the institutions of religion, to stigmatize a respectable and useful class of citizens for the color of their coats, to proscribe them from the common rights of opinion and of speech, to appeal to the selfish interests of men, to deprive them of their places and support, and even to stir up the passions of the mob to ‘roll their black coats in the dirt!’ But, alas, a wise and good man dies, ‘and who can tell what shall be after him under the sun?’”

We suppose the Rev. gentleman thinks we shall be greatly mortified to see the whole credit of establishing and sustaining the *Journal of Commerce* attributed to our late partner; but in this he is mistaken. No man while living, was more abused by the Abolitionists than David Hale; and if, now that he is dead, they or those who sympathize with them, see fit to garnish his sepulcher, we shall be the last to complain. We do not say that the editors of the *Independent* abused him; some of them were recipients of his bounty, and men, it is said, will not quarrel with their bread and butter. But precisely the same charge of *no conscience* was brought against him by others, for precisely the same views on the subject of Abolition and its kindred topics, which the *Independent* now brings against those who entertain similar opinions. Even since the death of Mr. Hale, one writer repeats the slander. In reviewing Rev. Mr. Thompson’s “Life and Writings of David Hale,” the last number of the New Englander, published at New Haven, says:

“The collection and publication of Mr. Hale’s articles on ‘Colonization and Abolition’ prove the impartiality of the compiler, but reflect no honor upon Mr. Hale. We ought to except, however, those which advocate and defend, in a truly philanthropic spirit, the wise and benevolent plan of African Colonization—a plan which has been brought (by whose fault we do not say) into an unnecessary and unnatural conflict with anti-slavery and abolitionism. But those which treat of anti-slavery, of its men and its measures, we cannot approve, but feel bound to censure. Indeed, how a man who loved justice and human freedom as Mr. Hale did, could have had so little sympathy with the ardent opposers of slavery and the advocates of emancipation; how a man who was so strenuous and uncompromising an advocate of free discussion as he was, could have frowned and sneered as he did at the discussion of the subject of emancipation, and at liberty of speech in the American Board respecting its relations to slavery; we do not understand. *We must insist that his heart was not right on that subject.*”

We have italicised the last sentence, as expressing the sentiment of which we complain; a sentiment which is common, if not universal, among the heated opponents of slavery. Any man who cannot agree with them on that subject, is morally blind. It is not enough to say that he is mistaken; that he errs in judgment, or the like; but they will have it that his *heart* is wrong—his *moral sense* stupefied—his *conscience* seared. Now, this is what we call bigotry; certainly it is not charity.

When the *Independent* charges us with “casting foul dishonor upon prayer and preaching,” the most charitable construction which we can put upon its language, is to suppose that the editor, at the moment of writing it, was a little bewildered by passion. The only connection in which we have used either expression, to the best of

our knowledge and belief, is when we said that "many clergymen at this day preach Free Soilism and pray Free Soilism." And saying this, is "casting foul dishonor upon prayer and preaching!" is it? In our opinion, *they* cast a much fouler dishonor upon both, who thus abuse and pervert them. The remainder of the *Independent's* paragraph above quoted, is of the same order. It is a mere caricature, with scarcely sufficient verisimilitude to identify it with the original.

From the Independent, April 25, 1850.

THE PULPIT AND THE PRESS.*

The *Journal of Commerce*, having attained a reasonably good reputation as a chronicler of passing events, and no mean celebrity as a registrar of statistics, and a more equivocal repute for capricious and self-willed independence, has lately shown unmistakable signs of aspiring in its old age to an ecclesiastical Patriarchate. Should it attain it, and evince a *fitness* therefor, our gratitude for the change wrought in it will know no bounds. For the *Journal of Commerce* has had any other odor than that of sanctity; and the gifts and graces of meekness, patience, conscience and moral wisdom have been vouchsafed in much greater measures in other quarters.

It seems that after a discourse on the subject of *expediency*, Dr. Lansing made some remarks concerning Webster and others, which without doubt were very true; and objectionable, if at all, only because it is unusual to speak such truths in such a place. But whose business was it? It was a matter between Dr. Lansing and his own congregation. They had a right to make a complaint if the pastor did not perform his duties suitably. But, if they were satisfied, no man from abroad has any business to interlope and read a lecture to the pastor and the church, as to the right method of discharging their conscience in matters of public moment. And we respectfully submit to the *Journal of Commerce*, that Dr. Lansing has as much right to speak in his own pulpit of political matters, as the *Journal of Commerce* had to bring ecclesiastical matters into a political paper. And if it be said that ministers are not the men to meddle intelligently with political topics, it may be replied, that they cannot possibly make worse work than many noted journals do in attempting to handle questions of morality and religion.

A later paper, April 24, contains further comments, spicy and amusing, backed up with a number of applaudatory letters. We marvel, considering the quality of them, that there were not twice as many. Any dexterity in throwing the net could have sunk the ship with such testimonials. Neither Pilate nor Herod lacked applauders when they did wickedly on the popular side. Let any paper take an unchristian ground, and unchristian men will clap it on the back and swear by it. This is the very thing which we charge upon the *Journal of Commerce*—not dishonesty, not insincerity, not doing what it has no civil right to do, but simply and only taking the unchristian side of the great moral question of the day, and then finding fault that ministers who abhor that ground do not preach to suit it. Shrewd men may applaud secular ministers; weak-minded and timid ministers, led away by stronger men about them, may indorse a policy that shall give them rest. But when an eminently secular journal takes the airs of piety, reads damnatory lectures to venerable ministers upon the methods of discharging their duties to their flocks, we simply say that it is not qualified for the function assumed.

If we wish to know the market, or reliable statistics, or practical wisdom on practical commerce,—in short, if we wish to gain the views of merely worldly men about worldly things, we go with confidence to the *Journal of Commerce*. But neither the sympathies of that paper, nor its habits, nor its inveterate interests, give any promise of wisdom in the application of religious principles to the procedures of society. And we should as soon send ministers to Greenland for tropical plants, to the Esquimaux for refinement, or to Australia for literature, as to the *Journal of Commerce* for instructions how to preach the Gospel, and especially those phases of the Gospel which Christ foretold were to come full-freighted with divisions and overturnings. Our readers will understand, then, not that we approve of personal attacks in the pulpit on public men; not that we believe in all sorts of reformatory preaching, but that

* By H. W. Beecher

the *Journal of Commerce* is not on the right ground nor of the right sympathies, to fit it to teach Dr. Lansing how to discharge his conscience on questions of humanity.

Let the various clamors, which in our day assail the pulpit, be regarded for a moment. There is not a function which on some side is not denied to it, and there is not a function possible which on some other side is not urged upon it. One rank of physiological reformers tell us to preach more science; let people understand their own structure and their relations to the physical world. Another does not think so much of science, unless it be the science of social reform—that is the burden of the day. Another cares little for organic changes; if all men were only temperate, society would soon cleanse itself. Another is sure that the world's evils are mainly owing to the want of a more thoroughly doctrinal pulpit; sound meat and catechism are remedial for human woe; while his pew-fellow is worried to death with the dry jargon of doctrine, and wonders why ministers do not discuss, not men's metaphysical difficulties and artificial entanglements, but those business temptations and home trials and political casuistries, with which practical life ensnares them at every corner.

What, then, is the end which a minister proposes for himself? Not preaching; not the promulgation of a system of truth; these are but means to an end.

Every minister seeks to produce in his flock, *right conduct toward God and toward men*. The motives to such conduct are derived primarily from man's relations to God and to eternity, and then secondarily, from man's earthly relations. Let a truly evangelical man, full of the hopes of immortality, set forth Jesus Christ, to his flock, both as an atonement and an example, and what results will follow, and in what order?

The first effects will spring up in the hearer in respect to his own personal relations to God. His pastor must guide and direct these new wants. Next, the hearer, full of desire to approve himself before God, begins to inquire how Christianly to discharge his relations to his family;—these relations a minister must understand, and how to apply the rules of Christ to them. But he has neighbors, and is an actor in other social relations besides those of the family; and a sound pastor must be able to lay the principles of Christ upon these practical social questions. But he is deeply engaged in commerce, and what is Christian right and Christian wrong here? Who shall tell him, if it be not his pastor? But all society is in movement; the ultra conservative or rash progressive alike are in a common current. Shall men go stumbling and blindfold, through the ever present reforms which God works in each age? Who then shall give them a golden reed to measure with, if it be not the man whom they have selected to teach them universal Christian rectitude? But, in this land, no duties are more widespread, and scarcely any more important, than political duties. Every citizen must take part in framing laws, in electing officers to administer laws, in preserving public order and securing the blessings of government to all. In this large sphere of action, vexed with as many currents, whirls and storms as ever mariner knew in equatorial seas, is a Christian man to proceed by men's selfish maxims, or is he here, as everywhere, to ask: "Lord, what wilt *Thou* have me to do?" If there be one place where a faithful Christian pulpit should be capable of exerting a strenuous influence, it should be here. Men go drunk on political excitement. Venal politicians arrange party movements from the most selfish considerations. Bad men are set forth for important places: good laws are supplanted and bad laws are tolerated: prodigal expenditures are incurred for ends which do not concern the public good, while the order of the community, its moral and educational prosperity, are too often snuffed at and degraded.

Into this whirl Christian men are swept. What is Christian conduct here? They have been little and seldom taught. It is not strange then that they too go drunk. There is no wickedness so foolish as that of a good man who is not used to political wickedness. Some good men will not go near the temptation of politics; and that is a sin. Others, venturing, come forth without a sign of Christ's robe upon them, and that is more sinful still.

To whom may a Christian man, desirous of rectitude, go for instruction as to Christian conduct in public affairs? The pulpit is told to be prudentially silent. Like a pilot that steers his ship into the very worst shoals and reefs, and then abandons it, so the pulpit must awaken moral wants by the stimulus of divine truth, but when these wants assume their most practical and imperative character, refuse to guide, and leave the victim to be tossed on the chopping seas of expediency. If he asks parties

what is right? the answer is always one—stick to your ticket, and vote it clean through. If you ask our commercial journals what is right, they take the financial bearings of the question, foot up the probable loss or gain, and score your path along sloping ways of present thrift. The *Journal of Commerce* is a signal instance upon the slavery question.

What man from reading those columns would know whether slavery were an evil or a benefit;—whether there was a Divine law which touched the system, unless to approve; or indeed whether there was any *moral* rule by which to determine the great questions which spring from this viprous nest of abominations; any rule at all except that of political or economic expediency? Indeed, for all that could be learned from that source, of a law above men's laws, or a God authoritative above all constitutions, of rectitude immutable, founded upon conscience and unchangeable principles, the *Journal of Commerce* might as well have been published by a Brahmin from the Temple of Juggernaut, as by a Christian from amidst a hundred churches.

Every man and every organ necessarily regards a deviation from its radical principles as wrong. When Dr. Lansing, therefore, taught his people the superiority of Christian principle over commercial and political expediency, how very natural is it that the *Journal of Commerce* should come down upon him; and how naturally, too, will men of moral principles presume the Doctor to be right, when on questions of humanity to the slave he stands opposite to the *Journal of Commerce*. For good as that journal is in things legitimate to worldly thrift, we regard it in others to be like a light-house on dangerous rocks, a light which will save the mariner that bears away from it and wreck him who steers on to it.

Our belief then is, not that the pulpit should discuss party questions, nor meddle with candidates, nor take sides with this or that man or measure; but that it is bound to set forth what principles should guide Christian men in political action, *of whatever party, and without regard to measures*. The pulpit should teach its listeners to demand moral integrity and fidelity in all men selected for honor; to regard the public good and not local or party advantage; to love justice more than victory and more than money; to befriend the weak and helpless; to make God's law the touchstone and measure of all courses, whether of men or societies of men, or of corporations.

We are told that the Church will by such fidelity convulse and explode itself. Very likely, if it has been possessed hitherto by a dumb devil, the process of cure will cast the possessed down, foaming and wallowing. But we are not of those who think a devilish peace better than a crisis that brings health.

On the other hand there be dangers which seldom gather their force, or threaten the evil which they intend. They lie profuse in the wide community, and acting insensibly, have half consummated their incurable mischief before suspicion awakes. Such are the present dangers which surround the pulpit. There never was a day when it needed to be so spiritual and so fearless. To preach Christ in this day requires a man to meet and discuss every question which the preaching of Christ aright will bring forth. He that lets forth the sun upon a winter soil, thinking only to melt the ice, will by and by be surprised to see what teeming abundance springs from the earth under its influence; and if he knows not how to eradicate the poisonous weeds, select the generous plants, and save the harvests, he is but a poor husbandman.

He that preaches Christ and finds no troublesome crop of questions and conscience inquiries, running in extent out to the limits of the relations belonging to his flock, may be sure that he has not preached Christ, but only made use of his name to embellish the utterance of lifeless things. Meanwhile, men are living, moving, thinking, doubting, asking solutions of doubt, trying experiments, making changes. The face of society is not the same in any two centuries, unless it be dead.

If the thinking minds, then, of our day, go in vain to the Church for the solution of those very questions which the Church has sown and sprouted in their minds, they will seek help at other oracles. When men have learned that their weightiest interests are more Christianly met out of the Church than in it,—in lectures, societies, and divisions,—then where will be the Church? *

From the *Journal of Commerce*, May 4, 1850.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.—If our readers will bear with us, we have something more to say on the duties of clergymen in their pulpits in reference to the question of

slavery and its kindred topics. We have long felt that there was need of it, and the circumstances under which we now write, assure us that whatever we may say, will be read and pondered by those whom we most desire to address. That it will meet their approbation we do not expect; but it is very possible they may derive some benefit from it, notwithstanding. Or if they do not, others may.

In alluding occasionally to *The Independent*, the organ of the Congregationalists in this city and vicinity, though in many things not a correct exponent of their views and feelings, we shall be governed solely by a desire to aid our general object. And here it seems necessary to settle a preliminary. In one of our former articles we quoted from a prominent editorial in *The Independent*, and offered some comments upon what we quoted. We are now told that the article was *not* editorial. Says *The Independent*, April 18th,—

“He [meaning the *Journal of Commerce*] quotes from an article signed [*] in our number for March 21st—an article which he very well knows that *we* are responsible for only in the same way, and in the same measure, in which he is responsible for the articles which he is continually publishing from his Washington letter writer, and from his ‘regular correspondent’ at Paris. We shall not defend—still less shall we stop to censure—the brother whose communications in our columns are distinguished by the * as not editorial.”

This is a new doctrine entirely. We have known a number of cases,—the late *New York American*, for example,—where the articles of one editor were noted with a star to distinguish them from those of the other editor or editors, but we never heard it pretended that such articles were not editorial.

And here we cannot help remarking upon the *convenience* of having a gentleman to write editorials which are not editorials. His articles are printed in the same type, style and position, as other editorials, sometimes occupying the post of honor at the head of the paper, and sometimes intermingled with other editorials. Probably not one reader in fifty would notice any difference. If the sentiments suit the temper of the public, the editors have the benefit of them; but if any body complains, the answer is ready, “It is not our own article—didn’t you notice the * at the close of it? We are not responsible for such articles. They are not editorial.” Or to that effect. We doubt the propriety of this innovation. On the same principle, if all the editorials bore a distinguishing mark, the responsible editors would be responsible for nothing, except in the sense that they are responsible for correspondence, communications, &c. What we contend is, that although the responsible editors have a right by a star or otherwise, to distinguish other editorials from their own, yet that articles published as editorial are editorial, and may rightfully be “deemed and taken” as expressing the sentiments of the paper.

The Independent admits enough to convince any reasonable man, that the charge which we brought against a portion of the clergy, of preaching and praying Free Soilism in their pulpits on the Sabbath, is well founded. Say the editors,—

“Thousands of religious assemblies there are, in every one of which, on every Sabbath day, the minister, conducting the devotions of his fellow worshippers, offers the petition that God would enlighten the ignorant, raise up the degraded, and deliver the oppressed. In many a Christian assembly, every Sabbath day, prayer is offered, not only that Antichrist may be dethroned, and the altars of superstition overturned, but also that every where the rod of the oppressor may be broken, and that all men, of every clime and lineage, may stand up in the freedom of the sons of God. Wherever the injunction to pray for all that are in authority is duly remembered by those who lead the worship in our American churches, there, at such a crisis as that through which we are now passing, the prayer is that the President and Congress may have that wisdom which begins in the fear of God, may be saved from the influence of misleading passion and of base and selfish motives, and may be led to such measures as God will approve and bless for the establishment of righteousness and freedom. Sometimes the prayer is that God would stay the progress of slavery, and baffle the counsels of those who are plotting to frame iniquity by a law. And as for the preaching, doubtless thousands of sermons are preached every Sabbath day, which no man could hear and inwardly digest to his spiritual edification and to his soul’s health, without some quickening of his moral sense against all injustice, or without some determination of his will against lending himself, however indirectly, to the crime of opening a

new market for the sale of human beings. If this is what the *Journal of Commerce* means by 'preaching Free Soilism in the Pulpit, on the Sabbath,' the assertion is quite true."

Making due allowance for the cautious, reserved manner in which all this is said, we are inclined to think that the gentlemen have got our idea with tolerable correctness. Of course, in the utterance of such sentiments there would be a suitable expansion of thought, and an increased fervor of expression as the speaker advanced,—and before he got through, it is more than probable he would inflict upon his hearers a regular Free Soil Abolition Lecture. How else would he "quicken the moral sense" of a man to the perception of a crime of which he is not guilty?

Even taking the language as above quoted, it contains several false insinuations,—and with all deference to the Rev. fathers, we humbly conceive it is as wrong to pray an untruth, as to utter it in any other form; as wrong to tell it to God, as to man. Who are "plotting to frame iniquity by a law"? Nobody but Free Soilers, and those who act with them, propose to pass *any* law whatever respecting "the progress of slavery;" and we can hardly suppose the gentlemen allude to the Wilmot Proviso! If not to that, pray what do they allude to? Do, gentlemen, be more explicit.

Again, the petition "every Sabbath day" that "the rod of the oppressor may be broken," although it contains nothing objectionable in itself, is often used in such a connection as to convey the idea that all slaveholders are oppressors and tyrants, whereas in numerous cases they are the slave's best friends and benefactors. We believe there are clergymen not a few who pray Abolition "every Sabbath," but much less frequently for the conversion of the world, or for any of the great objects of Christian benevolence which distinguish our day. We believe there are clergymen who make slavery and its kindred topics a much more prominent theme in their pulpits than Christ crucified; and that these are the very men most ready to denounce any and all who cannot come up to their standard. We believe it is the duty of all good men who desire to preserve for themselves and their posterity the sacredness of the pulpit and of the Sabbath, to frown upon such perversion of both, and to do what in them lies to restrict the pulpit to its legitimate uses.

There are very few congregations in this part of the country, where the sentiments of the hearers are not very much divided upon the Slavery question. The best men in the congregation, equally with the worst, differ materially in regard to it. What one set of men regard as facts, another set regard as slanders and falsehoods; or at least, as so distorted from the truth, as to be equivalent to falsehoods. Conscientious men cannot pray falsehoods, or what they believe to be such, to their own edification; on the contrary, the utterance of such petitions excites their disgust, diminishes their respect for their pastors, destroys the comfort of their worship, and is very liable to awaken trains of thought inappropriate to the day and the occasion. Many of our readers can recollect the time when African colonization was approved by all good men who interested themselves in behalf of the colored race, and was objected to by nobody. At that day many ministers preached on the subject occasionally,—if not on the Sabbath day, at least on week days; and there are views of the enterprise, particularly in its bearings upon the Christianization of Africa, which are appropriate both to the pulpit and the Sabbath; for we believe it is clearly demonstrable that colonization has done more for the civilization and christianization of Africa, than all other modern missions put together. In those days it was very common to hear ministers pray that Ethiopia "might stretch out her hands unto God." No clergymen utters such a petition now (at least, we have not heard it uttered from the pulpit in ten years), and as for colonization, they would as soon touch burning pitch as to meddle with it. And yet the colonization enterprise is going on prosperously, receiving probably five times the amount of contributions which *both* the Abolition Societies receive, emancipating thousands of slaves at home, and producing results of inestimable value abroad, which will yet fill a continent with rejoicing. What then? Do colonizationists complain of this neglect by their pastors, in their pulpits and elsewhere, of a scheme of benevolence, which, in its various bearings, they (the colonizationists) regard as second to scarcely any other? No. And why? Because they know, in most cases, that there is a difference of opinion in the congregation as to the merits of that enterprise—some cordially approving it, and others as cordially disapproving it; and that under such circumstances, the pastor, as a prudent man, cannot be

expected to present the subject to his congregation, and probably ought not to do so, all things considered, especially on the Sabbath. What colonizationists thus concede to others, they claim for themselves. That is, when they unite with others to support the institutions of religion, and go to the house of God to hear the Gospel preached, they claim to be exempted from the infliction of an Abolition harangue, to which they are not permitted to reply, or an Abolition prayer, in which they cannot unite. Is this unreasonable?

Observe, there is a broad line of distinction between either Colonization or Abolition, or any one of a dozen other topics which are often brought into the pulpit, and the Gospel itself. The latter must be preached, whether men will hear or forbear. It must be preached in its purity and power, whoever may be offended. It is not man's message, but God's, and must be delivered faithfully. The Sabbath is eminently the day, and the pulpit the place, for this solemn act. And ministers deeply imbued with the spirit of the Gospel, find enough to say, and that which is interesting to their hearers, without traveling far into the field of politics, or any other field of doubtful propriety. Ministers who sally out in search of foreign topics, as too many seem inclined to do, almost always come back empty or loaded with chaff.

In some congregations, Abolition or Anti-Slavery is systematically reported upon by a Committee at the Monthly Concert of Prayer; and the report is followed by one or more prayers on the same subject. One would suppose that at least the Monthly Concert might be exempted from the visitation, but it seems not. Colonization is intimately connected with the conversion of the world, and but for the difficulties above stated, might fairly enough be introduced into the Monthly Concert; but how Abolition can be introduced there, and made a prominent topic, without a palpable perversion of the design of the institution, we cannot imagine.

The example of the Apostles may be safely appealed to in the matter under consideration. When and where did they ever preach politics? When and where did they ever preach Abolition? The nearest they came to the former, was when they inculcated obedience to civil magistrates; and to the latter, when they prescribed the reciprocal duties of masters and slaves. An Abolitionist of this day would have pronounced them doe-faces, or else destitute of the "moral sense."

The true theory of a Christian congregation, as we understand it, is this: A large number of persons, of different occupations and pursuits, of different tastes and manners, of different politics, of different colors if you please, and different opinions on various subjects other than the great matters of religion and religious worship, feeling in this latter respect a common want and common sympathies, *UNITE* for the better attainment of this object, and select a pastor who shall make it his primary business to look after their spiritual interests. Had it been proposed to form an Abolition Society, or a Colonization Society, or to hold a Free Soil meeting, or a Democratic or Whig meeting, the combination of elements would have been entirely different. On religious subjects they are substantially agreed, but on almost every other subject they differ. If the minister, in his preaching, prayers and exhortations, confines himself to the former, all are satisfied, or ought to be, provided he is faithful; but if he strikes off into tangents, as his fancy, or pride of genius, or the promptings of enthusiasts, may suggest, his usefulness is probably at an end.

If a portion of the congregation desire to have an Abolition meeting or a Colonization meeting, or a meeting on any other topic connected more or less remotely with religion or humanity, but yet not a topic which may be fitly introduced into the pulpit, or into the conference room, before the congregation in the aggregate, the obvious course is, for such section to ride its own hobby on week days or week-day evenings, either in the lecture-room or at some other place, as may be mutually agreed on. In that case none will be aggrieved, because they enjoy equal rights with their brethren, and are not imposed upon by being invited to an entertainment of a particular kind, and then treated to one of an entirely different kind.

We hope our friends of the *Independent* will not consider these remarks as intended exclusively for themselves. They are intended for the whole body of the clergy, of all denominations. We have no idea of allowing the clergy to invade our province, without invading theirs in return. If they preach politics to us in their pulpits, we will preach to them, in the *Journal of Commerce*, on ministerial duties and the proprieties of the pulpit. And yet we do not aspire to the Patriarchate or the Arch-

episcopate, as the *Independent* gentlemen seem to suppose. They need not be jealous of us on that head. There is no doubt but that each of them will continue to be a Pope in a small way. We know they are not pleased with our "instructions," but this may only prove their great need of them. Says the (*) *Independent* :—

"We should as soon send ministers to Greenland for tropical plants, to the Esquimaux for refinement, or to Australia for literature, as to the *Journal of Commerce* for instructions how to preach the Gospel, and especially those phases of the Gospel which Christ foretold were to come full freighted with divisions and overturnings. Our readers will understand, then, not that we approve of personal attacks in the pulpit on public men; not that we believe in all sorts of reformatory preaching, but that the *Journal of Commerce* is not on the right ground nor of the right sympathies, to fit it to teach Dr. Lansing how to discharge his conscience on questions of humanity."

Now, we beg to say we are not attempting to instruct the Rev. gentleman "how to preach the Gospel," but how *not* to preach politics. Are we not qualified to do this? For twenty years and upwards we have been more or less conversant with politics, and if the effect upon us has been as bad as the gentlemen appear to think, we certainly ought to be competent to warn others to keep aloof from the demoralizing business, especially in the pulpit on the Sabbath day. We know the reverend gentlemen will say in their hearts, if they do not in words, that *their* politics are better than ours, but we doubt it. We never knew a man yet, who did not consider his own politics exactly the thing; and men of strong feelings are very apt to think that all who differ from them are not only wrong, but willfully so.

The grievance complained of, is not that the clergymen alluded to do not preach the Gospel correctly when they preach it at all, but that not unfrequently they give us Abolitionism, Free Soilism, &c., in place of the Gospel. Abolitionism is not the Gospel. Christ never spoke of it as a "phase of the Gospel." Nor is there the slightest evidence that he had any reference to it when he said, "I am come to set a man at variance against his father," &c., or in any similar connection. On the contrary, it is plain from the context that he had in view the effects which would be produced in Jewish families by the conversion of some of their members, while others remained unmoved; in heathen families under similar circumstances; and in nominally Christian families in some cases, when one or more of their members should become decided Christians in the best sense of the word.

The *Independent* (*) seems determined to keep Dr. Lansing before the public, in connection with his recent political demonstration. It was stated by the responsible editors on the 18th ult., that immediately after making use of the expression alluded to, Dr. Lansing "remarked that he had, under the impulse of the moment, uttered what had perhaps better not have been said, and he would therefore recall it." This remark was not heard by all the members of the congregation, but may have been made, or something resembling it. What we wish to say, however, is, that the Star (*) editor of the *Independent* substantially indorses the remarks which Dr. Lansing is represented to have made. He says (April 25):

"It seems that after a discourse on the subject of *expediency*, Dr. Lansing made some remarks concerning Webster, and others, which without doubt were very true; and objectionable, if at all, only because it is unusual to speak such truths in such a place. But whose business was it? It was a matter between Dr. Lansing and his own congregation. They had a right to make a complaint if the pastor did not perform his duties suitably. But if they were satisfied, no man from abroad has any business to interlope and read a lecture to the pastor and the church, as to the right method of discharging their conscience in matters of public moment. And we respectfully submit to the *Journal of Commerce*, that Dr. Lansing had as much right to speak in his own pulpit of political matters, as the *Journal of Commerce* had to bring ecclesiastical matters into a political paper."

So it seems Dr. Lansing's remarks "without doubt were very true; and objectionable, if at all, only because it is unusual to speak such truths in such a place." This difficulty the gentlemen appear to be doing their best to overcome; and if successful, there will no longer be any objection to bringing the most rampant politics into the pulpit, denouncing one statesman by name as dishonest, another as having "acted like a fool," and lauding a third who swears on the Bible to support a Constitution a

portion of which he declares to be contrary to the Law of Nations, the Law of Nature, and (by clear implication) the Law of God.

There is one small obstacle in the way of making such pulpit-denunciations and glorifications "usual," and that is, the public press; and particularly that rascally paper, the *Journal of Commerce*, which has the effrontery to call in question the propriety of such language in the pulpit, or anywhere else. If only we could muzzle the press, as the Popish clergy do in France, and make it criminal to "attack our religion," that is, to publish what we say and do, with appropriate comments, we should get on much more comfortably.

The *Independent* admits that the "congregation had a right to make a complaint, if the pastor did not perform his duties suitably." Does it mean the congregation as a whole, or as individuals? May they complain publicly, or only privately, to the pastor? There are several laymen who would like to know what rights they have in the premises, if indeed they have any. What prudent man would needlessly encounter the arrogance and uncharitableness breathed forth in the above extracts? Suppose some parishioner should come and tell such a pastor that he was grieved at the constant dinging of Abolitionism and Free-Soilism in his ears, and beg him to consider whether he could not with propriety omit them, and give his sermons and prayers a more uniformly religious cast? What would be the reply? If consistent with the extracts we have quoted, and others which we have not quoted, it would be something like this: "What! do you mean to say that Abolitionism is not the Gospel? Are you grieved because I tell you the truth? Go home to your closet, and pray God to convert you. You are still in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity." We can tell the editors of the *Independent* that more than one member of their congregations have tendered us their most hearty thanks for the articles we have written on this subject. They have suffered as long and as much as they can well endure. And they expect that when the excitement of the moment shall be past, the Rev. gentlemen will profit by our "instructions." We hope so; but if they do not, we shall have the satisfaction of feeling that we have done our duty.

We are happy to acknowledge an improvement in the *Independent's* manners, to the extent of admitting that we are honest in our errors. As to the errors themselves, it speaks as positively as if it possessed infinite wisdom and knowledge. Thus saith the (*) editor:—

"Let any paper take an unchristian ground, and unchristian men will clap it on the back and swear by it. This is the very thing which we charge upon the *Journal of Commerce*—not dishonesty, not insincerity, not doing what it has no civil right to do, but simply and only taking the unchristian side of the great moral question of the day, and then finding fault that ministers who abhor that ground, do not preach to suit it."

The gentleman will please bear in mind that he is not here speaking from the pulpit, but from the press. Even, therefore, if we admitted his authority to pronounce from the pulpit what is Christian and what is "unchristian," to the exclusion of the right of private judgment on the part of his hearers (agreeably to the claims of the Papal hierarchy), we *here* stand on equal ground with him. We have the same Bible, and the same means of judging in other respects. We have lived as long, and probably reflected as much. In short, if he will not head us off with the plea of "no conscience," *i. e.*, a moral incapacity to form correct opinions, we trust we shall be able to do a living business. Well, then, the gentleman thinks we have taken "the unchristian side" of the Slavery question; which, we suppose, is equivalent to the *wrong* side. We think the same in regard to him and the paper of which he writes. We believe, if we believe anything, that to press the Wilmot Proviso through Congress under existing circumstances, would be one of the wickedest acts that ever was committed. It would do no good, because slavery is more likely to be excluded from the new Territories without it than with it. We speak of *actual* exclusion, and not of paper edicts. We have recently shown, from official documents, that the Ordinance of 1787 did *not* prevent the introduction of near 1200 slaves into Indiana and Illinois, prior to the erection of those Territories into States, whereas the moment the State Constitutions were formed, prohibiting Slavery, its death knell was rung, and provision made for its gradual extinction. So it will be in the new Territories, if they are permitted to act for themselves. California has led the way; New Mexico and Deseret (or Utah), will follow in due time. And if meanwhile a small number of slaves

should be carried thither from the Southern States, it will insure their emancipation in a few years at farthest. Even if Congress should pass a prohibitory law, it would become inoperative the moment the Territories should be erected into States. So that, either way, it comes to this at last, that you must TRUST THE PEOPLE of the new Territories. If they are not sound on the subject of slavery, you can not eventually control them. If they *are* sound, your interference is unnecessary and useless. Either way it is useless. Either way it is a humbug; and all the pulpits in Christendom can not make it otherwise. This the public are beginning to understand.

Next we have to say, that if the Wilmot Proviso, *i. e.*, an Act of Congress forever prohibiting slavery in the new Territories, is unnecessary, and would be useless, then to pass such an Act, with a full knowledge that it would exasperate one third of the nation to frenzy, alienate communities from each other whom God and nature have united together as brethren, and not improbably lead to a dissolution of the Union, would be an atrocity which could only be measured by its deplorable consequences. The *Independent* speaks of the Gospel as "coming full-freighted with divisions and overturnings"; but it does not follow that all divisions and overturnings are of the Gospel. The prevailing influence of the Gospel is PEACE; whereas wars and fightings, according to the highest authority, spring from men's lusts and passions. The Gospel tends to universal brotherhood. It exhorts its disciples to study the things that make for peace. It discountenances wrath, clamor, evil speaking, and the whole catalogue of denunciatory weapons for which Abolitionists have been famous, the world over.

Then as to the District of Columbia; Our doctrine is, that the slave *trade* ought to be immediately abolished there, (as it will be, if the Compromise proposed by the Senate Committee of Thirteen should be adopted,) and slavery as soon as the consent of the inhabitants of the District, and of Maryland from which the District was taken, can be obtained,—with the full understanding that the value of the slaves as property shall be paid to the owners by the government of the United States. This accords with the sentiments of an article in the *American Review* which the *Independent* assailed with so much ferocity a few days ago. We inferred from the remarks of the *Independent* that it was opposed, and very warmly opposed, to each of the three conditions mentioned by the *Review*, and in favor of abolition in the District without regard to these conditions. We still think that such is the fair import of the language. We can see no point to the criticism on any other supposition. But a later number of the paper, (April 18th,) clearly intimates, though it does not distinctly assert, "that such was not its meaning." Say the editors:

"Nor did we adopt or express any one of the three views which the *Journal* imputes to us. There is nothing in the article to justify the inference that we favor under any conditions, the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

Indeed! Well, perhaps, after all, the *Independent* is as "unchristian," and as destitute of "moral sense," as we are. We, too, are in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District, as soon as the above conditions can be complied with, and so is Henry Clay, and so is the *American Review*. By the way, we find on referring to that publication, that the paragraphs on which the *Independent* based the harsh criticism above alluded to, are a mere outline of Henry Clay's arguments and views on the topic in question, as expressed in his recent speech, and are seen to be so on the face of them. Within the compass of less than half an 8vo. page, containing said paragraphs, the expression "Mr. Clay argues," "Mr. Clay urges," or "he contends," occurs four times; sufficient, one would suppose, to give "color to the idea" that it was *his* sentiments, substantially, which were there put forth. Precisely the three conditions mentioned by the reviewer, are the conditions mentioned by Mr. Clay. Does the *Independent* approve of them or not? That is the question.

The Territories and the District of Columbia are admitted, even by Abolition Societies, to be the only portions of the country in which the jurisdiction of the national government extends to the matter of slavery,—always excepting forts, arsenals and dockyards. Concerning these last we have no opinion in particular. As to the Territories and District, our views have been expressed. From all this it is manifest that the people of the North have but little to do with slavery. They *have had* much to do with it. They and their English brethren are the chief authors of the mischief.

They owned the ships, stole the slaves from Africa, landed them at the southern ports, or kept them here till slavery was found to be unprofitable, and then sold them to the South. No doubt many of the noisy calumniators of everything Southern, are at this moment enjoying the proceeds of the very money which was received by their fathers in exchange for human flesh and blood. Having got all they can out of the system, they call heaven and earth to bear witness to its turpitude, and exhort the owners of the slaves to emancipate them immediately. Such is poor human nature.

From the Independent, May 23.

MORAL SENSE AND THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.*

On the general question of "Politics and the Pulpit," we may leave the *Journal of Commerce* to the handling of our friend and contributor *. But on the particular question of "Moral Sense in Politics," we beg leave to refresh the memory of that respectable journal.

A grave complaint was made that we had imputed to the *Journal of Commerce* an "absolute deadness of moral sense in regard to slavery." We admitted the fact alleged in the complaint, and attempted to justify the imputation by inquiring whether, since the death of Mr. Hale, the columns of the *Journal* have contained "one paragraph, one word, one syllable, implying or conceding that the institution of slavery, as it is constituted or upheld by law in the slaveholding States, is in any respect offensive to the moral sense?" We earnestly invited the *Journal* to speak for itself, if we had done it any injustice, and to put us to shame "by uttering its own moral sense in regard to this institution of American slavery." And to show what we mean by a "deadness of moral sense in regard to slavery," we defined with great carefulness the particular question of right and wrong on which the serious judgment of the *Journal of Commerce* is desired not by us only but by thousands besides. The editor can be explicit when he pleases. Nobody is in the dark as to his opinion on the protective system or on the system of free banking. He can make his readers understand that he detests and abhors the anti-slavery agitation. He writes very intelligible and pointed paragraphs against the Pope. And we have no doubt that if he has any living moral sense in regard to slavery, he *can* so utter it as to be understood. We beg leave, therefore, to remind him of the question.

"The question on which thousands of readers would like to have that most respectable and influential journal declare itself unequivocally and manfully, without dodging or mystification, is simply this—*Whether the institution of Slavery, as defined and maintained by the laws of the slaveholding States, is RIGHT?*"

Since we first presented the question thus definitely to the attention of the editor, on the 18th of April, the *Journal of Commerce* has devoted we know not how many columns weekly to controversy with *The Independent*; but we have not been so fortunate as to discover in all its lucubrations any explicit answer to this question. We might, no doubt, *infer* from almost every paragraph that, in the opinion of the *Journal*, slavery, as defined and maintained by the laws of the slaveholding States, is entirely right, and indeed we remember one passage to the effect that a Congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories would be positively wicked; but perhaps our inference, though perfectly logical, would be repudiated by the editor. We will therefore abstain from making such an inference at present. We only beg leave to remind the *Journal* that till it has declared itself *explicitly* on this question, it is liable to the imputation which it resents with so much sensibility. IS SLAVERY RIGHT? Not slaveholding in all possible circumstances, but *the institution of slavery—is it right?* Not slavery as defined by the Mosaic laws—not slavery as it existed under the feudal system—but slavery *as defined by the laws and judicial decisions of the slaveholding States—is it right?* Let the *Journal of Commerce* speak out, and show whether it has any moral sense that can be offended by anything in this institution of American negro slavery.

* Dr. Bacon.

From the Independent—same number as above.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.*

We promised, after the hurry of the Anniversaries, thoroughly to examine the positions of the *Journal of Commerce* in the three articles with the above title. This we shall now do. Not as a mere matter of difference between two newspapers; but because the questions raised are vital; and no opportunity to diffuse right opinions should be lost. Thousands will read even this long article, as a reply to a thorough and persistent attempt of the *Journal of Commerce* to deny the rights of the pulpit by circumscribing its topics, who would hardly read an essay on liberty of conscience, liberty of speech, the duties of Christians, or the natural rights of men.

Is the subject of American Slavery a proper topic for the Christian Pulpit?

There is no difference, we think, in any denomination of Christians on this subject. Single individuals there are who would refuse the least mention of the subject. But so generally is it the opinion of Christian ministers that the subject should enter, in some measure, into their ministrations, that we may safely say that it is the public sentiment of the American Pulpit that Slavery is a lawful topic.

There are differences, great and serious. But they are not here. How often, and how earnestly this subject should be discussed; the nature and extent of its evils and guilt—the responsible parties—the remedies for it, and the duties of men as individuals; and of Christians as members of churches; and of conferences, conventions, assemblies, or associations, as ecclesiastical bodies—upon all these questions there is, as might be expected, a wide diversity; but none as to the fact that, at appropriate times, and in an appropriate spirit, the morals of Slavery should form some part of pulpit ministrations. Every minister must determine the *method* of preaching on Slavery, from his own disposition, the wants of his flock, and the circumstances of the community; and no one man can be a model for all men. But we think that few men in the North would care to say, in the present state of public enlightenment, that they have never, *in any way*, spoken to their people on the sin of slavery.

The issue between the *Journal of Commerce* and *The Independent* is not whether the Pulpit has a right to speak politically of slavery, but whether it has a right to speak of it morally and religiously; whether it has a right *to speak at all*. The charges of the *Journal* are not that we have preached on a legitimate theme in a wrong spirit; it is not that we have preached on the political question of slavery *instead of* upon the morals of slavery. The charges are unmistakable that the sin of the Pulpit lies in touching the subject *in any manner whatsoever* (with the single remarkable exception which we shall in due time mention.)

Those whom the *Journal of Commerce* charges with Sabbath and pulpit desecration, have never held the duty of preaching on the political relations of slavery. They have declared that slavery had the most vital moral and religious bearings; and that a Christian minister, on the Christian Sabbath, in the Christian pulpit, ought to inform his people of these religious aspects of slavery. This is the doctrine of anti-slavery men as a body. Those who desire to go further are few; and though their right is respected, their practice is not accepted, as the *Journal of Commerce* full well knows, by the great body of anti-slavery men in the North. This is the doctrine of *The Independent*.

When assailed, the editors of *The Independent*, in an article which we thought to be imprudent by an excess of prudence, most cautiously carved out their position, and gave the pulpit almost less ground than we believed it entitled to.

The *Journal* copied portions of this exposition of *The Independent*; such as this:

"Thousands of religious assemblies there are, in every one of which, on every Sabbath day, the minister, conducting the devotions of his fellow-worshippers, offers the petition that God would enlighten the ignorant, raise up the degraded, and deliver the oppressed. In many a Christian assembly, every Sabbath day, prayer is offered not only that Antichrist may be dethroned, and the altars of superstition be overturned, but also that everywhere the rod of the oppressor may be broken, and that all men of every clime and lineage may stand up in the freedom of the sons of God."

And this:

* H. W. Beecher.

"And as for the preaching, doubtless thousands of sermons are preached every Sabbath day, which no man could hear and inwardly digest to his spiritual edification and to his soul's health, without some quickening of his moral sense against all injustice, or without some determination of his will against lending himself, however indirectly, to the crime of opening a new market for the sale of human beings. If this is what the *Journal of Commerce* means by 'preaching Free Soilism in the pulpit, on the Sabbath,' the assertion is quite true."

No man can mistake this claim to a right to handle Slavery upon moral and religious grounds. What says the *Journal* to these very paragraphs?

"The *Independent* admits enough to convince any reasonable man, that the charge which we brought against a portion of the clergy of preaching and praying Free Soilism in their pulpits on the Sabbath, is well founded."

The *Star* (*) contributor to *The Independent*, in an article expressly defining his ideas of the duties of the pulpit, says:

"Our belief then is, not that the Pulpit should discuss party questions, nor meddle with candidates, nor take sides with this or that man, or measure; but that it is bound to set forth what principles should guide Christian men in political action, *whatever party and without regard to measures.*"

Could anything be more explicit?

But one of two courses was open to the *Journal*, either to *agree* with these views and drop the discussion; or to *disagree* and prolong the attack upon them. It chose the latter. It says expressly that we do not introduce politics into the Pulpit, in the usual sense of that word:

"Not that they bring into the pulpit *mere* party politics, although in some cases there is a near approximation to it. Free Soilism, used in its technical party sense, expresses the idea in black and white."

It meets our distinct avowal that it is not Slavery as an economic question, as a political question, but as a religious question that we claim for the Pulpit—by replying:

"Of course, in the utterance of such sentiments there would be a suitable expansion of thought, and an increased fervor of expression as the speaker advanced—and before he got through, it is more than probable he would inflict upon his hearers a regular Free Soil Abolition Lecture."

No man can read the three articles of the *Journal*, but especially the last, written after *The Independent* had fully disclosed its ground, without admitting that the *Journal of Commerce* has proscribed the whole topic of Slavery, in all its relations, and under every aspect, from the Pulpit.

How any man on earth could have failed to see, that of all questions that ever agitated a nation, the question of the debasement of 3,000,000 men, subject to, and notoriously enduring the utmost flood of sensual lust; untaught, without Bibles or religious teachers, without family rights, subject to sale and wide dispersion with every fluctuation of the market, or every pinch of the owner's purse—is a question in which the religious side, is the side of all others, first, strongest, most memorable, we have no faculty or experience wherewith to conceive. But so it is.

It is in vain to parry this truth by denying these facts, and affirming that hundreds of thousands of slaves have Christian instruction. What if they do? There are millions that do not. *As a body*, throughout the South, slaves are *not* religiously instructed. The *Charleston* (S. C.) *Observer* declared, some years ago, that "throughout the bounds of the Charleston Synod (Presbyterian) there are at least one hundred thousand slaves, speaking the same language as the whites, who have *never heard of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer.*"

The Rev. C. C. Jones, a minister who had devoted his life to the cause of the slave in the South, says in a sermon preached before two associations of planters in 1831: "Generally speaking, they (the slaves) are a nation of heathen in the midst of the land. They are without hope and without God in the world." A Report made to the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1833, says: "They have no Bible to read by their own firesides; they have no family altars; and when, in affliction, sickness, or death, they have no minister to address to them the consolations of the Gospel."

The next year the same Synod made a Report themselves, which says of the slaves :

“They are destitute of the privileges of the Gospel, *and ever will be under the present state of things*. They may justly be considered the heathen of this country, *and will bear a comparison with heathen in any country in the world.*”

Yet the Pulpit, whose echoes roll over the heathenism of the globe, must be dumb !

It is vain to tell us that hundreds of thousands of slaves are church members ; does that save women from the lust of their owners ? does it save their children from being sold ? does it save parents from separation ? In the shameless processions every week made from the Atlantic to the Gulf, are to be found slaves ordained to preach the Gospel, members of churches, baptized children, Sunday-school scholars carefully catechized, full of Gospel texts, fat and plump for market. What is religion worth to a slave, except as a consolation from despair, when the hand that breaks to him the bread of communion on Sunday, takes the price of his blood and bones on Monday ; and bids him God-speed on his pilgrimage from old Virginia tobacco fields to the cotton plantations of Alabama ?

What is church fellowship, and church privilege, and church instruction worth, if the recipient is still as much a beast, just as little loved, just as ruthlessly desolated of his family, just as coolly sold, as if he were without God and without hope ? What motive is there to the slave to strive for Christian graces, when, if they make him a real man, they are threshed out of him ; or if they make him a more obedient and faithful man, raise his market price, and only make him a more merchantable disciple of Christ ? It is the religious phase of slave-life that reveals the darkest features of that all-perverting system.

These things are not new ; nor out of the reach of the *Journal of Commerce* ; yet when upon this state of facts the Christianity of the North, too long unsensitive, lifts up its voice, the *Journal of Commerce* assails it as if it were a monster ravening for its prey ! Three million men, against natural law, against every fundamental principle of our state and national government, are, by law, thrown over the pale of the race and denied to be men. This is not fit for the Pulpit to mention ; it is allowed, nevertheless, to preach about China and India ! Every year thousands of children are snatched from their parents' bosom, and remorselessly sold every whither. The Pulpit is not the place for mentioning such things, though it *be* allowed to snatch children from the Ganges, and to mourn over infanticide in Polynesia ! Every year husbands and wives are torn asunder, Christian or no Christian ; and the *Journal of Commerce* browbeats that Pulpit that utters a word about such politics, when it should rather be busy in expostulating with cannibals in Malaya, or snatching devotees from under the wheels of Juggernaut ! Every year thousands of women are lashed for obstinate virtue ; and tens of thousands robbed of what they have never been taught to prize ; and the *Journal of Commerce* stands poised to cast its javelin at that meddlesome Pulpit that dares speak of such boundless licentiousness, and send it to its more appropriate work of evangelizing the courtesans of Paris, or the loose virtue of Italy ! and it assures us that multitudes of clergymen are thanking it for such a noble stand. Some of those clergymen we know. The platforms of our Benevolent Societies resound with their voices urging Christianity to go abroad : stimulating the church not to leave a corner of the globe unsearched, nor an evil unredressed. But when the speech is ended, they steal in behind the *Journal of Commerce* to give it thanks for its noble stand against the right of the Pulpit to say a word about home-heathen—about their horrible ignorance, bottomless licentiousness, and about the mercenary inhumanity which every week is selling their own Christian brethren, baptized as much as they, often preachers of the Gospel like themselves, eating from the same table of the Lord, praying to the same Savior, listening to snatches of that same Bible (whose letters they have never been permitted to learn,) out which these reverend indorsers of the *Journal of Commerce* preach !

It requires *distance*, it seems, to make a topic right for the Pulpit. Send it to Greenland, or to Nootka Sound, and you may then practice at the far-away target. And the reason of such discrimination seems to be, that preaching against foreign sins does not hurt the feelings nor disturb the quiet of your congregation ; whereas, if the identical evils at home, which we deplore upon the Indus, or along the Burampootra, are preached about, the *Journal* says that it will risk the minister's place and bread and butter ;

and it plainly tells all Northern ministers that if they meddle with such politics, they will have their coats rolled in the dirt; and the experience which we have had of that operation, at the hands of the *Journal*, assures us that the process is full dirty enough. Will the *Journal* tell us how many leagues off a sin must be before it is prudent and safe for courageous ministers to preach against it?

The *Journal of Commerce* cannot back out of these results by denying its position. Again and again, in every form of statement, it has been said, in newspaper, book and sermon, that the Pulpit claimed no right to meddle with Slavery in its mere political aspects; and only as it was a great moral and religious question, belonging to the conscience and the Christian heart. In reply to all this, the *Journal* again and again, in many forms, protests that, begin where you may, do it with what intent you will, if Slavery comes into the Pulpit at all, it is *free-soilism*! It is bad enough not to have detected the superior view of this question; it is bad enough not to have *felt* that it was *the* moral question of the age! But when that view has been educed, illustrated, and plainly recognized by the popular religious mind, then not to know it; to gaze upon it with such an utter desiccation of sympathy, and with such an inert and impenetrable conscience that it cannot see the difference between a political view and a religious view, between a prayer for heathen slaves and a free-soil prayer; between preaching humanity and justice and religion, as it respects the most degraded people of our land, and free-soil sermons—is, one would think, to identify itself with that class of whom Christ spoke: "For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing and their eyes have they closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them."

Neither can the *Journal* get rid of these reasonings by protesting that the things which we deplore in Slavery are but the *abuses of slavery*. How absurd is it to talk of the abuses of a system whose first step, as settled by courts, and recognized as the basis of all judicial procedure, is, in the language of the courts of South Carolina (Dess. Reports, iv. 266), that Slaves are to be "considered not as *persons*, but as *things*. They can be sold or transferred as *goods* or personal estate; they are to be held, *pro nullis, pro mortuis*! We should like to know what would be an *abuse* of that slave-law of South Carolina, under which if a runaway slave, after due publication (in newspapers which it is penal to teach him to read), returns not to his master, "that *ANY* person may kill and destroy such slaves, by such means as he or they may think fit, without accusation, or impeachment of any crime for so doing, or without incurring any penalty or forfeiture thereby." Will the *Journal* tell us what would be an *abuse* of a system, whose laws demolish the family state; the right of parentage; the decency of virtue; and put men, women and children under the name of merchandise? The very idea of *abuse* implies some starting point of rectitude. But the foundations of Slavery are laid in the monstrous doctrine, that a Man is not a Man, but a mere *Thing*. What abuse can there be where every crime is legalized, where every vice stands upon enactments, and every depth which evil can plumb hath a bottom of Law?

Our laws scarcely recognize a crime against man save murder and violence akin to it, that is not legal under slave laws. There is not a sensual vice which we are taught to abhor, which Slavery doth not monstrously engender. There is not a sin which religion condemns, that is not garnered and sown, reaped and sown again, by American Slavery. Among freemen, the road of honor lies *away* from animal passion, from sensation, toward Conscience, Hope, Love, and Spiritual Faith. But Slavery sharply turns the wretch downward, and teaches and compels him to evolve the task of life from such motives as are common to him with the ox, the ass, and the dog. The slave's pleasures are our appetites. His motives are, almost of necessity, those from which religion most earnestly deports us. To our children labor is honorable, because it is God's ordination of mercy; because it is an education; because it is the road alike to health, and temperate pleasure; because it is the parent of wealth; because by it the cheerful laborer builds his house, rears his children, gives to them the means of knowledge. By Labor the North has subdued Nature, changed a parsimonious soil to fertility, built dwellings for almost her whole population, raised the school-house, established the Church, encircled the globe with her ships, and made her books and her papers to be as blades of grass and as leaves of Summer for number. But in the South, as if unredeemed from the primal curse, Labor, a badge of shame, is the father

of misery. The slave labors, but with no cheer—it is not the road to respectability—it will honor him with no citizen's trust—it brings no bread to his family—no grain to his garner—no leisure in after days—no books or papers to his children. It opens no school-house door, builds no church, rears for him no Factory, lays no keel, fills no bank, earns no acres. With sweat, and toil, and ignorance, he consumes his life to pour the earnings into channels from which he does not drink—into hands that never honor him, but perpetually rob, and often torment.

This vast abomination, which seethes and smokes in our midst, which is enervating and demoralizing the white by the oppression of the black—in which adultery, fornication and a concubinage so awful exist, that, in comparison with it, a Turkish harem is a cradle of virgin purity—which every hour does violence to nature, to the sentiment of justice, and to the embodiment of that sentiment into national law—a system which makes a home impossible, and the word family as much a misnomer as it would be to a stable or a sheep-fold—which subsists only by keeping the subject ignorant—which is obliged to rank and treat the qualities which our community most esteems—independence, ambition, self-reliance, thirst for knowledge, self-respect, as most punishable crimes in the slave—a system whose practice requires what its laws recognize, that man must be subverted—that the slave must be intelligent only for work, and religious only to the extent of obedience—a system which, taking away all inducements to labor natural to man, is obliged to enforce it by suffering, or the fear of suffering; which, denying to the faculties of the soul a natural expression, forces the miserable wretch to cunning and craft, to lying and subterfuge—whose whole natural tendency it is to produce labor upon compulsion and laziness by choice, lying and thieving under a sense of justice, and truth and honesty with a feeling of their injustice—and which, at length, as its worst and most damnable result, so subverts that instinct of liberty which belongs to man the world over, that the slave agrees to his condition, grows fat, and laughs and sings, preferring slavery with indulgence to eat and drink enough, to liberty, if he must pay the price of that liberty by sustained exertion;—this huge, infernal system for the destruction of men, soul and body, must not be mentioned in the Pulpit, lest the Sabbath be desecrated and the peace of the congregation be disturbed.

This is the front of the Pulpit's offense. It has dared to think that Christianity had an errand to a nation so bested. It dared to have a heart to pray for these slaves. It dared to say that in all this monstrous brood of evils we have some interest and bear some guilt, unless we lift a solemn testimony against it. And having done this the *Journal of Commerce* declares—

“We believe it is the duty of all good men who desire to preserve for themselves and their posterity the sacredness of the Pulpit and of the Sabbath, to frown upon such perversions of both, and do what in them lies to restrict the Pulpit to its legitimate uses.”

It declares it to be a perversion of the Monthly Concert—

“In some congregations, abolition or anti-slavery is systematically reported on by a committee at the Monthly-Concert of Prayer; and the report is followed by one or more prayers on the same subject. One would suppose that at least the Monthly Concert might be exempted from the visitation, but it seems not.”

In exploring this wilderness of inhumanity, filled with the shapes and motley sights of degradation, I live in a perpetual struggle how to calm the natural expression of an honest soul into that measured phrase that may best suit the sated public ear. If one overhang this abyss until his spirit do drink in its very import, his soul must be full of thunder and his words glance like fire. Neither are these feelings the foul engenderings of fanaticism. They are the true feelings of a heart taught to hate injustice and degrading wrong, by that nature which God gave it; by the Bible which educated it; by the law under which it was made; and by the public sentiment in which it has been bred. It is with a sense of shame that we see strong words for oppression granted an unapologized liberty to walk up and down as they will; while he who speaks for freedom, must rake up his ardor under the ashes of a tame propriety, and stand to answer for want of a Gospel spirit, if indignation at double and treble wrongs do sometimes give forth a bolt! Nevertheless, we hope; we trust; we pray; and hoping, trusting and praying, we soothe ourselves in such thoughts as

these—"From this shame, too, thou shalt go forth, oh world! God, who, unwearied, sitting on the circle of the earth, hath beheld and heard the groanings and travailings of pain until now, and caused time to destroy them one by one, shall, ere long, destroy thee, thou abhorred and thrice-damnable Oppressor—cancerously eating the breast of Liberty!"

Is there then no duty of Prudence in this day of ordeal? Ought not Christian preachers to look out upon the storm and take heed to its monitions? None more than we think thus. It is not all preaching that we plead for; it is not rash preaching. The very solemnity of the clerical duty in this day makes it imperative on them to clothe their spirits in the mantle of love; to give earnest heed that they speak not rashly, that no distempered enthusiasm take the place of earnest truth and calm statement; to make them feel more than ever before, that while they stand for God firmly and for man courageously, they do both with true Christian prudence.

But let no man be deluded to think that silence is Prudence; that it is wise and right dealing for a minister to withdraw his counsel, and hide his light of God's truth from his flock, just when they are entering the darkness of political times, and more than ever need right principles and true consciences!

That is the highest Prudence which, in a day, when the "heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing," stands the more firmly for truth as it is the more threatened—and is never so calm, so earnest, so fearless, so irresistibly true, as when the calculations of commerce or the rage of politics are swinging all men from their moorings, and scattering them by fierce winds up and down the turbulent ocean.

We cannot listen to the cowardly doctrine of the *Journal of Commerce*, though our coats be rolled in dirt, or our mouths lose the accustomed "bread and butter."

The *Journal of Commerce* very well knows these things. They are not newly discovered. They are not peculiar to Northern men. No abolitionist, not even Garrison, has expressed these truths with such terrible severity, as Southern men themselves,—and that too, not in the heats of feeling, but with the severe deliberation, and the solemnity of Judicial Honor. Says Judge Ruffin, of North Carolina, in a case brought against defendant for shooting and wounding a woman, who endeavored to run from a whipping:

"With slavery it is far otherwise. *The end is the profit of the master, his security and the public peace. The subject is one doomed in his own person and in his posterity, to live without knowledge, and without capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that others may reap the fruits.*

"What moral considerations shall be addressed to such a being to convince him, what it is impossible but that the most stupid must feel and know can never be true, that he is thus to labor upon a principle of natural duty, or for the sake of his own personal happiness! Such services can only be expected from one who has no will of his own, who surrenders his will in explicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of *uncontrolled* authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce the effect. The power of the master must be absolute, to render the submission of the slave perfect. I most freely confess my sense of the harshness of this proposition. I feel it as deeply as any man can. And as a principle of *moral right, every person in his retirement must repudiate it.* But in the actual condition of things, it must be so. There is no remedy. *THIS DISCIPLINE BELONGS TO SLAVERY.*"

Under this appalling state of facts there would have been no mercy in Christianity if Northern Christians had felt no pity, desired no change, uttered no prayer, and engaged in no efforts to free themselves from the guilt of connivance; and then to free their land and the world from the guilt of such a system. Such Christian Humanity ought to have excited at least the respect of the *Journal of Commerce*, if it did not enlist its sympathies. Instead of that, with a cold and contemptuous sneer, it felt nothing and found nothing to say, but such a paragraph as this:

"From all this it is manifest that the people of the North have but little to do with slavery. They *have had* much to do with it. They and their English brethren are the chief authors of the mischief. They owned the ships, stole the slaves from Africa, landed them at the Southern ports, or kept them here till slavery was found to be unprofitable, and then sold them to the South. No doubt many of the noisy calumniators of everything Southern, are at this moment enjoying the proceeds of the ver-

money which was received by their fathers in exchange for human flesh and blood. Having got all they could out of the system, they call heaven and earth to bear witness to its turpitude, and exhort the owners of the slaves to emancipate them immediately. Such is poor human nature."

If this, the closing sentence of the third and last deliberate article of the *Journal of Commerce*, were true, a right sympathy for humanity should have buried it among the misdeeds of an imperfect Past. But it is so flagrantly untrue, it is a slander upon history, and upon the history of the Editor of the *Journal of Commerce's* own native New England, so strangely disgraceful, that he must not resent it when a truer son of New England tells him that one should have felt humbled even to have dreamed the falsehood in a nightmare.

Let every one turn back to it, and read it again. He is speaking of the North,—the whole North. The charge against the whole North, including New York and New England, is, that not only it had slavery in common with the South; but that, stealing the slaves, selling them at the South, it only, when it became *unprofitable*, gave up domestic slavery, and gave it up by selling the slaves to the South. This accusation of guilt and mercenary meanness, and humanity only as an after-thought and upon commercial necessity, stands against the North!

1. Three or four commercial cities of New England were actively engaged in the slave trade, Bristol and Newport in R. I. and Newburyport in Mass., being the principal ones; but that it formed any such part of commerce as to justify the statement that the North was, as a whole, profited by the trade, or directly implicated in it, has never been shown, and we believe it to be a slander.

2. The slavery of New England *never* was the slavery of the South. The slavery of the South, in our days, adopts the Roman civil law as the basis of its code. This law is briefly explained, and the fact of its adoption (with some modifications towards severity rather than lenity) in the Southern States, is stated by the Court of South Carolina:

"A master made a devise to trustees for the benefit of his slave Betsey and her children. Devise held to be void. *Per Cur.* 'The condition of slaves in this country is analogous to that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and not that of the feudal times. They are generally considered not as persons but as *things*. They can be sold or transferred as *goods* or personal estate; they are held to be *pro nullis, pro mortuis*. By the civil law slaves could not take property by descent or purchase; and I apprehend this to be the law of this country.'"—[Dess. Rep. IV. 266, South Carolina, as quoted by Judge Jay, to whose writings, and to Stroud's Sketch of the laws relating to Slavery, I am chiefly indebted for the legal references of this article.]

Now New England never held a slave on the basis of the Roman civil law; but under a law which was expressly enacted for the benefit of the slave, and for the ultimate destruction of slavery, viz., the *Hebrew law of slavery*.

As early as 1641, the following law was passed by the general court of Massachusetts:

"It is ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that there shall never be any bond slavery, villenage, or captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just war, (such) as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us; and such shall have the liberties and Christian usage which the law of God ESTABLISHED IN ISRAEL, concerning such persons, doth morally require."

The Roman civil code and the Hebrew code are not only different, but the difference is such that the one will make slavery utter and fatal, and the other will alleviate it, make it less and less valuable to the master, and certainly abolish it, under the appearance of regulating it.

Connecticut seems to have had the largest number of slaves of any New England State. In 1790, when Maine and Massachusetts had *none*, New Hampshire 158, Vermont 17, Rhode Island 952, Connecticut had 2,759. What was slavery then in Connecticut? Judge Tapping Reeve says:

"The law, as heretofore practiced in this State, respecting slaves, must now be uninteresting. I will, however, lest the slavery which prevailed in this State be forgotten, mention some things that show that slavery here was very far from being of the absolute, rigid kind. The master had no control over the life of his slave. If he

killed him, he was liable to the same punishment as if he killed a freeman. The master was as liable to be sued by the slave, in an action for beating or wounding, or for immoderate chastisement, as he would be if he had thus treated an apprentice. A slave was capable of holding property, in character of devisee or legatee. If the master should take away such property, his slave would be entitled to an action against him, by his *prochein ami* (next friend). From the whole we see that slaves had the same right of life and property as apprentices; and that the difference betwixt them was this: an apprentice is a servant for time, and the slave is a servant for life."

How utterly different this slavery was from that of the South, Judge Ruffin, of North Carolina, shows, when speaking on this very point:

"This (viz., slavery) has, indeed, been assimilated at the bar to the other domestic relations; and arguments, drawn from the well-established principles which confer and restrain the authority of the parent over the child, the tutor over the pupil, the master over the apprentice, have been pressed on us. The court does not recognize their application. There is no likeness between the cases. They are in opposition to each other, and there is an impassable gulf between them. The difference is that which exists between freedom and slavery; and a greater cannot be imagined."

The very effect of the Hebrew law of slavery was so to direct the master's attention to his comfort and religious education, that, ere he was aware of it, the slave stood in his view so surrounded with the rights of man and sanctions of religion, that he could not regard him as much less than an equal fellow. And it is historically true, that the brief trial of the Hebrew law of slavery in New England produced the same effects there. Judge Parsons, of Mass., says, "The treatment of slaves was in general mild and humane, and they suffered hardships not greater than hired servants." And in the same case, he says that a *discontented* slave was worth little to his master, inasmuch that he sometimes colluded with the slave, and allowed him to sue for his liberty, that he might get rid of him and the burden of his support. (*See Winchendon vs. Hatfield*, 4 Mass., Rep. 128.) And if the South, that perpetually refers to the Old Testament to justify her system of slavery, will consent to take that *Hebrew law of Slavery* in exchange for her Roman civil law, for one I should regard the work of liberty as begun, and calmly wait for time to complete what God, through Moses, designed—the utter extirpation of slavery!

3. But the worst feature of this slanderous charge of the *Journal of Commerce* against the whole North, is, that they kept their slaves until they were found "to be unprofitable, and then sold them to the South." There cannot be an untruth more utter than this; nor more insulting to New England.

Slavery was abolished in Vermont, July 2, 1777.—After the Revolution, some attempts were made to transport out of the State, negroes and mulattoes, and sell them in open violation of the laws. But in 1786, the General Assembly passed an act, making it penal in £100 to sell a colored man; the same to be paid to the persons sought to be sold, together with the cost of suit, &c.

Slavery was formally abolished in Massachusetts, by the adoption of the Constitution, in 1780, the first article of which declares that "*all men are born free and equal*." After that date, this clause was, by the Courts, regarded as settling the question of Slavery. The unexpected decision of the Courts made it impossible for slaves to be sold in anticipation of it.

New Hampshire abolished Slavery, by the adoption of its Constitution, in 1784; and Connecticut in the same manner, at a later date.

But it is principally to New York, a State with which the Editor of the *Journal of Commerce* surely ought to be well acquainted, that we wish to direct attention.

In 1790, there were 21,324 slaves in the State of New York. Ten years later, 1800, the number was 20,343, diminishing in ten years, but 881. In 1799, the act of Gradual Emancipation was passed, declaring all children born thereafter to be free, males when coming to the age of 28, and females at 25. It is hardly possible to conceive more humane and vigilant enactments to prevent any of these slaves being sold to the South. A fine of \$250 was the penalty, and the freedom of the slave was the result of an attempt to sell him out of the State. Although masters were allowed to travel with the slaves, yet under severe fines they were obliged to return them; or, under oath, to make proof that unavoidable accident prevented the returning. That some few might have been smuggled off we do not deny, though we have no evidence of it.

In 1817, we believe, another act was passed, declaring all slaves to be free in 1827, and on July 4 of that year, the act took effect, and every slave, nearly ten thousand, was manumitted *without compensation to their owners*. It is high time for men to be held to responsibility who defile History by declaring that the North got rid of Slavery at a profit, and for a profit; and we reply to Southern demands for Northern help in this matter: We demand no losses of you which we did not encounter ourselves.

Let it be shown by whoever can, that the increasing intelligence of the people in respect to a practice which the then civilized world tolerated, and the growing perception that Slavery could not be enforced without a violation of religion and humanity, *were not the true causes of its discontinuance in New England and New York*. No system of Slavery, in this land, can be profitable, which does not put the slave under a regimen which denies him the rights of manhood. The North, on the basis of the Hebrew Slavery Law, found it out; they refused to go farther, and sacrifice its religious scruples. The South, on the basis of the Roman Civil Law, imbibed its inhuman spirit, put on the screws, and forced the system into its present legal attitude; with a written code more infamous than the unwritten law of any Pirate's deck! This is the very historical difference between the North and the South. Her religion made the North unwilling to grow richer by holding on to a system with all its growing requisitions; and so she turned to her granite and to the frozen seas where fish swarm, and to the loom and the anvil. The South, generous upon impulse, but impatient of the restraint of long continuous rigid principle, chose the other alternative, drove the slaves a-field, and grew rich on their toil and debasement.

We shall now wait to see what letters and testimonials of thanks the *Journal of Commerce* will publish from laymen and clergymen, sons of New England, for this infamous slander upon our common mother.

We cannot dismiss the course of the *Journal of Commerce* in reference to the Pulpit, without exposing the injustice of its course in reference to two organized societies, the Colonization, and the Anti-Slavery Societies. Our readers will be astonished to behold that paper conceding every question in dispute between us, when speaking of the Colonization Society; and denying them every one when speaking of the Anti-slavery movement.

"Many of our readers can recollect the time when African colonization was approved by all good men who interested themselves in behalf of the colored race, and was objected to by nobody. At that day many ministers preached on the subject occasionally—if not on the Sabbath day, at least on week days; and there are views of the enterprise, particularly in its bearings upon the Christianity of Africa, *which are appropriate both to the pulpit and the Sabbath*; for we believe it is clearly demonstrable that colonization has done more for the civilization and Christianization of Africa, than all other modern missions put together."

Here it comes out! There are views of slavery, when a colonizationist speaks, "*which are appropriate both to the pulpit and the Sabbath*." When an anti-slavery man, however, introduces anti-slavery doctrine into the Pulpit, "*this is an outrage upon the Sabbath, and upon the pulpit: an abuse of privilege; and affords to any congregation just grounds of complaint, and if persisted in, of repudiation*."

If Anti-slavery Dr. Lansing censures Daniel Webster's course on the slavery question, it is so exceedingly "*reprehensible, that we dare not trust ourselves to characterize it as it deserves*."

But when Colonization men, Rev. Dr. Woods and Rev. Moses Stuart, join some 800 political friends of Daniel Webster in praising that same course, we are held up to rebuke by the example "*of those venerable theologians, eminent alike for talents, learning and piety, Reverend Dr. Woods and Reverend Professor Stuart of Andover*." To be sure Dr. Lansing was censured in his clerical character, on the Sabbath, in the pulpit. So on the other hand *citizens* Woods and Stuart are not praised; but those "*THEOLOGICALS*" "*Venerable*" and "*Reverend*."

In speaking of the monthly concert, the *Journal* for the first time, *openly* discloses this party predilection:

"Colonization is intimately connected with the conversion of the world, and but for the difficulties above stated, might fairly enough be introduced into the monthly concert; but how abolition can be introduced there, and made a prominent topic, without a palpable perversion of the design of the institution, we cannot imagine."

The *Journal of Commerce* has a right to advocate colonization ; and to expose and refute anti-slavery doctrine, if both be done openly, and under no cover or pretense of another thing. But it has no right to indulge its inveterate dislike of anti-slavery doctrine under a specious plea of saving the Sabbath ; or to make envenomed thrusts at its antagonists, under the guise of purifying the Pulpit. A conscience is an excellent thing in its place ; and a zeal for the means of grace is highly commendable ; but when zeal and conscience are but cloaks under which one indulges his private or party spites, they are rudely termed, in the vocabulary of common life, Hypocrisy. Yet Prejudice may lead to the same results ; and to that, as to the more obvious and charitable cause, we assign the conduct of the *Journal of Commerce*.

The moral and political character of slavery for a series of years has entered into almost every newspaper of the land. It has been necessary for men to form some opinions on the subject. It is a fact to be gravely noticed, that while the *Journal of Commerce* has kept its readers informed of slavery as a topic of news, registered its relations to politics, taken cognizance of the measures which it has originated in Congress, criticized freely the speeches and votes of public men, it has not since the death of David Hale, uttered a word from which a man can tell what are its opinions on this subject—whether slaveholding be a sin ; whether slavery be an evil, or on the whole, if well managed, a blessing ; we are obliged therefore to infer its opinions ; and the inference is dark enough. We do not say that the *Journal of Commerce* believes slavery to be a blessing ; but we think that it has acted just as if it were. We do not charge it with fellowship and secret understanding with the South ; but we do not know what change it would have to undergo to fit it for the latitudes of Charleston or New Orleans.

We are not at liberty to say that its *belief* is on the side of slavery, but there is not one sign true if its *sympathies* are not with slaveholders. The *Journal* is in earnest when it inveighs against Northern Anti-Slavery sentiment ; epithets and sarcasms, and fierce denunciation are then vernacular. But if it speaks of the South and its flagrant system, its tones subside to gentleness, its language is either apologetic or defensive. There are two great sides now in this nation ; one determined to limit slavery and to destroy it ; the other to extend slavery as a means of perpetuating it. The *Journal of Commerce* is the deadly enemy of the first, and the efficient friend of the last.

We do not say that it has no sympathies for freedom ; but we do say that all its articles and denunciations have been against those who are striving for liberty.

We do not say that it is the organ of the South, or that it represents slaveholders ; but we do say that, in the controversy which swallows up every other question of the day and rocks the land to its foundation, it has been the friend of those who were distinctively the friends of the South, and that it has hated most those whom the South most hated ; that it has argued as the South has argued, and refused to listen to the reasonings of those who represent the North.

If any errors are to be excused, if any tenderness is to be felt, it is always on the side of slavery. If any fault is to be found for haste or out-speaking, it is with men on the side of freedom. They whose hearts swell with oppression—Calhoun and his whole retinue—may make the land reverberate with arrogant blasphemies against liberty ;—the *Journal* sleeps—nothing disturbs its sweet dreams ! A humble pastor whose heart swells with indignation at wrong, and with the fervent and most earnest zeal for right, speaks a word against men who league with such men ; then the giant awakes and seizes his cudgel, and sallies forth to chastise the insolence of a Christian pulpit, guilty of indiscretion for human liberty !

But the *Journal of Commerce* tells us that such disagreeable topics introduced into the pulpit, violate the ends for which the ministry is appointed, viz. : preaching the Gospel.

“ The grievance complained of, is not that the clergymen alluded to do not preach the Gospel correctly when they preach it at all, but that not unfrequently they give us Abolitionism, Free Soilism, &c., in place of the Gospel. Christ never spoke of it as a ‘ phase of the Gospel.’ ”

In the same sense, reprehension of gambling is not the Gospel ; nor of swindling ; neither is temperance nor chastity ; neither is liberty of conscience ; the family institu-

tion; nor is any single form of good, nor the rectification of any particular evil, *the* Gospel. But will the *Journal* in its sober senses, say that a man can faithfully preach the Gospel, whatever it is, and not preach on one or all of these topics? What is the Gospel? As popularly used, it is that system of facts and truths taught in the New Testament. If any man would take the shortest cut to folly, let him deny that it is the spirit and the letter of the New Testament to redress every evil of the World! And he that employs Divine truth as the instrument of abating evil; is preaching the Gospel to that evil. Men require not only to hear of "Christ crucified," but of those sins for which he was slain. There is, too, a Living Savior, as well as a Savior Crucified, who claims men's obedience, and who sends ministers to "turn men from their sins,"—and as we read the preaching of John, of Christ, and of his apostles, the preaching of the Gospel meant the pointed exposure of men's sins, and the duty of repentance and of godly life, by faith in Christ.

We should be glad, according to the patent method of the *Journal*, to teach men how to act upon Christian principles in their political conduct, without saying a word about the subject. We should heartily rejoice if we could inspire Christian honesty in commerce, without ever discussing men's commercial duties. The *Journal* evidently knows how this may be done. Will it not bless the world with the secret? It has in mind doubtless some Gospel that will free men from evil and not disturb them; that will snatch away their sins while they are asleep; some chloroform Gospel; some Gospel that will convert the African slave-trader without saying a word about the slave-trade; that will send Bruin and Hill to the altar and the communion-table, without saying a word about the slave-pens and their weekly purchase and sale of Christian girls and church-members; that will convert the thief, and by some charm lead him to abhor stealing without saying a word about theft; that will make men intelligent in all their relations to their fellows, without saying anything of their duties; that will turn the heathen from idolatry, from fornication and incest, from infanticide and cannibalism, and the whole retinue of abominations which we name heathenism, without one word said, except about the literal "Christ crucified" which the *Journal* says "must be preached, whether men will hear or forbear. It must be preached in its purity and power, whoever may be offended. It is not man's message, but God's, and must be delivered faithfully. The Sabbath is eminently the day, and the pulpit the place, for this solemn act." It must be a Gospel of doctrine, of abstract truth; but by no means a Gospel to disturb him from practical sins! And we almost believe Lowell to have stolen his doggerel from the *Journal*,

"I'm willing a man should go toll'able strong
Agin wrong in the abstract, for that kind o' wrong
Is always unpop'lar, and never gets pitted,
Because it's a crime no one ever committed."

If the excellent editor of the *Journal of Commerce* were doomed to be a member of our congregation, we don't know how we could reconcile our sense of duty with his notions of the Gospel, unless he would consent to take his hat and slip out into the entry while we were discussing his real sins, and come back in time to hear our opinion of total depravity and the doctrine of original sin.

The Christian Church and her ministry are supposed to have no special reasons for liking Mr. Garrison. In his zeal for the abolition of Slavery he has denied her every *attribute* of Christianity. The *Journal of Commerce*, in its zeal against abolition, has denied to the church and her ministers nearly every *right* of Christianity.

Mr. Garrison denies any man a right to call himself Christian who will not make Christianity serve primarily and chiefly to the destruction of Slavery. The *Journal of Commerce*, with an ultraism not one whit less, denies that praying for a slave, urging the guilt of Slavery, is a Christian duty—yea, with a severity not less reprehensible than Garrison.

Garrison declares that if Christianity will not liberate the slave, then the church should be abandoned. The *Journal of Commerce* declares that if men do preach and pray for the slave, it is just cause of complaint to their congregations, and if persisted in, of repudiation. Both the *Journal of Commerce* and Mr. Garrison are revolutionists. Mr. Garrison is revolutionary for freedom, and the *Journal of Commerce* for Slavery. The *Liberator* and the *Journal of Commerce* stand on a common ground—only they have come to it from opposite directions.

Because some men are mad for freedom, is that a reason that others should go mad for oppression? Because Garrison attacks the whole Northern Church for the sake of liberty, does the *Journal of Commerce* need to attack the whole North and the Church, and the body of its ministers, on behalf of Slavery?—for it says:—

“We hope our friends of the *Independent* will not consider these remarks as intended exclusively for themselves. They are intended for the whole body of the clergy, of all denominations.”

Now, we would not willingly become a fool on either side. But if some fatality compelled us to choose the madness of either extreme, we would as soon be a Garrison as a *Journal of Commerce*; we had rather commit ruinous absurdities inflamed by the love of liberty, than to commit the same absurdities utterly frigid to humanity and on fire only for Slavery!

We now re-affirm our doctrine of the Pulpit.

The Gospel is a system of truths designed to be this world's medicine. It has no intrinsic value as a system. Its end and value are in its power to stimulate the soul, to develop its faculties, to purify its emotions, to cleanse its evils, and to lead forth the whole man into a virtuous and holy life.

The Pulpit is therefore the Dispensatory of society. The minister, a physician. Preaching, a prescription of medicinal truth for heart evils. There is not an evil which afflicts life, nor a temptation proceeding from any course of life, which the Pulpit should not study. The sources of right conduct, the hindrances, the seductions of business, the lures of pleasure, the influences of public life, the maxims of society, its customs, its domestic, commercial and public institutions; in short, whatever directly or indirectly moulds the human character, is to be studied by the minister, and its benefit or its danger made known from the Pulpit.

In this work it is to deal first and most faithfully with the evils of its own age, its own country, its own city, its own congregation. Wherever men go, the Pulpit is to follow them with its true light. Whatever invades its province—that province is Right, Humanity, Purity—be it Fashion, Commerce, Politics, they are fearlessly to be met, grasped and measured by the Word of God. Not only *may* the Pulpit thus explore Life, but it *must*, or else prove bankrupt to Fidelity. It is not to follow the camp; but in spiritual things to *lead* the people. It is not to wait till foes are slain before it raise its spear; nor go asking of political cabals what it may say, nor cringe to supercilious men of commerce; but occupy itself with only this twin thought, how best to please God and benefit man.

Therefore, against every line of the Coward's Ethics of the *Journal of Commerce* we solemnly protest, and declare a minister made to its pattern fitter to be sent to the pyramids and tombs of Egypt to preach to old-world mummies, than to be a living man of God among living men, loving them but never fearing them! God be thanked! that in every age hitherto such pulpits have been found, the ally of suffering virtue, the champion of the oppressed. And if in this day, after the notable examples of heroic men in heroic ages, when life itself often paid for fidelity, the Pulpit is to be mined and sapped by insincere friends and insidious enemies, and learn to mix the sordid prudence of business with the sonorous and thrice heroic counsels of Christ, then, O my soul, be not thou found conspiring with this league of iniquity! that so, when in that august day of retribution, God shall deal punishment in flaming measure to all hireling and coward ministers, thou shalt not go down, under double-bolted thunders, lower than miscreant Sodom, or thrice-polluted Gomorrah!

We close our article by asking of the *Journal of Commerce* a parting favor. Will it tell us—

1. Whether American Slavery, as it is established by law in the Southern States, is right, morally or politically?

2. Will it state distinctly whether Christ and the apostles approved, or in any way gave assent to the rectitude of such a system of slavery as by law exists in the United States?

3. Will it state distinctly whether the system of slavery, existing by law in the United States, is a matter which concerns the people of the North, and whether Christian men have any Christian duty to perform with reference to the subject?

4. Will it point to the authorities and the facts on which it declared the North to

have kept slaves as long as the system was profitable, and then sold the slaves to the South?

And I ask the public to notice what replies the *Journal of Commerce* shall give to these specific questions, some of which have before been put to it, but never answered. *

From the Journal of Commerce of June 1, 1850.

POLITICS AND THE PULPIT.

We have read with attention the very long article of Mr. Beecher in the *Independent* of May 23d, which was announced with such a flourish of trumpets in the *Tribune*, over his own signature, a few days previous. From the great parade which was made about it by himself and friends, we supposed that it must contain some new and potent argument, directed to the point at issue, and of a nature to convince ourselves as well as others, if in any respect we were wrong. But we find, on reading it, that with the same rudeness of language and manner which has characterized his former articles, and the articles generally of the *Independent* on the pending controversy, it is even more unfair than most of them, attributing to us sentiments which we never uttered, and perverting our meaning in various ways. We are truly sorry to say this, because it is obvious that a controversy so conducted is discreditable to its authors, and can be of little advantage to anybody.

The leading features of the article are, first, the demolition of an image of straw which the gentleman had reared for his own amusement, and secondly, a rhapsody on the horrors of Slavery. Contrary to the plain import of our language, he assumes that "the *Journal of Commerce* has proscribed the whole topic of Slavery, in all its relations, and under every aspect, from the Pulpit." And again,—“The issue between the *Journal of Commerce* and the *Independent* is not whether the Pulpit has a right to speak politically of Slavery, but whether it has a right to speak of it morally and religiously; whether it has a right to *speak at all*.” If this is the issue, it has been made by the Star (*) editor alone, and not by us, nor with our consent. We have put forth no such doctrine. Every person who has read our articles with attention, knows this. The gentleman himself virtually admits it when he says, a little farther on,—“Our readers will be astonished to behold that paper conceding every question in dispute between us, when speaking of the Colonization Society, and denying them every one when speaking of the Anti-Slavery movement.” He then quotes a paragraph from one of our articles where we said, “there are views of Colonization, particularly in its bearings upon the Christianization of Africa, which are appropriate both to the pulpit and the Sabbath.” Does not Colonization involve the question of Slavery? Did we not quote with approbation the example of the apostles in “prescribing the reciprocal duties of masters and slaves?” Did we object to the petitions which the *Independent* said were offered in “thousands of religious assemblies every Sabbath day,” on the naked ground that Slavery was mentioned in the pulpit, or because some of the petitions, in our opinion, involved an untruth? How then does it appear that we have “proscribed the whole topic of Slavery, in all its relations, and under every aspect, from the pulpit?” The fact is, we put Colonization and Abolition, as it respects their relations to the pulpit, precisely on the same ground, and this the gentleman must know if he read our article. After alluding to the heterogeneous materials of which most congregations are composed, as to all other matters and opinions except those immediately pertaining to religion, we said:—

“If a portion of the congregation desire to have an Abolition meeting, or a Colonization meeting, or a meeting on any other topic connected more or less remotely with religion or humanity, but yet not a topic which may be fitly introduced into the pulpit or into the conference room before the congregation in the aggregate, the obvious course is, for each section to ride its own hobby on week days or week-day evenings, either in the lecture-room or at some other place, as may be mutually agreed on. In that case none will be aggrieved, because they enjoy equal rights with their brethren, and are not imposed upon by being invited to an entertainment of a particular kind, and then treated to one of an entirely different kind.”

A clergyman in a great city like New York or Brooklyn, especially if he be a man of popular talents, can easily attract from such a mass of inhabitants, a sufficient num-

ber of hearers to fill a church, whatever may be his views on the subject of Colonization, or Abolition, or any other topic. A clergyman so situated, may safely enough, as to any disastrous effect upon his congregation, dwell upon either of said topics to his heart's content. For, if individuals of his congregation are disgusted and leave, others will come in and fill their places. But how is it in the country? In a multitude of townships,—in the vast majority we may say,—all the families of any particular denomination are barely sufficient to support a minister and defray the other expenses of religious worship. Now if these families are divided in opinion on the above mentioned topics, and if they feel strongly on the subject, as most people do at this day, is it not obvious that the minister, by perpetually pressing the views of either class, to the neglect or disparagement of the other, would secure a division of the congregation, or his own dismissal, or both? Can it be the duty of a Christian minister under such circumstances,—can it be wise, or, on the whole, proper for him,—to make such a sacrifice for such an object? We think not. As to the constitutional “right” of a minister to preach what he pleases, on whatever subject, there is no dispute. Neither is there any as to the constitutional right of the people to hear him, or not, at their pleasure; to support him or not, at their pleasure. In this respect the rights of minister and people are equal. Any other definition of “right” applicable to the case, must be equivalent to duty; and to that we have already alluded. A clergyman must however be his own judge of what duty requires; and if he thinks it better to break up a congregation, and his own otherwise harmonious relations with it, than omit to preach Abolition or Colonization, of course he will act accordingly. In our view a clergyman who should so act, would labor under a delusion; and this delusion would consist in unduly magnifying what is at best, to Northern congregations, a collateral topic, having very little connection with their practical duties. Many clergymen, however, have taken a different view of the subject, and the consequence is, in numerous cases, that their usefulness is at an end, and their congregations are wandering about as sheep without a shepherd.

We suppose the real difference between Mr. Beecher and ourselves on the topic in question, is not whether the subject of slavery shall be entirely excluded from the pulpit; nor whether politics, properly so called, shall be introduced into the pulpit, (for he distinctly disclaims this, notwithstanding his declaration in a former article that Dr. Lansing's denunciation of an Hon. Senator by name as dishonest, and another as having “acted like a fool,” was “objectionable, *if at all*, only because it is unusual to speak such truths in such a place.”) but that it relates chiefly to the matter, the manner, and the frequency of such visitations. If a preacher like President Wayland were to discuss the subject, he would probably enlighten, instruct and benefit his hearers, without giving offense to any reasonable man. But the trouble is, that those who bring the subject most prominently into the pulpit, are almost invariably your extravagant, abusive, denunciatory, chariot-of-fire personages, who can hardly speak the simple truth on any subject, and on *this* do not feel themselves in a condition to speak, unless their “blood boils” and their “bones ache” with excitement. In this state of mind they pour forth their anathemas against slavery and the whole South, in such a strain of frenzy, that there is more of falsehood than truth in what they say,—and apparently more of unhallowed passion than of love for their fellow-men. And what is the object to be gained by thrusting such extravagances upon a religious congregation at the North? Is there anybody here who holds slaves? Is there an individual in a whole congregation who will feel that the rebuke, whether just or not in reference to slaveholders, has any application to himself? Probably not one. What then is the effect upon a Northern congregation? Only to puff them up with self-righteousness, at seeing how much better they are than their fellow-countrymen in that land of heathenish darkness and every abomination beyond Mason & Dixon's line.

We are aware that by conceding the propriety of introducing the subject into the pulpit at all, we concede all that the most rampant Abolitionist will deem material. The rest he will take as a matter of course. The only redress that we know of, in such a case, is, for the congregation to take care of themselves. After patient waiting, to ascertain whether his “abuse of privilege” is deliberate and habitual, and after gentle remonstrance until patience ceases to be a virtue, they can properly say to him that their object in procuring a minister was, that they might hear the Gospel; that if in his view, Abolitionism is paramount to the Gospel, or identical with it, so that he

must needs thrust it upon them "every Sabbath day" as their portion of meat in due season, he has mistaken his duty or they have; and in either case, as there is no prospect of an agreement, he had better look up some other congregation, who will be satisfied with Abolition dish-water, instead of the sincere milk of the Word.

But perhaps it may be said that the object of preaching about slavery, is to excite men to benevolent efforts for its extinction; just as ministers sometimes preach about Hindoo idolatry with a view to the same result. Whoever takes this ground, is bound, we conceive, to tell us what we can do towards abolishing slavery. Let the gentleman "speak out," and tell us what we can do. Are we to operate politically or morally? And if politically, how? The very constitutions of the Abolition Societies disavow any right to meddle with slavery politically, *in the States*. Out of the States, there are not above 2500 slaves within the jurisdiction of the United States, and these, with very few exceptions, are in the District of Columbia. They are chiefly household servants, as well off physically, as the waiters at the Astor House. When the National Constitution was adopted, the present District of Columbia was a part of the State of Maryland. Many are of opinion that Congress ought not to take advantage of the generosity of Maryland, to abolish slavery in the District, without her consent. Even in these days of Anti-Slavery excitement, a large majority of Congress have declared against the measure. Whenever slavery shall be abolished in Maryland, or her consent be otherwise obtained, and whenever the inhabitants of the District shall desire it, then, according to Mr. Clay's Compromise, slavery may be rightfully abolished there, on condition that a just compensation shall be paid to the owners. To this we assent. What more does the *Independent*, or its *Star* (*) editor, propose? On a former occasion we construed a leading article in that paper as implying that slavery ought to be abolished in the District without these conditions. At this the editors were indignant, and declared that there was "nothing in their article to justify the inference that they favor, under any conditions, the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District." As in duty bound, we made the correction accordingly. And there the matter stands at present. We wait for further instructions. There may be a dozen, or perchance 20 slaves, in the Territories, Forts, Arsenals and Light-houses, constituting the only remaining territory in which it is contended by *any body* that the national government has a right to abolish slavery. If the *Independent* or its *Star* (*) editor will tell us what to do with these 20 negroes, our ears are open to hear. Then, as to slavery in the States; if we may not meddle with it politically, either in the pulpit or out, how may we meddle with it? Ah yes, that's it; smuggle off the negroes by "the under-ground railroad," and so have a little "odor of grand larceny" about the business. If congregations can all be brought to this standard, slavery will assuredly come to an end, some time or never. If any are too old, or too young, or too remote, to engage actively in the service, they can stand upon Mount Ebal and curse.

The gentleman asks,—“Will the *Journal of Commerce* tell us how many leagues off a sin must be, before it is prudent or safe for courageous ministers to preach against it.” About 150 to 500 leagues, we should think, judging from the example which he has set us. At this distance he is entirely safe from the ‘jibbet,’ and from all other probable means of harm, except perhaps to be “published in the *Journal of Commerce*.” [See Speech at the Anti-Slavery meeting.] If the gentleman is inclined to take the monster by the horns, forty-eight hours will easily carry him to the spot. “Calling things by their right names” on the slaveholder's own soil, will prove him to be a man of some “courage,” and not a mere defamer at a distance. Are there no vices among ourselves to be rebuked? Look at the domestic sorrows which reign in multitudes of families all around us; at the abused, insulted, spirit-broken wife, who laid her heart upon the altar of affection, and now finds it crushed, tortured, agonized, and every earthly hope blasted forever. Hundreds of wives, and some husbands, endure almost everything short of death, rather than expose their grievances to the public. Yet how often do we hear of wives actually murdered by their husbands, or husbands by their wives. How many parents are cruel to their children; beating them, scolding them, crushing their spirits, annihilating their self-respect, giving them no education but vice, and often deliberately sacrificing them to the Moloch of lust, for the sake of gain. We verily believe that if a book were written containing the most prominent cases of misery and crime resulting from the abuse of the conjugal and parental relations, it would fill the nation with horror. And yet we scarcely ever hear these things men-

tioned by your furious declaimers against slavery; they are too near and too commonplace. Much less are they appealed to as proving the inherent immorality of the family relation. What these men want, is excitement, a hurricane, a whirlwind, something that will stir up the foundation of the soul; and this they find, by painting from imagination, and with excessive coloring, the horrors of a distant evil.

And what is the effect of these denunciations upon the South? Nothing but mischief, and that continually. Southern men know that such ebullitions as the gentleman's speech at the Anti-Slavery Society, and portions of the seven columns article in the *Independent*, are essentially a caricature. They produce not one ray of conviction in a Southern mind, but only exasperation and a sense of injury. The testimony of good men at the South is nearly if not quite unanimous, that the effect of Northern Abolitionism, both upon the master and slave, is anything but favorable. And yet, because we cannot unite in this habitual breach of the Ninth Commandment; because we will not fan the flames of sectional excitement, already blazing around the pillars of our glorious Union; we are called Pro-Slavery men by Abolitionists and Fanatics, and summoned to "SPEAK OUT, and show whether we have any moral sense that can be offended by this institution of American negro slavery." [Leading article in the *Independent*, May 22d.] Excuse us, gentlemen,—we are not yet in the Confession Box; though we know not how soon we may be, if this young Popery which has been springing up around us, (and partly, we grieve to say, through our own instrumentality,) should continue to flourish. You strongly insinuate that we are at heart in favor of slavery; do you doubt your own testimony? Then go and verify it at the source whence you derived your information. Go to the father of false insinuations, and refresh your memories.

Were it not for the unreasonable length to which it would protract this article, we should like to expose the grossness and essential falsity of many of the gentleman's assertions in regard to Slavery. Several of them are, however, so extravagant and outrageous, that they carry their own refutation with them. Without doubt Slavery is bad enough, but there is no need of making it worse than it is. Says the gentleman:—

"How many men on earth could have failed to see, that, of all questions that ever agitated a nation, the question of the debasement of 3,000,000 men, subject to, and notoriously enduring the utmost flood of sensual lust; untaught, without Bibles or religious teachers, without family rights, subject to sale and wide dispersion with every fluctuation of the market, or every pinch of the owner's purse—is a question in which the religious side is *the* side, of all others, first, strongest, most memorable, we have no faculty or experience wherewith to conceive. But so it is."

And then he quotes from *documents*, (all but one of which are sixteen to nineteen years old, and *that* one "some years" old,) to show the horrible state of moral destitution of the slaves in South Carolina and Georgia. Has the gentleman been asleep ever since, that he knows nothing of what has been doing there for the religious instruction of the slaves in these latter days? Or does he fear that such knowledge would spoil his Abolition speeches, by cutting short his materials for defamation? A little inquiry would have taught him, not only that hundreds of thousands who, if their ancestors had remained in Africa, would now be worshipping devils, are members of Christian churches, but that the "man-stealers," "robbers" and "pirates," who hold them in bondage, are, and for years have been, exerting themselves in the most exemplary manner, to bring the privileges of the Gospel within the reach of every slave in the nation. If they have not yet fully accomplished the work, they have at least made great progress in it. We have before us a pamphlet of 72 octavo pages, containing the proceedings of a Convention held at Charleston, on the 13th—15th of May, 1845, "on the religious instruction of the negroes," together with the report of a most respectable committee, who had been previously appointed to collect information. That committee had issued a circular and sent it to various clergymen and others in different parts of the South, but more particularly in South Carolina, to which, notwithstanding the limited time before the Convention met, they received 63 answers, viz., 44 from South Carolina, and 19 from other slaveholding States. From these answers we copy a few extracts, taken promiscuously from the mass, and they are a fair specimen of the whole:—

Greenville District, S. C. May, 1845.

The number of negroes in the district, is 4,000 to 5,000. A large portion of the

adults belong to the Baptist and Methodist Churches. There is no minister exclusively engaged in their instruction. There are some colored teachers. Prayer-meetings are held among themselves at which no whites attend. In Greenville village, religious services are held for the negroes, exclusively, at stated seasons, in both the Methodist and Episcopal Churches, by the Ministers. A Sunday-school of fifty scholars has been maintained for five years in the Episcopal Church, with encouraging progress. No other Sabbath-school for the negroes in the district that I know of. We have in the district no specific plan of instruction, but the blacks enjoy the same religious advantages as do the whites; they generally attend some place of worship on the Sabbath. The privilege of attending religious services is, I believe, *universally granted*.
[Signed] C. C. PINCKNEY, JR.

Union District, S. C., May, 1845.—The number of negroes in Union District is about 9,000. In the church to which I belong there are upwards of twenty colored members. There are about two hundred belonging to the Baptist churches near me; and a great number belonging to the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. We have no minister who devotes his whole time to the blacks; but they have abundant access to the house of God on the Sabbath, where they worship with the whites. They are well provided for by their owners, and there are none or very few—if any—that would hinder their slaves from going to church on the Sabbath. The preaching of the gospel has a good effect upon this class of our population.
(Signed) THOMAS RAYE.

York District; May, 1845.—I am happy to say that for the last ten or twelve years there has been a remarkable improvement in the moral and religious character of our negroes. A number of our clergy adopt the humane practice of giving a plain and simple lecture to the negroes, on Sabbath evenings, after the other services are over, upon the leading truths of the gospel, and particularly as to their duty as servants. This has induced a goodly number of them to apply for and (upon examination) receive the sacraments in the different churches. In the Presbyterian Church I learn and observe, that the number of black communicants partaking of the Lord's Supper, at the same season with the whites, amounts generally from one-fifth to one-third of the whole, and I presume that the relative number in our other churches is pretty much the same. The Methodist Episcopal Church have 213 colored people in their communion in this district. The benefit which our negroes have derived from religious instruction is very perceivable, especially in Yorkville, where they have constant opportunity of attending public worship; and those particularly, who have received instruction in reading and religious training from their masters and mistresses are, some of them, so well qualified, as to keep up family worship; and it is surprising with what fervency and intelligence some of them are enabled to address their prayers to the Most High. Thus religious instruction has a salutary influence upon them in all the domestic and social relations of life, and upon their individual characters in respect to chastity, truth, honesty, and reverence for the Sabbath.
(Signed) JOHN BLAIR.

Darlington District, May, 1845.—There are 7,560 negroes in this district: 800 of them attend the several churches at Society Hill. The Welsh Neck Baptist Church has 350 colored members; the two other churches, the Episcopal and Methodist, about 150. Oral instruction is given in the Episcopal Church by the minister every Sabbath afternoon—average number of attendants, from 100 to 150. Similar instruction is given in the Baptist and Methodist Churches every Sabbath morning by a layman; such as reading the Scriptures, with suitable explanations. The negroes take great interest in these meetings, and the attendance is prompt and good. I believe the same method is pursued by other churches and communities in other parts of the district. The practice now obtaining so generally among masters, of giving them (the slaves) either a certain proportion of the proceeds of the crop, or, which is much more general, allowing them sufficient land to make a crop, has infused into them a greater regard for the rights of others. There are but few colored preachers within my knowledge. They usually preach in the presence of white persons. I believe this class to be correct in their deportment, and consistent in their profession.
(Signed) J. D. WILSON.

Charleston, May, 1845.—I have been engaged about six years in the religious instruct

tion of the negroes: not, however, uninterruptedly. The improvement among my people, both in morals and religion (for they had previous to my labors among them enjoyed some religious opportunities), has been very manifest. Almost all the adults have become savingly acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus: they give evidence of this in regulated lives; a perceivable improvement appears in all their domestic relations—in their virtue, honesty, and fidelity. For years I have not been robbed of the value of a pin. I hear little of Sabbath-breaking among them. In my plan of instruction, I unite with the adults, the expository with the catechetical. They assemble on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings; and when the days are long, three times on the Sabbath; occasionally our parish minister gives us a helping hand. In teaching, I illustrate truth very largely—and intersperse frequent anecdotes. This secures attention and interest. Of their own accord, my people planted and tended, year before the last, in their own time, a missionary crop. They made \$16, which was appropriated for the extension of the gospel. The Rev. Mr. Hazelhurst, one of our missionaries to Africa, visited and addressed them. They were much affected by his statements of the spiritual condition of their brethren, and they immediately took up a contribution for the furtherance of his mission. The children have been taught Jones' Catechism entirely. Mrs. D. and myself meet them two evenings in the week, and on Sunday afternoon, with encouraging success; as yet no instances of hopeful conversion have occurred among them, but we cannot doubt the blessing of God on our labors. Much has been said slightly of the piety of our negroes. Many suppose it little better than a compound of psalm singing and animal excitement. I take a different view. I have never seen clearer examples of undoubting faith, of holy love, and of a meek and consistent walk, than among them.

(Signed)

J. GRIMKE DRAYTON.

FROM VIRGINIA. "Within the circle of my acquaintance, several of the large slave-owners have built chapels upon their estates, to facilitate the religious instruction of their negroes. Several employ chaplains, who minister to them periodically. And all the masters—(but especially the mistresses) who profess Christianity, as well as some who do not, begin to be awakened to a fuller sense of their responsibilities touching this subject; and would be glad to do more in the way of giving religious instruction to their people, than they can find the means of accomplishing in the present scarcity of ministers of the gospel amongst us. But God, in his Providence is exciting a new and lively interest in the ministers of every name, to look to the spiritual wants of this people. As far as my experience has gone, those who have made the greatest progress in the knowledge of the Scriptures, are in the same proportion the best servants, as well as the most contented and happy individuals."

FROM ALABAMA. "In my present church we have forty whites and eighty colored persons. I preach regularly one-half the Sabbath to the negroes; and every three months I hold a sort of class-meeting for them, in which I go round and converse with all the members upon their progress in the divine life."

FROM THE SAME STATE. "The black part of our congregation here is very interesting; I wish the whites afforded as much encouragement. Among our colored members, there are two or three that can read. One of these can read Greek and Latin. He is the servant *Ellis*, whom the synods of Alabama and Mississippi proposed to purchase in order to send him as a missionary to Africa. He is an extraordinary man. His blood and color are unmixed. He gives us much aid in our meetings, though more retiring and modest than most people of his condition, when they have ability above their fellows. He is anxious now to undertake Hebrew. The ministers with whom I am associated, take great interest in the religious instruction of the negroes; and some of them do a great deal in the way of catechizing and preaching to them."

FROM MISSISSIPPI. "I have traveled in the western part of the State of Mississippi, and am prepared to judge of the condition of the blacks, and the increasing claims they have upon the church for the bread of life. I look upon this class of the population as decidedly the most interesting field of labor that this country now offers; and I believe that it will grow in interest, promise, and importance. The temporal condition of the negroes is generally well attended to. The plantations, for the most part, are provided with comfortable and neat houses, and the people are well fed and clothed.

But alas! for their spiritual wants! There are in this valley multitudes who have nobody to look after their souls. The harvest is great, the laborers are few. How important it is that masters should feel the obligation resting upon them to provide religious instruction for their people. Thanks to Almighty God, they are beginning to feel this obligation. In this region there is a fine field of labor among the negroes. There are three or four in my acquaintance—including two of the Presbyterian Church—who are exclusively devoted to preaching to the blacks. I am now wholly given to this good work. Five or six planters have invited me to take charge of their servants. I have accepted their invitation. They have, without hesitation, raised \$600 for my support, and have committed to my care about 1000 souls! I have two stations for Sabbath preaching, and visit the plantations during the week. The responsibility is very great. I feel that in myself I am not 'sufficient for these things.'"

FROM THE SAME STATE. "Our Presbytery, at its late session, resolved that the session of each church should provide for the religious instruction of the negroes coming under their care. The session of our church has accordingly organized a Sabbath-school for that purpose."

Would that our limits permitted us to extend these interesting extracts. Fifty octavo pages are occupied with similar letters, all showing that the Christian community at the South are awake and active in imparting religious instruction to the slaves, and that they meet with the most encouraging success. In a summary view of the information collected, the committee state that the number of colored communicants connected with the Methodist church in the slaveholding States cannot be less than 150,000, and in the Baptist, at least 100,000. In the Presbyterian, Episcopal, and other evangelical churches, there are probably 100,000 more—or say 350,000 in the aggregate. Besides the attention paid to the negroes by the traveling and local preachers of the Methodist church, there are between 80 and 90 missionaries, whose labors are directed particularly to that description of people. Of 60,000 communicants in the Baptist churches of Georgia, 45,000 are blacks. Of the Presbyterian church, the Committee say,—

"The movement in this Church, in favor of the religious instruction of the negroes, for the last ten years, has been gradual, and for two years past, rapid and extensive; more so than in any previous years within our recollection; and, as a consequence, ministers and churches are doing more than ever towards the evangelization of this people. We have not space to set down at large the *notices of labor* among the negroes, in the narratives on the state of religion of the Presbyteries and the Synods, and the General Assembly: nor the *Resolutions and recommendations* of Presbyteries and Synods on the subject. We notice a growing interest and increasing efforts in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, and Kentucky, and Tennessee. In all these States there are numbers of ministers who devote a considerable portion of their time to the negroes: some acting almost as missionaries; while the number of missionaries is increasing. We know of very many Presbyteries in different parts of the States just mentioned, every member of which is more or less engaged in the work. There are three grand features which the Presbyterian Church is endeavoring to make prominent in the religious instruction of the negroes: *first*—to unite the masters and servants in one charge, that each class may receive its just proportion of ministerial labor: *second*—to establish in all the churches Sabbath-schools, and classes of instruction for children and youth especially, and for adults also, and to encourage such schools privately in households: and *third*—to open the field as fast, and as far as possible, to missionaries duly qualified and employed."

In conclusion the Committee remark,—

"The letters which have been addressed to this meeting from the States of South Carolina and Georgia, breathe a spirit of true devotion to the cause, and diverse from the spirit of the world: and they reveal an amount of individual and long continued activity which has affected us with surprise. We discover also from the letters from other States—(which might have been multiplied)—that there exists much of the same devotion and activity in them. We feel confident that if the voices of all the friends of the religious instruction of the negroes could be heard, even as fully, from every slaveholding State, as has been from South Carolina, and the amount of their

labors told, their voices would be as the sound of many waters, and their labors would exceed our most sanguine expectations.

"What is peculiarly a subject of gratitude is, that all *denominations* of Christians are entering the field. It is wide enough for all. It lies at our own doors, and God, in his Providence and holy word, has laid the duty upon us to cultivate it. We can anticipate nothing but his displeasure, if we neglect it. Indeed we look upon the religious instruction of the negroes, as THE GREAT DUTY, and in the truest and best sense, THE FIXED, THE SETTLED POLICY OF THE SOUTH."

Now we submit that to represent a class of people for whose religious instruction so much has been done and is doing, as "untaught, without Bibles or religious teachers," &c., is essentially contrary to the fact. If comparatively few of them have the Bible actually in their hands, they almost all have it read to them, or may have if they will hear it, and are instructed in the doctrines and duties which it contains. That they are not more generally taught to *read*, is to a considerable extent chargeable to the Abolitionists. In reference to this matter, and also to the *slave laws*, against which the Star (*) editor declaims so indignantly, the Rev. Richard Fuller, of Beaufort, S. C., remarks, in his controversy with President Wayland,—

"In reference to the laws of South Carolina I am not called to express myself in this discussion. Suffice it to say, that most of them are virtually repealed by universal practice. The law, for example, forbidding slaves to assemble, without the presence of so many white persons, is a dead letter, whenever the meeting is for religious purposes. Missionaries are everywhere traversing the land, and preaching the gospel to multitudes of slaves without molestation. The Beaufort church employs six or seven brethren constantly in this good work; and here, in the country, I walk, every Sabbath, and occasionally in the week, about a mile, and violate this statute most industriously.

"I might make the same remark of many other statutes. Most of them are only permissive, and the liberty granted should of course be controlled, or overruled, by what is just and equal. And those which prohibit a discharge of the master's duty are often notoriously inoperative. The most important law is that forbidding slaves being taught to read; yet how many are taught? And this act would, long since, have been expunged, but for the infatuated intermeddling of fanaticism. It is but a year or two since, at the request of the President of the State Agricultural Society, I wrote a letter, to be read before that body, on the religious instruction of our negroes; and, in that communication, I urged the abrogation of this law. The President, however, a gentleman of age, experience, and exalted humanity, desired permission to strike out that clause. And when I had considered his reasons, and seen the character of the incendiary publications with which the South had just before been deluged—works evidently appealing to the worst passions of the slave—I was not surprised that the best and most benevolent individuals should regard the provision as necessary, and wise, and even kind. I had, of course, to yield; and this is only one of the instances in which those who are the true friends of the slave, and whose position enables them to plead his cause, have found themselves defeated by the lamentable and cruel system of vituperation and agitation recklessly persisted in at the North. Of these defeats upon whom does the heaviest guilt rest?"

We now pass to another branch of the subject, viz., the connection of the North with slavery in years gone by. In a former article we said, "They [the North] *have* his much to do with slavery. They and their English brethren are the chief authors of the mischief. They owned the ships, stole the slaves from Africa, landed them at the Southern ports, or kept them here till slavery was found to be unprofitable, and then sold them to the South." At this the gentleman works himself up into a fever of excitement almost as furious as he had previously manifested in contemplating the horrors of slavery. Of the closing sentence he says:

"It is so flagrantly untrue, it is a slander upon history, and upon the history of the Editor of the *Journal of Commerce's* own native New England, so strangely disgraceful, that he must not resent it when a truer son of New England tells him that one should have felt humbled even to have dreamed the falsehood in a nightmare."

He however admits that "three or four commercial cities of New England were

actively engaged in the slave trade," particularly Bristol and Newport in Rhode Island, and Newburyport in Massachusetts, but adds :

"That it formed any such part of commerce as to justify the statement that the North was, as a whole, profited by the trade, or was directly implicated in it, has never been shown, and we believe it to be a slander."

And pray who said it did? It is not likely the whole North would engage in slave trading, any more than in any other branch of commercial traffic. What we did say, is easily substantiated, at least in its essential features. And we now add, that not only did the North carry slaves to the Southern States, but also to the West Indies. Most of them were imported directly from Africa. Says the "Massachusetts Quarterly Review" for March, 1848, in an article on the legal basis of American Slavery,—

"Massachusetts was the first colony to legislate upon this subject. The 'Body of Liberties,' or 'Fundamentals,' as they were called;—of which a complete copy has lately been brought to light, and published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections,—were first promulgated in 1641. That code contains the following provision: 'There shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage, nor captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold unto us.' But in thus giving an express sanction to negro and Indian slavery, the freemen of Massachusetts did not suppose themselves to be running at all counter to the law of England, to which, by their charter, they were bound to conform. On the contrary, they supposed themselves to be conforming as well to the law of England, as to 'the law of God, established in Israel.' This Massachusetts law, it will be perceived, not only sanctions slavery, but also the slave-trade. Bancroft, always too much a panegyrist or an apologist to be implicitly relied on, has undertaken to claim for Massachusetts the honor of having denounced, at that early day, as 'malefactors and murderers,' those 'who sailed to Guinea, to trade for negroes;' a claim founded upon misapprehension of a passage in Winthrop's Journal. It appears, on the contrary, from other passages in Winthrop, that 'the trade to Guinea for negroes' was recognized as a just and lawful traffic. New England vessels, after carrying cargoes of slaves to Madeira, were accustomed to sail to Guinea for slaves who generally were carried to Barbadoes, or the other English settlements in the West Indies, there being little or no demand for them in Boston. In the particular case on which Bancroft relies, instead of *buying* negroes, in the regular course of the Guinea trade, the Boston crew had joined with some Londoners already on the coast, and, on pretense of some quarrel with the natives, had landed 'a murderer,'—the expressive name of a small piece of cannon,—attacked a negro village *on a Sunday*, killed many of the inhabitants, and made a few prisoners; of whom two boys fell to the share of the Bostonians. A violent quarrel between the master, mate and owners, as to the mutual settlement of their accounts, brought out the whole history of the voyage before the magistrates, one of whom presented a petition to the General Court, charging the master and mate, not with having 'sailed for Guinea to trade for negroes,' as Bancroft represents it, but with the three-fold offense of murder, man-stealing, and Sabbath-breaking,—the first two capital, by the fundamental laws of the colony, and all three 'capital, by the laws of God.' It was right enough to *purchase* slaves, but wrong to steal them, especially on a Sunday, and to commit murder in doing so. The kidnapped negroes were ordered to be sent back; but no other punishment was inflicted, the court doubting their authority to punish crimes committed on the coast of Africa."

Says Bancroft, in his History of the United States, Vol. II., p. 171,—

"Every one of the [American] colonies received slaves from Africa within its borders; the Dutch merchants, who engaged in planting New York, were largely interested in the slave trade, and covenanted to furnish emigrants to that colony with all the negroes they might desire; but the stern severity of the climate in some measure defeated the purpose."

And again, p. 303 of the same volume, under date of 1664,—

"In proportion to population, New York had imported as many Africans as Virginia. That New York is not a slave State like Carolina, is due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. They were imported sometimes by way of the West Indies,

often directly from Guinea, and were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The average price was less than one hundred and forty dollars. The monopoly of the traffic was not strictly enforced; and a change of policy sometimes favored the export of negroes to the English colonies."

Mr. Bancroft's authority for these facts is the "Albany Records;" and there is every reason to believe they are strictly correct.—Says the Rev. Richard Fuller, of South Carolina, in his Letters to President Wayland above alluded to,—

"Let it be borne in mind, then, (1) that it was the mother country which devised and prosecuted the system of supplying her colonies with laborers from Africa; (2) that these importations were made, not only without consulting the colonies supplied, but in spite of frequent protests from them; (3) that in this commerce the importations were all, with I believe not a single exception, in English and Northern bottoms, and by English and Northern speculators; and (4) that, on the arrival of a vessel thus freighted, there remained for the negro only one alternative—deliverance from his loathsome dungeon by the planter, or protracted and daily increasing suffering, to terminate in death."

Says Bancroft, Vol. I., p. 56, speaking of Virginia,—

"The unjust, wasteful and unhappy system was fastened upon the rising institutions of America, not by the consent of the corporation, nor the desires of the emigrants; but, as it was introduced by the mercantile avarice of a foreign nation, so it was subsequently riveted by the policy of England, without regard to the interests or the wishes of the colony."

We might easily add to the evidence here presented, but it is unnecessary. The proof that Old England and the North are the instrumental authors of Southern Slavery, is overwhelming. They may repent of it, but cannot deny it. Repentance will not deliver the South from the consequences of the act. The evil is upon them, and they know not how to get rid of it, nor scarcely how to bear it. To say that "the whole North" was not immediately concerned in the business, is childish. The whole North is not concerned in *any* kind of business. The North might have prevented its vessels and citizens from being so engaged, but did not. Even in Massachusetts the importation of slaves, *i. e.* the slave trade, was tolerated until 1780, as would appear by the extract above quoted from the Massachusetts Quarterly Review, and also from the following paragraph in the argument of a celebrated Abolitionist, ALVAN STEWART, Esq., before the Supreme Court of New Jersey, May, 1845, "for the deliverance of 4000 persons from bondage":

"The Chief Justice Shaw says, Massachusetts in 1641 abolished slavery, except of *captives taken in lawful war* or guilty of crime. But slavery grew up in Massachusetts, and in 1703 an act was passed in that colony, imposing restrictions on the transmission of aged and infirm slaves; and by an act of 1705, a duty was levied on the importation of slaves, showing slavery in full force until abolished by their Constitution of 1780."

And now, what are the North willing to do, by way of "bringing forth fruits meet for repentance?" What share are they willing to bear in removing the curse which they voluntarily inflicted? If the Star (*) editor is a true exponent of their sentiments, just nothing at all: for he says,—

"We reply to Southern demands for Northern help in this matter,—We demand no losses of you which we did not encounter ourselves."

And what losses did the North encounter? The number of slaves in New England in 1890 was only 3,886; worth, as property, on an average of \$333 33 each, \$1,295,323

New York,	21,324 slaves	at same rate,		7,108,000
New Jersey,	11,423	"		3,807,666
Pennsylvania,	3,737	"		1,245,666
Ohio,	3,417	"		1,199,000

Total in all the Northern States,.....\$14,655,655

This loss, we may say, has been sustained by the North since 1790, for the sake of

emancipation. But a much greater loss has been incurred by the South within the same period for the same object. The number of free colored persons at that date in all the present slave-holding States, was only 32,000. In 1840 it was 215,510. Increase 183,000. We will suppose that one-half of this is a natural increase. This would make the number of slaves emancipated in the Southern States since 1790, 91,500, whose value at the above rate would be \$30,500,000; or more than double the loss submitted to by the North. And it must be remembered that both in wealth and population the South is greatly surpassed by the North.

As to the future, the North has no slaves to emancipate, while the South has about 3,000,000, estimated at the above rate to be worth \$1000,000,000, (a thousand million dollars.) This sum they are now invited to relinquish. We have relinquished \$15,000,000; we now ask you to sacrifice \$1000,000,000, in addition to the \$300,000,000 which you have already submitted to. Such are Abolition ideas of equality.

For ourselves, we consider slavery, as it exists in the United States, a common calamity, and a common curse. The North had its full share, both of the profits and infamy of introducing it. When she is willing to bear an equal share in the burden of removing it, there will be hope.

When she is willing to appropriate the avails of the public lands for the purpose, it will look as if her professions of hostility to the system were not a mere pretense. We have always been ready to make this sacrifice. If every inch of the public lands were to be alienated to-day, and thereby a peaceable, safe, and speedy termination of slavery be effected, we should hail it as a glorious consummation.

SHALL WE COMPROMISE ?

From the Independent, Feb. 21, 1850.

MR. CLAY'S Compromise has been violently resisted by the South, and but coldly looked upon in the North. It is not that both sides are infatuated and refuse a reasonable settlement. But the skill of Mr. Clay has evidently not touched the seat of disease. He either has not perceived, or has not thought it expedient to meet the real issue now before the people of the United States. The struggle going on is a struggle whose depths lie in the organization of society, in the North and South respectively; whose causes were planted in the Constitution. There are two incompatible and mutually destructive principles wrought together in the government of this land. Hitherto, like Esau and Jacob, they have striven together in the womb. Now they are born, and that feud has begun which shall drive the one or the other to the wilderness. To attempt to settle a radical opposition of polity, by easing off the rub here and there, leaving the great principles in full vigor, is as if one should hang fenders and sand-bags along the side of hostile ships that come crushing together, instead of putting the helm about and going another tack. "Slavery is right," and "Slavery is wrong;" "Slavery shall live," "Slavery shall die;" "Slavery shall extend," "Slavery shall not extend;"—are these conflicts to be settled by any mode of parceling out certain territories? Now the battle rages at one point. By and by it will rage at another. These oppugnant elements, Slavery and Liberty, inherent in our political system, animating our Constitution, checkering our public policy, breeding in statesmen opposite principles of government, and making our whole wisdom of public legislation on many of the greatest questions cross-eyed and contradictory, these elements are seeking each other's life. One or the other must die.

We give Mr. Clay sincere praise for desiring peace. We think it worthy of his reputation, to have declared that *he* would never vote for the extension of Slavery. If his compromise had taken that determination as its starting point, he would then have come nearer to our ideas of the leader which our times and our difficulties demand. It is no sportive joust upon which our nation is gazing. The shield of the challenger hangs out for no blunted lance. Like Ivanhoe, we should have been glad had Mr. Clay struck the shield of Du Bois Gilbert with the sharp lance-head, importing earnest battle. One straight-forward speech against the extension of Slavery, based, not upon political reasons, but on the great principles of humanity and justice; one glowing appeal to the whole nation to take the stand, which he has personally taken, *never to vote for the extension of Slavery on either side of any line*; this would have been a noble statesmanship, and crowned the last years of the revered sage of Ashland with the brightest glory of his life!

Let no man suppose that the contentions which now agitate the land, have sprung from the rash procedure of a few men—the hot-heads either of the North or of the South. We are in the midst of a collision not of men, but of principles and political institutions. The inevitable course of affairs has been developing the results for which provision was made, first in the organization of society, and then in the structure of the Constitution. No harvest ever answered more closely to the husbandman's seed, than do our difficulties to the original sowing.

The North, adopting the theory of democracy, organized all her civil and industrial institutions upon that basis. Every man, the lowest, the least, the highest and best, had one common platform of rights. The South, adopting the theory of aristocracy,

made two platforms—the one for the governed, the other for the governors. The one and the other began at once to exhibit their results. In the North, labor was voluntary, honorable, and universal; in the South it was compulsory, and made disreputable by being fastened upon an abject class. Of course the laborer had different values. In the North, he was a citizen, capable of any honor, framing his own laws, making his own rulers, and so an integral element of the State. In the South, he neither voted nor determined; he had no rights; he was a slave. Labor and Laborers are the foundations of a community. The strength, the virtue, the civilization of a community must be measured by the condition of its laborers, and not by the polish on its surface.

The whole structure of society conformed to these respective foundations.

The North put honor upon its laborers; they were trained in common schools; they became reading and reflecting men; shrewdness, penetration, forecast, personal independence, fertile resource, marked the industrial classes. Grow as rapidly as the educated and the wealthy might, the distance between them and the laborer constantly diminished. There never was a time when the bottom of society was so near the top as now.

The South, making labor a disgraceful necessity, denying it education, compelling it not by those motives which are ordained healthfully to develop the man, but by the overseer's eye and lash, and educating only her wealthy sons, has steadily widened the distance between the top and bottom of society. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the tone and sentiment of societies so diversely formed. Liberty is a universal right—it belongs to *men*, on the one side; it is a privilege, and belongs to a *class*, on the other side. The North binds society together, identifies its interests, equalizes and kneads it, causing it to grow alike throughout, and makes it strong by the strength of its *individuals*, and gives to individuals the advantage of *commonweal*. There cannot be a commonwealth of Slavery. It is class-weal and class-wealth. The South hopelessly divides society; puts her honors on one side of the cleft, her menial offices on the other. The North compacts and the South stratifies. To educate the laborer is to do the whole State a benefit, in the North; to educate the laborer is to strike at the foundations of society in the South. We send educators to the Governor's chair and to Congress. They of the South send them to the penitentiary and the gibbet.

Now, does any man doubt that here are the real, vital, distinguishing elements of two radically different governments—an Aristocracy and a Democracy? Does any one believe it possible that these respective tendencies should be confined, in the respective fields, to civil affairs? Will they not determine the family institution, the usages of society, public opinion, yea, the whole and very nature of communities? Can the agriculture of slaves and slavery and the agriculture of freemen be the same? Can the commercial interests be the same? the political economy and the politics? Can statesmen bred in such schools have common sympathies? That the North and South have many wants and many sympathies in common, is as true as that all men, the most opposite, oppressor and oppressed, deceiver and dupe, have great wants in common. But in their foundation-ideas, their political doctrines, their State policies, their conceptions of public measures, they are not only different, but, for the most part, opposite and oppugnant. States, so essentially different, would find harmony rather in separate existence, than in federation. Yet our Union is composed of these oppositions.

When the Constitution was in birth, these things were in the seed. Yet, even then, the repellencies were such that a common Constitution was adopted only by compromise. Now, if the compromises of the Constitution in the matter of Slavery were adopted, in the expectation that Slavery would soon be eradicated by the superior vitality of Liberty, we can understand the wisdom of the *intention* at least. But if it was designed that one instrument should inclose the spirit of two theories of government so totally adverse, it was the most extraordinary blindness, the most anomalous folly, which honest men were ever smitten with! We should as soon look for an agreement by which Christ and Belial should jointly undertake to govern this world! Was it thought possible to serve both Liberty and Slavery—God and Mammon? Could the same mouth breathe justice and injustice? Could a Constitution having any definite nature, have two hearts, one beating for liberty, with vitalized blood, and the other beating for slavery, with black blood? Could it organize courts empowered to establish justice and systematic oppression?—courts, with one hand to lift up the

wronged by speedy redress, and to beat down the wronged with the other by triple blows? We believe that the compromises of the Constitution looked to the destruction of Slavery and not to its establishment.

The event justified the judgment. Although incidental causes conspired to give slavery a new growth, while our country was swelling and coming into manhood, yet it soon became apparent that both systems could not long coëxist.

There are good and easy souls, not perturbed by over deep meditations, who think that *men* make all this national uproar. They are guiltless of supposing that our institutions are the agitators, that our civil polity is the fanatic whose firebrands inflame the Union. This movement of the spirit of the age has made the men, not the men it. We are its children. While the North and the South inveigh against each other, and fanatics are loud-mouthed against fanatics, calmer and deeper men see that both North and South are drifting, and fighting as they drift, in a current whose secret springs lie deeper than men's volitions; whose force God both ordained and will augment, until old things are passed away, and he whose right it is shall reign. Why then should we try to stop the contest? It must come to an issue, which spirit shall animate our Constitution. The spirit of Bondage and the spirit of Liberty, when both are living spirits, cannot dwell together. Moses' rod must swallow the enchanter's, or the magician's rod must swallow the prophet's. The South have found out that slavery cannot live and stand still. Liberty grows the fastest; has the best roots; eats out the other; and if slavery is stationary it will be speedily overrun and smothered by the rampant vine of freedom. It must thrust out its roots; it must borrow vigor from fresh soil. Southern men are perfectly consistent in rejecting a compromise which only confirms old rights, but positively grants no extension.

The South now demands room and right for extension. She asks the North to be a partner. For every Free State she demands one State for Slavery. One dark orb must be swung into its orbit to groan and travail in pain, for every new orb of liberty over which the morning stars shall sing for joy.

On that question we hold there can be no Compromise. The Constitution has come to a period of final Construction. Every year's delay will aggravate the difficulties; an earlier day had been better than this: but this is better than any future day. It is time for good men and true to gird up their loins and stand forth for God and for Humanity. No Compromises can help us which dodge the question; certainly none which settle it for Slavery. We are told that the question is momentous and beset with the most serious difficulties. Neither in the affairs of individuals nor of nations is there any difficulty when men are willing to do right. It is when Right is spun to so fine a thread that it floats like a gossamer, changing to every breath, that we lose sight of it or find it entangled in our hands. There never was a plainer question for the North. It is her duty openly, firmly, and forever to refuse to Slavery another inch of territory, *and to see to it that it never gets it by fraud*. It is her duty to refuse her hand or countenance to Slavery where it now exists. It is her duty to declare that she will under no considerations be a party to any further inhumanity and injustice. Then the path will be plain and straight. The path of Duty, though a steep one, and often toilsome, is always straight and plain. Those are the labyrinthine roads, which, winding through sloughs and thickets, or imbosked and dark, seek to find a way around the rocks and steepes, and come to the gate of Success, without climbing the hill of Difficulty.

Mr. Clay's compromise resolutions demand better provision for the recovery of fugitive slaves; and a bill is now pending in the United States Senate for this purpose. We cannot strongly enough express our profound regret at the remarks which Mr. Clay felt it his duty to make on this subject. On this matter, our feelings are so strong that we confess a liability to intemperance of expression.

If the compromises of the Constitution include requisitions which violate Humanity, I will not be bound by them. Not even the Constitution shall make me unjust: If my patriotic sires confederated in my behalf that I should maintain that instrument, so I will, to the utmost bounds of Right. But who, with power which even God denies to Himself, shall by compact foreordain me to the commission of inhumanity and injustice? I disown the act. I repudiate the obligation. Never while I have breath will I help any official miscreant in his base errand of recapturing a fellow-man for bondage. And may my foot palsy, and my right hand forget her cunning, if I

ever become so untrue to mercy and to religion as not, by all the means in my power, to give aid and succor to every man whose courageous flight tells me that he is worthy of liberty! If asked, what then becomes of the Constitution, I reply by asking, what becomes of God's Constitution of Humanity, if you give back a slave to the remorseless maw of servitude? I put Constitution against Constitution—God's against man's. Where they agree they are doubly sacred. Where they differ my reply to all questions—but especially to all timid Christian scruples, is in the language of Peter: *Whether it be right, in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye!*

Ought not Christians, by all the means in their power, to *preserve the Union*? Yes, by all means that are *right*! But, dear as the Union is, and ought to be, whenever it comes between a Christian people and their Christian integrity it becomes a snare. The very value of our Union is to be found in those principles of justice, liberty, and humanity which inspire it. But if by any infernal juggle these principles must be yielded up to preserve the Union, then a corpse only will be left in our arms, deflowered, lifeless, worthless. A Union perpetuated by giving way to injustice—a Union maintained by obedience to the desires of Slavery—is but a compact of violence. We emphasize these things because the long-continued cries of politicians have produced among sober Christian men an unquestioned and undisturbed conviction that no evil can be so great as the dissolution of our Union. There are many evils infinitely greater. The loss of a national conscience is greater. The loss of public humanity is greater. An indifference to the condition of millions of miserable creatures, whose degradation, vices, ignorance and animalism plead with our conscience in their behalf; this would be an unspeakably greater evil. So long as we can maintain the Union on terms which allow us to act with a free conscience, with humanity unviolated, we shall count no sacrifice dear to maintain it. But religion and humanity are a price too dear to pay even for the Union!

Our Southern brethren often complain that we don't understand their condition or sympathize with their real difficulties. Even so, too, we complain that they do not understand our situation and sympathize with our difficulties. There are hundreds of thousands of men to whom conscience is a law—a law notwithstanding the sneers of those who flout at the idea of a *conscience party*. But there *is* a conscience party! There is a stern and growing feeling in the Free States, not yet expressed by any distinctive organization, that the time has come for a stand against any further national inhumanity. We can bear much, but we cannot and will not bear the guilt of Slavery. We regard it as epitomizing every offense which man can commit against man. It takes liberty from those to whom God gave it as the right of all rights. It forbids all food either for the understanding or the heart. It takes all honesty from the conscience. It takes its defense from virtue, and gives all authority into the hands of lustful or pecuniary cupidity. It scorns the family, and invades it whenever desire or the want of money prevail, with the same coolness with which a drover singles out a heifer, or a butcher strikes down a bullock. These are not the accidents of Slavery. They are its legitimate fruits. They are its vitality. If you stop these evils you will destroy the system. Let the slave be taught; let him have, not a filtered and adulterated gospel, but that Gospel which angels heralded, strangely filling the air with the cry, *Peace on earth and good will toward men*—and it will make the slaves what it made the barbarous Briton and the rude Saxon—freemen and refined Christians. Take from Slavery its rights of merchandise, forbid the disruption of families, the sale of slaves from the homestead where they were born, and the system will stink in the nostrils of Southern planters as it now does in our own.

Now we declare that into a fellowship with these monstrous evils, whose perpetration around our whole Southern coast is enough to pre-occupy the heavenly tribunal of mercy, and to exhaust its patience on only this form of all the world-wide human suffering, we have been drawn unwittingly. We did not know, or did not think that to swear fealty to the Constitution was to swear preservation to Slavery. We had always understood that the compromises of the Constitution were agreed upon in the North, only that time might be given for Slavery to *die out*. But if another construction be made, and becomes the settled reading of that instrument; if the North is to have the guilt and the South the profits of Slavery; if we are henceforth to understand that Slavery is federal and national, recognized in the all-embracing Constitution, then but one course is left us. No earthly consideration shall make us partners in

this monstrosity. We most solemnly declare, by our belief in humanity, by our hopes in religion, by our faith in Christ, that we will cut every cord of oppression whose force is derived from us. And if in so doing men choose to interpose the Constitution, upon their heads be the blame. Palsied be that hand and blasted those lips which shall make our Constitution, ordained for freedom, the instrument of bondage and cruelty!

We shall study to circumscribe slavery where it now exists. We shall oppose every party that secretly or openly connives at it. We shall be hostile to every measure which consults its interests. We shall not cease to stand upon the brink of this dismal abyss, and over against its smoke and wails to pray with agonizing earnestness, "How long, O Lord, how long?" A day will come—in God's counsels it is already seen advancing—when men will look back upon this system as we now look at the dungeons and tribunals of the Inquisition. In that day, many a man will deny his parentage, and forswear the ancestors who either forged fetters for the slave, or more meanly blew the bellows for those who wrought at the anvil of oppression. May my children to the latest generation, in looking back to my example, take courage, and strike home for liberty and humanity!

With these views, no soothsayer is needed to interpret our views of the extension of Slavery. It is not enough that we do not will it. Every man consents to it who does not exhaust his strength in endeavoring to prevent it.

Nor do we misunderstand the cunning cry of those who ask us to leave the issues of this question in new territories to chance. Now-a-days chance has too many wires and wire-workers to suit our ideas of luck. Chance is the merest gambler. The dice are loaded. The cards are marked. Only the victim dreams that there is fair play. The South is to deal, the North is to take what cards are flirited to its hand. Who doubts the issue? How many more games than those already played are needed before the dupe shall suspect foul play? No: by as much as Liberty is dearer to us than Slavery, by so much should we be more active in its behalf than its adversaries are in behalf of Slavery. If they can toil night and day, dig deep trenches, bear burdens cheerfully to sink the rocky foundations for the towers of Oppression, shall we have no bulwarks and no towers for Liberty? Whenever and wherever a blow is struck for Slavery, then and there must be a double stroke for Liberty!

We will compromise any measures tending to prevent the extension of Slavery. We will compromise as to the particulars of its death, laying out, and burial. But every compromise must include the advantage of Liberty and the disadvantage of Slavery. Compromises dictated by wily politicians, made to serve a pinch in party tactics; compromises issuing from men whose ideas of patriotism are summed up in giving their adversaries a grip and downfall, to whom spoils are virtues and offices religion; or those better-intended compromises, like Mr. Clay's, which seek for peace, rather than for humanity; from such compromises, guileless though they seem, and gilded till they shine like heaven, evermore may we be delivered!

We shall abide by the Union. No vandal outrage shall *our* hands commit. We shall honor it by obedient lives, consecrate it by our prayers, purify it from the dross of injustice, and give to it such foundations of Right as shall hold it steadfast amid all the revolutionary concussions of our day. If there be those who cannot abide the Union because it is pure and religious, just and humane, let them beware of that tumultuous sea into which they purpose to leap.

But we do not believe that such an issue awaits us. The pliancy of miserable scramblers for political preferment has caused these violent gusts. Thus, hitherto, have victories been gained for Slavery. Thus they are sought again. Firmness is the remedy for threats. If good men, having good representatives, are but firm, the storm will beat the stout oak, and rage like a demon through its twisted branches, but pass on and spend itself in the wilderness; meanwhile the returning sun shall find the noble tree unwrecked and fast-rooted.

But if our Charter Oak is to be dismembered, God be thanked that its roots were planted in the soil of Freedom. There they will spread; its trunk and its mightiest branches will abide. The sun and the soil that nourished its infancy yet remain to repair what time and storms may mutilate. Beneath its shadow the poor and oppressed shall find shelter.

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CAUSE AND CURE OF AGITATION.

From the Independent, Nov. 14, 1850.

ALL the currents which are now flowing and reflowing on the Slavery question may be reduced to certain main channels. Nor can they who study only the whirls and eddies upon the surface form sound conclusions, or adopt wise courses; since the surface-motion changes with every tide, as at Hell-Gate; but the great rocks and banks which cause them remain always the same.

It ought, primarily, to be understood that our Constitution has *invited* this whole conflict which has raged about it. That instrument was designed to be the exposition of the fundamental doctrines and rights of Liberty. It was shaped, and built and animated by the soul of Liberty. It was the embodiment and exponent of the sentiments and institutions of the great majority of the States concerned in its structure and adoption. A few States had the germ in them of institutions and government radically different. At that time, this difference was not, except to a very few single minds, apparent. The war had left the country in a most critical condition. Nothing seemed so important as a substantial union of all the States under a common Constitution. It was natural that every obstacle should be met with compromise or arrangement, to secure this end. Had the framers been gifted with prescience, they would, we cannot but think, have regarded the inevitable future mischief of that compromise by which Slavery had its rights imbedded in a Constitution of Liberty, as too great to be risked. They acted with the light which they had. They swaddled and laid in one cradle two infant forms. These were rocked together, and grew up together,—but one was a wolf's cub, and the other a lamb. Both were alike peaceful at birth—for a lion's whelp when first dropped is as gentle as a doe. Growth brought forth separate natures. Then appeared hostility. Each acted to its nature. Every written constitution among a free people goes through two processes before it is formed, that of formation, and that of construction. Some deny that the framers of the Constitution designed that it should recognize Slavery. That is a legitimate question. But none deny that *construction* has established in the Constitution a basis of aristocratical government. Construction has recognized Slavery as really as it has Liberty. The Constitution has thus put side by side principles the most oppugnant. The great currents which sweep through the channels of Commerce, Politics and Religion, with whirlpools and foaming eddies, the terror of timid navigators, and often the ruin of the most skillful, were currents predetermined by the configuration of our Constitution, and of the institutions which sprung up under it, and drew from its two breasts the milk of freedom, or of slavery. Our Constitution is the mother of black and white offspring. Our institutions are at variance with each other. The rains of yesterday may swell the Ohio, the side streams that roll in may color its water, and add a new ripple to its surface; but no rain, and no side streams appoint its bounds, or mark its direction. These are prefigured. And all currents and capricious libations of tributaries are swept down the one great current flowing from fountain to Gulf. The mountains at the fountain head, and the original structure of the valleys, overrule every other cause.

We do not say that a free man cannot live peaceably by the side of a slave; that the employer of slaves cannot live by the side of the employer of free laborers: or that a Northern man and a Southern man cannot keep the peace. All this may be. But communities and individuals are very different. A community is made up not

merely of certain thousands of *men*, but of all the interests, pursuits, institutions, and customs of multitudes of men, as well as of the men themselves. The *men* of the North and of the South may agree to what compromises they please. But the *agriculture* of the North and of the South will not agree to the compromise. The commerce of a free State and of a slave State; the schools of free laborers, and of the owners of slave labor; the manufactories of the North, and the manufactories of the South; the literature, the religion, the morals, the social questions, all these have a nature and tendency of their own; and while *men* may agree to live in peace together, tolerant of the most opposite opinions,—the great industrial interests, the social relations, and the moral and religious institutions, will hold right on their way. Those that agree with nature, will of course disagree with those which do not; those that are founded on justice will conflict with those that are not. Those which, springing from liberty, peacefully favor and promote freedom, will of course meet and conflict with those which, springing from unjust authority, favor and promote despotism.

Here then we are. Our people of the North and South have not arrayed their institutions against each other, but the institutions of the North and of the South have brought the people into collision. This state of things has been gradually developing its fruits for now many years. Is it not worth our while to look at the progress and results of this collision? Perhaps past tendencies may be prophetic.

Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution there sprung up in the free States combinations calling themselves Societies for the Abolition of Slavery—or the Manumission of Slaves, &c. Their work was to diffuse a leaven. They spread information. They induced reflecting men to think, and I know not that they attempted or effected much except this preparatory work. Theirs was the office of preparing seed.

Some twenty-five years ago things had come to a pass that required only a leader to make a development. Events made Garrison a leader. We never thought, and we do not now think, that Garrison deserved the one-half of the bitter reproaches that have been heaped upon him. His worst faults have been the reaction, in him, of the opposite faults, of men favoring slavery or indifferent to it. But we regard him as one of the most unfortunate of all leaders for the best development of anti-slavery feeling. He is a man of no mean ability, of indefatigable industry, of the most unbounded enterprise and eagerness, of perseverance which pushes him like a law of nature; and of courage which amounts to recklessness. These are the qualifications which make a man powerful for stimulation. Had he possessed, as a balance to these, conciliation, good-natured benevolence—or even a certain popular mirthfulness—had he possessed the moderation and urbanity of Clarkson, or the deep piety of Wilberforce, he had been the one man of our age. These all he lacked. Had the disease of America needed only counter-irritation, no better blister could have been applied.

Garrison did not *create* the anti-slavery spirit of the North. He was the offspring of it. It existed before he was born. But he at one time more powerfully developed and organized it than any other one mind;—and developed it in modes and spirit, as we think, most unfortunate. Anti-slavery under his influence was all teeth and claw. It fought. It never conciliated. It gained not one step by kindness. It won not a single fort by surrender. It bombarded everything it met, and stormed every place which it won. We do not deny that Garrison and his early followers did a great work. Another generation will divide praise and blame, as no one is fitted to do in the heats of the present day. But when bare justice shall be done, we believe that it will be found that a noble soul, deeply and truly benevolent, who sought the truest interests of his age, yet, sought them with such a fierceness and such a hard and relentless courage, as constantly roused up in his path the worst feelings of man, and heaped obstacles before him to such a degree, that, at length, in combating them, his sympathies for good seemed swallowed up in a bitter hatred of evil. The result of the agitation, inspired largely with this feeling, was, that almost every interest in the nation rose up against the movement with which he was identified. Churches dreaded abolitionism, parties hated abolitionism, commerce abhorred abolitionism. Mobs rioted around the meetings, and threatened the dwellings, the stores, and the very persons of abolitionists.

There was odium and influence enough arrayed against the anti-slavery movement, under the form of early abolitionism, to have sunk ten enterprises which depended on

men for existence. But there was a spirit in this cause, there was a secret strength, which nerved it, and it lived right on, and grew, and trampled down opposition, and came forth victorious! There was an irresistibility in it which made it superior to the faults of its friends and the deadly hatred of its enemies. What have been the results?

But a few years ago mobs tore down printing-presses if they dared boldly to proclaim anti-slavery doctrine, and dragged them to the river; now, almost every press in the North is as anti-slavery as those were which mobs demolished! Once, the suspicion of abolition would bring any man home from Congress and keep him there. Now, for the most part, no one can go who cannot show some zeal for anti-slavery doctrine. Once, legislatures resisted every mention of the subject; and he was deemed scarcely less than a maniac who, in the legislatures of free States, dared introduce the inflammatory topic. Now, legislatures are anti-slavery batteries, and give annual broadsides of anti-slavery resolutions. Once, pulpits dreaded and defied the dangerous doctrine; but now the pulpit, to a great extent, is the exponent of liberty, and therefore the odium and hatred of all who dread the advance of freedom. In other days, mobs broke up anti-slavery meetings, destroyed the houses of colored men; but now mobs defend fugitive slaves, and girt about their hiding-places with sure defense. All things are changed. All things are still changing, *and in one direction.*

There are few exclusive abolition presses, because the work which they once did is done by religious newspapers, by commercial papers, by political papers. There are few abolition meetings—for what need is there of exclusive meetings, when every meeting for politics, every convention, every synod, conference, assembly, every caucus, mass-meeting, and legislature, is obliged to discuss the great topic of liberty and slavery?

And while a steady growth has been made in that direction, there has been no falling off. Anti-slavery has not taken one step backward. Politicians have; parties have. But everything done to withstand the movement has only conspired in the end to augment its influence, and give strength to its tread. Mobs made its *men* heroes. Black laws were irresistible sermons to just consciences. Concessions to the South opened blind eyes in the North. The league to prevent agitation in Congress increased it. The assaults upon the right of petition established that right upon impregnable grounds. The attempt to resist this growing liberty inflamed the South to tighten the bonds of slavery. This has caused the slaves to run away. The master came hounding through our cities, feeling miserable servitors, and arresting, chaining, and dragging back the wretched victims. This was brave preaching to the North. Timid and moderate men had refused to believe abolition lecturers, and called their pictures of the horrors of Slavery a raw-head and bloody-bones story. Southern lecturers were more successful. Their exhibitions of patriarchal tenderness, their exemplification of the contentment of their slaves by racing and running, the slave for his life and the master for his slave, were facts about which the North came to have but one opinion. Juries begun to take the management of slave-cases out of the hands of supple constables and knavish lawyers, who for a consideration stood ready to do any dirty job of patriotism that union and harmony with the South seemed to require. Baffled in the recapture of slaves, feeling the growing insecurity of slave property contiguous to the North, the upper tiers of States became slave-breeding, and used the remote States as a market; and when they were glutted, fell upon devices for acquiring new territory; first, they stole; and finding the operation successful in the case of Texas, tried it as a public act, and made war, and by war enormously increased the territory of the United States. That territory is now become their terror and anguish. The South is crying for disunion because the territory meant for slavery is to be used for the benefit of liberty.

Next, as a conciliation of the South, is passed the Fugitive Slave bill. It would seem that desperation had made men mad. The most ingenious, subtle, deadly attack that ever has been made upon Southern institutions, has been made by their Fugitive Slave law. Ten thousand Abolition lecturers, sent abroad to every hamlet and village in the land, would have made but a ripple in comparison with that wave of feeling that is rolling across the public mind. It has struck earnestness into those who aforesaid were careless; it has changed conservative men into fast-traveling men of Movement; it has aroused such a tide of indignation in all our cities as few men choose to face. It

is not decreasing. Every day the feeling deepens. Out of the circle of commercial papers, there is scarcely a paper, religious or secular, that does not hiss and execrate the measure. The community have been driven back upon their reserved rights. The most religious are those that are the most indignant. The communities that have always been eminent and significant for law-abiding propensities, are the very ones that most magnificently spurn this infamous mockery of a law. *Law?* That is a word suggestive of the most hallowed excellences! Justice is its substance, beneficence is its errand, peace its fruits!

By what infernal juggling are we called to behold that sacred name desecrated by a monster phantom that could not be born, until all sacred guards of liberty were taken away—the Habeas Corpus and trial by Jury—and which stalks abroad upon its felonious errand, a foe to justice, the mockery of beneficence, and the destroyer of peace! Satan hath quite overleaped himself. That great march of free sentiment which nothing has ever been able to check,—will this foul banner and this engine of destruction stop it? It will roll over it like a tide; it will sink it down to the bottom of public indignation.

It is upon a review of the progress of the anti-slavery movement, and upon a distinct recognition of the fact, that the conflict is not a conflict of men, but of Institutions, and that the sources which feed the agitation are in the Constitution and in the Laws—that we wish to suggest a few reflections.

1. The man who hides his eyes from the true and deep causes of present public agitation, and who occupies himself in invectives against parties and particular men, is not worthy of the name of thinker, nor fitted to lead any but the blind in a common rush for the ditch.

The storm is in the ocean, not in the ship; yet the crew are bitterly railing at each other, the officers are at variance, and at every wave that staggers the ill-manned ship, and every gust that brings her to her beams' ends, there ensues a scuffle along the deck, each cursing and swearing at the other, as the ill-omened cause of all the mischiefs! When the Great Western met that terrific gale some years ago upon the Atlantic, her officers knew that their foes were *elemental*; they prepared the ship to meet them, bore right up into the wind, breasted the wave, and rode out the gale.

We, too, are bestormed. But our wise men are lying, some broadside on to the wind; some are scudding, some are quarreling with the crew, and some are proposing in Union meetings to patch up the boiler, or tinker at some part of the machinery, oil it, wipe it, rub it,—as a remedy for the rage of the sea and the whirlwind of the air!

2. For thirty years, there has been a steady current, deepening, strengthening, accelerating. Ten thousand currents that have set against it, have been able only to become eddies on its surface. Will a few men now meet it, and turn it back by a batch of hollow paper resolutions made up of pretenses and guises, and strung together as a mercantile device to gain custom? This is worse than child's play.

Nothing so well, as the origin and history of the anti-slavery feeling, can demonstrate the folly of superficial measures of relief. Compromises do not give peace. They agitate. They are but dams built across the stream. The water gathers force behind them; thunders over them with tenfold violence, and at length angrily sweeps them down the channel in some vernal freshet. Those men who cry peace are the men who carry concealed swords. They do not know, or will not see, that there is a hand of God in human affairs. They do not perceive that God directs this conflict of principles and institutions. He who stops it prolongs the battle. Let it go forward. All good men hope the end of Slavery to be at hand. Will it die without convulsions? Will not the devil rend and tear him from whom he is about to depart? We desire peace, founded upon Liberty and Justice. We desire no peace, maintained at the expense of both.

3. Our policy for the future is plain. All the Natural Laws of God are warring upon Slavery. We have only to let the process go on. Let Slavery alone. Let it go to seed. Hold it to its own natural fruit. Cause it to abide by itself. Cut off every branch that hangs beyond the wall, every root that spreads. Shut it up to itself, and let it alone. We do not ask to interfere with the internal policy of a single State by Congressional enactments: we will not ask to take one guarantee from the institution. We only ask that a line be drawn about it. That an insuperable bank

be cast up; that it be fixed and forever settled that Slavery must find no new sources, new fields, new prerogatives; but that it must abide in its place, subject to all the legitimate changes which will be brought upon it by the spirit of a nation essentially democratic, by schools taught by enlightened men; by colleges sending into every profession annual thousands bred to justice and hating its reverse; by churches preaching a gospel that has always heralded civil liberty; by manufactories which always thrive best when the masses are free and refined, and therefore have their wants multiplied; by free agriculture, and free commerce.

When Slavery begins under such a treatment to flag, we demand that she be denied political favoritism to regain her loss; we demand that no laws be enacted to give health to her paralysis, and strength to her relaxing grasp. She boldly and honestly demanded a right to equality with the North, and prophetically spoke by Calhoun, that the North would preponderate and crush her. It is true. Time is her enemy. Liberty will, if let alone, always be a match for Oppression. Now, it is because statesmen propose stepping in between Slavery and the appointed bourne to which she goes, scourged by God and nature, that we resent these statesmen, and refuse to follow them. If her wounds can be staunched, if she may have adventitious aid in new privileges, Slavery will renew her strength and stave off the final day. But if it be forbidden one additional favor, and be obliged to stand up by the side of free labor, free schools, free churches, free institutions; if it be obliged to live in the land of free books, free papers, and free Bibles, it will either die, or else it *ought* to live.

But there is another course that will bring us to revolution and to bloodshed. It is the course of those who wink at every claim made by Slavery for new territory on which to recruit its waste; who lay their political path right athwart the deliberate moral convictions of the North; who, knowing the deep and ineradicable hostility of the North to the extension of slave law to free soil, frame slave laws in the most odious forms, stripped of every guard, with all the effrontery of the most audacious despotism; and then set them on their errands amid our schools and churches and free farms. When the moral sense of a religiously bred community revolts at such barbarity, and religious men, and moral men, and humane men, without consultation or studied agreement, but as a God-sent impulse, declare, that they will not obey laws which break the pact which binds man to man, which destroy the foundations of all law, which sets a man against his own conscience, and against the God that planted conscience,—then *they* are the agitators that taunt Christian men with the heresy of "higher law," and scoff at all the considerations of religious humanity!

But this, too, is but another act in the drama that is fast hastening to its close. It behooves all men that *can* be reasoned with to remember that in the progress of free sentiment on this subject, there has been but one direction. For thirty years everything that has opposed the current of anti-slavery feeling has been swept down by it. There are no signs that it will be otherwise in time to come. Let those on the other hand take courage, who have pledged themselves to the work of God in all its forms in this crooked and perverse generation. Suffering there may be. Hope deferred may make many a heart sick. But they who assuredly believe that they follow the banner of God, and who have seen that banner, though agitated and rent in many a conflict, surrendered never, but again and again emerging victorious from the storm and the battle; let all such once again take oath of fealty, and be true to humanity, and so true to their country and to their God. *

LIBERAL MEDITATIONS.—KOSSUTH AND COTTON.

From the Independent, Oct. 23, 1850.

THE topics of excitement now-a-days follow each other with such rapidity that we seem to live in a dream, in which the most astonishing conjunctions and the strangest objects no longer surprise. Our palate is becoming used to high flavors. Nothing less than expeditions, revolutions, world alliances, monster exhibitions, have any power to arrest attention. The unparalleled history of the settlement of California, the sudden creation of a fleet of sea steamers surpassing in magnificence the men-of-war to which we used to look up as the very mountains of the deep, the disastrous invasion of Cuba, the extra-legal tribunals of San Francisco, by which the mob take the place and functions of organized Justice, while the courts and government, caught in the popular mesh, hang like skeleton flies in a spider's web, swinging in the wind; the escape and glorious advent of that most renowned of modern men—Louis Kossuth; these and such like events occur almost daily. Once, it was a thing to be spoken of if one had doubled the Horn or the Cape; but now it is becoming as common as to go from Broadway into Wall street. The ship that insures to-day, bound for Canton, looks into San Francisco, cuts across the Pacific, stows its Oolong and Imperial, pierces the homeward deep with its blade-prow, and is back again, almost before we have done talking about her sailing. The globe used to have a respectable circumference, in the days of Dutch-built ships. Long voyages used to be talked about. We might now almost as well talk of long voyages in a wash-tub. Very soon there will be no place where a villain can run away to, unless it be behind the icebergs of the Polar Sea. Deserts are steadily encroached upon, peered into a little and a little further every year. And Interior Africa will soon be familiar whistling-ground to Yankee traders, who will whittle from the Cape of Good Hope straight through to the Nile or to Algiers! After that, there will be no place left in the world where a man can lose himself—unless he join some Union Safety Committee. A man can scarcely be found there.

The topics of the morning, over a dish of coffee, are no longer the weather, the crops, the upsetting of a coach, or a sneaking burglary or two. We now eagerly count up how many *scores* were smashed up in the last railroad collision, and how many blown up in the last capitally executed steamboat explosion. It is a matter of infinite pleasure to us always to learn, on such occasions, that "no one was to blame," and that the "utmost care was taken" by the engineers and conductors. For, if one has acquaintances in the calamity, it is a gratification to know that their disaster was a *fate*, not a careless accident; and that they died honorably by a law of nature, not by the neglect of a stupid conductor, or a drunken captain.

Then, too, we sup upon no wishy-washy highway robberies; we affect hearty murders, and capital hangings,—especially if the rope breaks. By the way, ought not the government to appoint a commission on Hemp? We remember that Daniel Webster very significantly assured the gentlemen of the Senate, we think it was, that the operation of pulling hemp with nothing to stand on was very inconvenient. But lately, we observe, that the cords which Government selects are so economically manufactured that men find something to stand on quite unexpectedly, and have to be twice hung before they are once killed. This is not an impertinent intermeddling on our part. We claim to have a personal interest in this matter of hanging. Daniel Webster has most emphatically declared that resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law is

treason. Judge Kane of Pennsylvania has charged the jury that the extemporaneous resistance of fugitives and their compeers to civil process was treason. President Fillmore has sent marshals with patriotic celerity to Syracuse, to arraign for treason all who aided and abetted the rendering of a man to his liberty.

Now it is quite plain that *treason* is to be plentiful. The prospects of harvest were never better. We have felt the symptoms of ripeness ourselves. And as treason is a capital offense, and brings a man to hanging, it is plain that the Government has work on hand for a while to come. Every candidate for such honors, therefore, has a right, we think, to insist upon it that if the Government will hang one man for helping another to his liberty, they shall at least provide good hemp. It is against the law to try a man twice for the same offense. But our hangmen sometimes *try* a fellow twice or three times before they succeed. We have prejudices against being hung with a rotten cord. This Southern hemp is not strong enough to hold the Union together if it is not strong enough to hold the weight of one traitor. Why not drop hemp entirely (as it drops its victims), and try cotton? Cotton politics and cotton theology have caught the wind as well as cotton sails. Why not cotton cordage? If cotton cordage is half as good for hanging traitors as cotton theology and cotton patriotism are for making them, hemp ought to be suspended. Won't the Union Committee *try* it? Some of them, who have been the most intimate with cotton, *have* suspended; but ought they not to hang in suspense? If any of them have a mind to try it, we will intercede for the other conveniences requisite, so that they shall be at no expense. But every consideration requires that they should use *cotton*. Judas tried hemp, and the rope broke. We trust that they will so far deviate from his interesting experiment of selling his master at a bargain, as *not* to throw away the thirty pieces of silver, and not to try hemp. Give *us* the money, for the relief of fugitive slaves, and take good *cotton* for halters! and, if they love their country, *do* let them take cotton that won't *break*!

As for ourselves, while we regard robbery and ordinary murder as in bad taste, we begin to have a *penchant* for treason. *That* is getting to be a gentlemanly affair. There; for example, are the Irish traitors—noble fellows, guilty of not loving oppression! There are our ancestral traitors—Adams, Warren, Jay, Washington, and others, whom the British Government, at one time, was as intent upon hanging as our friends at Washington now are upon hanging Christiana and Syracuse traitors. Then, Poland has had multitudes of traitors, and the Czar of Russia has tucked them away by hundreds under the snow-wreaths of Siberia! We recollect some few historic names of eminent traitors in England, in the days of the struggle of men for liberty. Italy has her traitors, too, Achilli, Mazzini, and others. And Austria—why, she has races and nations of traitors! She exports them. All England is agog just now at the arrival of the world's most illustrious modern traitor, Louis Kossuth! And he goes from his den at Kutahya in a steam-frigate of this traitor-hating Government of the United States! What—importing traitors! Will it not interfere with home manufacture? Our enterprise in this branch of domestic industry is recent, and in a very precarious state. Is it right to glut our market with superior traitors from abroad? and especially, ought the Government to have a hand in this branch of commerce?

We suppose great celebrations are at hand for this illustrious Hungarian traitor. *We* have no scruples in joining any procession. Indeed, we would more gratefully prize the privilege of adding something to the joy, or soothing the nobly borne and heroic griefs of Louis Kossuth, than of any single man of modern days! He is a traitor, quite to our conception of patriotism. A hatred of oppression in every form, a love of liberty which is as strong as life itself, and a willingness to suffer, to labor and endure to the uttermost, and even to die for the sake of achieving the one for our country, and destroying the other, is just our idea of patriotism.

But we know that we are singular. It is but frank to state that many of our most venerated clergymen, who were ordained of God to teach men to ridicule God's law when it comes in contact with men's laws—differ from us. Of course they will refuse to take part in any ovation of Kossuth.

What an absurdity would it be for those revered men who acted as chaplains, on a Saturday night, to a Union Committee Safety dinner given to Senator Foote, (more familiarly known whilom as Hangman Foote—not so much because he deserved the halter for his senatorial pugilism, as from the fact of his declaring, in his place, in the presence of the full Senate of these United States, that he would help to hang another

United States Senator, Mr. Hale, upon the first tree, if he had him in Mississippi—for the crime of free speech in behalf of liberty!) Senator Foote being the hero, the celebration of the Union saved by the Fugitive Slave law being the occasion, several of our most aged and eloquent clergy graced the table with their presence, and amid the artillery of champagne they congratulated their country upon such salvation as Union Committees worked out.

Now, let us suppose that a committee of clergymen should be deputed to wait upon the illustrious exile (whose traitorous effigy has just been haltered and hung at home!) Of course we should select those who have most pointedly inveighed against the doctrine of Higher Law. Dr. Dewey, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Spencer, Dr. Spring, Dr. Lord,—could a better committee be desired?

During the quarantine of two days which our government has ordered at Staten Island, we may imagine that it is the purpose of our excellent rulers to cleanse away all inward taint of treason, as well as outward contamination of plague, from the illustrious exile. We will imagine that the days are to be divided between the Church and the State. Our clerical committee would, without doubt, cast a shade of awe over the abashed hero, as they marched into the cabin of the steam frigate *Mississippi*—(the State of repudiation and Senator Foote!)—each one bearing a presentation copy of his sermon or speech on the Fugitive-Slave law. The oldest clergyman now approaches Kossuth, and welcomes him to this land of liberty and equality. Its blessings are described: the statistics of our prosperity are briefly given. "All these things," says the excellent spokesman, "we owe under God to our liberty. No people can thrive while ground by oppression." This happy laudation of liberty being done, the gentlemen proceed to question his notions of law and government, patriotism and treason.

"Does your Excellency believe that Slavery is a sin *per se*? Do you not regard it as a patriarchal institution, tolerated by Jehovah, not abrogated by Christ, and if properly used, a beneficent arrangement for the blacks?"

M. Kossuth (being perhaps more used lately to the sword than to theology) may be supposed to be a little confused, and rather evades so unsavory a catechism.

But our good divines are too expert in examining candidates in theology in all the nice distinctions into which Truth has been split up, to be easily dodged. And so Dr. S. says plainly, "Would you, sir, if by uttering the prayer for it, you could release every slave in America, to-morrow, dare to utter such a prayer?"

"That I should, very quickly," responds the illustrious catechumen, a little off his guard by the directness of the question. The Divines nudge each other. There is business on hand.

"Do you believe that a slave has a right to run away from his master?"

"Do you mean to inquire by this question, gentlemen, whether I have done right in running away from the service of the Emperor of Austria?"

"No, sir, oh no. You are a white man. Perhaps we ought to put the question a little more explicitly. Do you believe a black man, held to slavery in South Carolina, has any right to run away?"

The English tongue being yet a little new, Mr. Kossuth does not exactly know what *South Carolina* is, (an ignorance, perhaps, of which her own citizens somewhat partake,) and supposing that it is the name of some prison, or government galley, answers that "if a man is imprisoned for crime, he thinks that he ought to work his sentence out, whether he is white or black."

"Do you think when a man is flying for his liberty, that any one has a right to help him off?"

"Oh, certainly I do. I quite agree with your government, gentlemen, who have kindly provided me this noble steamer wherewith to escape the Emperor of Austria."

"But do you think if a fugitive is arrested, that it is right for men to conspire together for his release against the express laws of his native land?"

"Ah, gentlemen, you are quite familiar with my case. I perceive that you allude to my extradition from Kutahya, against the edict of the Emperor of Austria! I quite agree with you, gentlemen, that the Turks did a noble thing."

By this time the venerated doctors whisper a moment in consultation, and conclude to leave a copy each of their several sermons and addresses in favor of obeying the Fugitive-Slave law, and to turn down leaves upon the most salutary passages; such as this in Dr. Lord's sermon ("Union Safety Committee" edition, p. 6.) "To plead a

Higher law to justify disobedience to a human law, the subject-matter of which is within the cognizance of the State, is to reject the authority of God himself, who has committed to governments the power and authority which they exercise in civil affairs." As a slave is by our laws defined to be a *chattel*, to be completely in the power of his master; as our laws give to the master the right to treat his female slaves as he will; to separate families, sell the children in one direction and the parents in the other; as our civil laws protect the master in the right of sending his own blood to market, mingled with his slaves,—it is not strange that Kossuth, on reading the passage, quite failed to see its practical drift, and thought that it was a hint to him to be an obedient citizen when he should have settled down.

Dr. Spencer called his attention by a dog's-eared leaf to the doctrine (on page 17), "A man has no right to fling away his life for a mere sentiment, and leave his wife a widow, or his gray-haired parents without a son to solace them." This is a part of the statement that citizens have no right to resist government until there is a good prospect of success. Upon this passage Kossuth ponders; and as he walks up and down his now deserted cabin, he soliloquizes: "As if the greatest achievements of the world were not in their inception gloomy and cheerless to all usual methods of estimation. It is the heart determined to die—it is that courage which cries out 'give me liberty or give me death;' it is that nobleness of nature that scorns to accept life as a burden of disgrace, and hastens to lay it down as a sacrifice to liberty; in short, it is that sublime and heroic determination of great souls to vindicate man's manhood, living or dying, that ever gives success! Every Hungarian that has fallen is a tongue of liberty in the world. Between the Russian Bear and the Austrian Snake, there was but little hope of victory for their native land. But though Hungary has lost her best sons, the world has gained them. They stand up above all division lines of states, and inspire men everywhere with hatred to oppression and a determination to be free. No, it is the mark of a coward to be afraid to strike until he is sure of victory—until he has calculated the profit and loss, and has a safe commercial prospect of gaining! It is the *very* mark, in all ages, of a *MAN*, that he *is* willing to die for a 'SENTIMENT!'

On their way back to the city, our clerical examiners held a grave consultation. "Well, I am disappointed, for one. Mr. Kossuth is not so intelligent a man as I supposed. He is somewhat inclined to fanaticism." "It is not to be expected that with his limited knowledge of republican government he should have discriminating views of the doctrines of liberty. We must remember that he is but a Magyar; and a recent proselyte to liberty—'a new broom sweeps clean.' " "Yes, *this* broom sweeps clean enough! I regard his views to be nothing short of flat higher-law nonsense!" "Gentlemen, let us not be too desponding. We may hope that a little reflection will convince Mr. Kossuth that circumstances alter cases;—a little dining out, a free intercourse with our public functionaries; a better knowledge of the state of things here, and on which side his bread is buttered;—one or two visits from distinguished statesmen, these, with the documents which we have left, will probably soon change him from a blind Magyar patriot, into an American patriot:—two very different species, you know. Stranger changes than that have taken place. How long did it take to change *you*, Dr. —? How long did it take *you*, Brother —, to come round? Why, half the men in the nation that now stand right on the Slavery question, a year or two ago believed in the doctrines of human liberty to the full extent. That sentence in the Declaration of Independence, 'that all men are born free,' &c., has done more mischief than the whole instrument ever did good! Well, brethren, let us remember Kossuth in our prayers!"—and upon this they separated.

If this visit to the illustrious traitor whose higher-law doctrines had brought revolution, bloodshed and defeat to Hungary, and immortal glory to himself and all his confederates, was awkward to our lower-law divines, it was yet more ticklish to our excellent Government folks! We may suppose several cabinet councils were held. The President may be supposed to have submitted the question thus: "Gentlemen: It is not to be disguised that we are called to act in circumstances of peculiar delicacy. We must sympathize with the doctrines of liberty in such a way as not to disturb the rights of slavery. Mr. Kossuth has evidently headed a revolutionary movement, and has claimed the right to do so on the ground of mere natural rights, and upon sentiments of duty. While we acquiesce in these general views, it must be delicately handled or we shall seem to stand upon *higher-law* doctrine; and we ought to have as

little to do with God as possible. I regard it, too, as a little awkward that Mr. Kossuth has just been hung in effigy at Pesth for a traitor. We are just now experimenting on so many traitors, that it may lead to unsavory comparisons. I have therefore assembled you, gentlemen, to lay before you the question, How shall we receive Kossuth without recognizing the great principles on which he stands; for it is plain that if we accept *his* principles we cannot hold on to our own!"

Thereupon an animated discussion was held. One gentleman thought that it would be policy to say so much of Kossuth, that nobody would think of *them*. The Secretary of the Navy was of opinion that statesmen and their principles were like ships and their armament; there must be a set for each side, besides a few revolving guns set in the middle, and turning with equal facility in every direction.

The Secretary of the Army thought it a plain case. "A statesman's *real* principles are mere heavy artillery, stocked in forts, and never to be used unless the enemy attacked the fort. But then there was another set of principles to be used in the field—light horse, skirmishers, and flying artillery. Now, gentlemen, I take it that Conscience and Right, and that sort of armament, are heavy guns not to be used twice in a century. But obedience to law, and patriotism, and the duty of all citizens to keep the compromises, these are light artillery dashing about here and there, wheeling, twisting, firing or retreating, just as the exigency of the field requires!"

The Secretary of the Treasury "was of opinion that the case was difficult only in theory. In *practice* he apprehended the thing might be operated successfully. You see, gentlemen, just now, that conscience and old-fashioned patriotism, and higher law, are non-interest paying stocks, and our fancy doctrines rule the market. A few outsiders have invested largely in the old securities; but I think we have cornered them. There never was a nimbler market for fancies than now. Just combine, give the old stocks another push down, rush the fancies a notch or two up, and then, just before the re-action comes, why, we'll sell out, and make a clean profit on the speculation."

The Secretary of State, who had looked remarkably heavy at the announcement of the business, gradually cheered up as these counselors proceeded, and by the time that the dozen bottles had been uncorked he was ready. "Gentlemen, union is indispensable in such a case as this. If I have been able to render some slight service to my country in former days, I shall not be found wanting in such a crisis. This country must be saved. We must therefore praise Kossuth, and praise America, and praise liberty, and say as little about *principle* as possible. Gentlemen, I have thoroughly explored this whole question. It is quite possible for us to take both sides, and to use both sides. We must believe in liberty. We must believe in government too. Men have rights; but so have masters. Men must obey their consciences; but they must obey the laws too. If there is any disagreement between these things, it is not for us to go into such abstractions. It is mere metaphysics. Gentlemen, no man is complete without many sides—*avnp μυριοπους*—myriad-minded men. I have many sides, you have many sides; all public men have many sides. It is a wise Providence that has ordered it. Let us receive Kossuth on the front side. Gentlemen, let liberty, for the occasion, take—the other side."

As the schedule of arrangements has not been published, it would be premature to say whether the deeds and speeches on the occasion of Kossuth's reception are to conform to their councils.

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WERE THE NEW TESTAMENT CHURCHES SLAVEHOLDING CHURCHES ?

THE

ANNUAL SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION,

IN

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, CLEVELAND, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 24, 1851,

BY

J. BLANCHARD,

PRESIDENT OF KNOX COLLEGE.

S E R M O N .

JOHN XX. 21.

"Then said Jesus unto them again, Peace be with you; as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you."

I HAVE before me a difficult if not dangerous task. I wish, in the present discourse, to speak of the errors and faults of American churches and American Mission Boards, and I wish neither to *be*, nor to seem to be, the enemy of either. Not because I wish to spare the errors and sins of my brethren or my own; but because I believe that the churches, all imperfect as they are, contain the light of the world and the salt of the earth.

Yet, as the Bible faithfully records the sins and errors of God's children, so I believe that great and radical faults, if they exist in the churches, should be pointed out, in love to Christ and fidelity to his children, though to do it aright, I am aware, requires a spirit wiser and holier than mine. I shall attempt to discharge the duty, relying upon the Spirit of God.

Christ was sent to turn men from their sinful practices, by correcting their principles and changing their hearts. The beginning of his preaching was, "*Repent.*" Both his harbinger and himself required repentance as prerequisite to entering the "kingdom of heaven then at hand;" and with both of them repentance included renunciation of the sins repented of.

The mission of Christ's disciples in this world is to continue and complete that of himself. It is to "*save his people from their sins.*" For this was the errand of Christ, and as the Father sent him into the world, even so hath he sent us.

At this day, at least before this audience, I need not stop to argue that a slaveholding church, continuing such, can never fulfil this mission of Christ; in other words, that slaveholding is not of the kingdom of God. For the property-holding of men and women includes in the principle of it, and tends to generate in practice, all the elements of vice, and crime, and sin. So far as the man-owner cherishes the spirit of this system, so far most men see and say that he is vicious. So far forth as he enforces his property-power over his innocent fellow-man, he sets aside *justice*, and practices *crime*. And the very claim of complete, exclusive property jurisdiction and control over a human being is direct infringement upon and sin against God, who hath said, in a meaning which is certainly invaded by slaveholding, "*All souls are mine.*" A slaveholding church, therefore, inviting worldly men to join it to be saved from their sins, while it cherishes and permits a practice which, as Dr. Beecher has shown,* violates every precept of the Decalogue, is like inviting men into the sea that they may escape being drowned! A slaveholding church, therefore, does not accomplish the mission of Christ. It is not and cannot be part of his kingdom, which is "*righteousness.*"

* Speech in the trial of William Graham.

The American Missionary Association does not differ from the people of the city which now entertains it, nor indeed from sober and enlightened men every where, in its condemnation of slavery. Multitudes, even of those who regard abolitionists as fanatics, nor as tinctured with fanaticism, yet hope that slavery will melt away before the gospel, and by this hope confess their opinion that a slaveholding church must cease to be such, before it can accomplish the mission of Christ.

For what purpose then has the American Missionary Association been formed? Upon what necessity is it founded, and what is its peculiar end and use? Can it justify the attention it has attracted? Will it retain the large and hourly increasing confidence it has received? Or is it like the cone of the summer whirlwind, a thing of heat, and air, and dust; a shape thrown up by the gusts of anti-slavery excitement, and which must vanish when the breeze that raised it ceases to blow?

To answer these questions, (and they must be answered, for they will be asked,) we must know not only the principle of its formation, but the necessity out of which it grew; not only *what* it is, but *why*? True, the duty of this Association is not to assail the existence of other societies, but to vindicate its own; but this work in itself includes a statement of its principles, pretensions and promises, compared with other similar organizations. Let us not then be deemed the enemies of those other organizations, some of which are justly venerated for the time they have stood, the ability with which they have been conducted, and the good of which God has made them the instruments. My object in respect to them is not to get away their funds, but their sins. Surely I am not acting as an enemy to other missionary or church organizations, if humbly and in a proper spirit I seek to show upon what principles they must be conducted if they would accomplish the mission of Christ. It is in such a spirit I hope to allude to other organizations. And surely it should be permitted us to *examine* with freedom, since it is only by so doing that we can hope to learn how to *act* aright.

Let us glance hastily at the history of slavery in the American churches, that we may learn wisdom from experience and study principles in the light of facts.

Slaveholding has existed in the Christian churches of this country some two hundred and fifty years, yet many would have us hope that *the gospel as heretofore administered* will undermine and expel it. For almost this entire period of two centuries and a half the slavery question has been more or less agitated in the churches; yet many oppose the adoption of a rule excluding it, upon a plea of ignorance and that the subject is not yet understood! The first slaves brought to New-England were ordered to be sent back by the General Court. In 1791, President Edwards taught that "*While you hold negroes in slavery you do exceeding wrong, and that in a higher degree than if you committed common robbery or theft.*" In 1794, John Wesley denounced slaveholding as covering the slaveholder and all his possessions "with blood;" and made ordinary slaveholding from the ordinary motives a disciplinary offense. In 1818, the Presbyterian General Assembly declared "the voluntary enslavement of one part of mankind by another an atrocious violation of the most precious rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the gospel of Christ." In 1831, the Synod of Cincinnati, then the leading and most learned body of Protestants in the whole western country, declared slaveholding to be "a heinous sin and scandal; calling, like other sins, for the discipline of the Church;" and appointed a day of fasting and prayer for the removal of slavery from the Church and country. This was a full year before the New-England Anti-slavery Society was formed in Boston by Garrison, Buffum, and others. In 1835, the same Synod of Cincinnati, of which Drs. Beecher, Wilson, Stowe, Baxter, Dickinson, Rev. Mr. Brainerd, of Philadelphia,

and others, were then members, refused a Rev. Mr. Harrison leave to labor in one of their churches, "*because he is known to be guilty of holding human beings in slavery.*" And in 1845 the New School branch of the same Synod suspended William Graham from the ministry for teaching that Jesus Christ has "*authorized*" slaveholding "in the charter of the Church and in all the laws He ever made for its regulation." There is not an orthodox Presbytery or Congregational Association, out of the slave States and west of the Alleghany mountains, which has not, within the last fifteen years, passed resolutions more or less stringent against slaveholding; and east of the mountains, most of the State Congregational Associations have been deeply agitated by their corresponding connection with those ecclesiastical bodies which tolerate slaveholding; and multitudes of individual churches, and some of the lesser ecclesiastical organizations, have spontaneously and without any concerted general movement declared against receiving slaveholders to their pulpits or communion tables; while many of the lesser sects and denominations, as the Covenanters, Seceders, Associate Reformed, United Brethren, Albrights, Friend Quakers, and more recently Freewill Baptists, Wesleyans and others, have excluded slaveholders from fellowship, habitually and by rule.

All these are but a small portion of the declarations of opinion and means of enlightenment enjoyed by the American churches on the subject of slavery. If ignorance of the subject is still a good reason for delaying the adoption of a rule excluding slaveholding from church fellowship, it is difficult to foresee when it will cease to be so. Every thing has been said and done but *the one thing needful*, which is to exclude slaveholding from the church and mission organizations in this country, and thus strip slavery of its religious respectability. Deprive it of its shelter in the Church of Christ, and, in the words of Albert Barnes, "There is no power out of the Church which could sustain slavery an hour. . . ."

Yet by a singular and melancholy delusion, while many are pleading "*imperfect knowledge*" and "*practical difficulties*" against excluding slaveholding from the Church; and while the Secretaries of our older Mission Boards, Home and Foreign, are still asking that "*the churches*" may take further action against slaveholding, before they and their Committees are called upon to exclude it from their operations, thousands of sincere souls, who are to-day in ecclesiastical fellowship with the sin, are hugging the error that the slavery agitations have already put the evil in a process of removal, and that it will soon perish from their churches and boards!

Let us see how this matter stands. Let us see whether slavery is *increasing* or *diminishing* upon the hands of the American churches. For if it be true that we are gradually getting rid of slavery, we certainly ought to be patient; for though nothing but an immediate abandonment of sin satisfies the *theory* of morals, there is gradualism in their application and enforcement. Are the churches freeing themselves from slavery or not?

While Romanists and some nominally Protestant churches, which are like the Papists in their government and forms, having no discipline, but systematically and on principle *omitting* from their gospel "*the weightier matters of the law,*" are agitated by nothing but their own trifling sectarian concerns, those churches which concern themselves about the morals of the people are agitated by all moral questions.

It is estimated that members and ministers of Protestant churches own six hundred thousand American slaves. In the slavery agitations of the last fifteen years, the three leading Protestant denominations have split asunder: to wit, the Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists. In each case, though other questions mingled in the discussions, yet slavery caused the division. And it is remarkable that in each

of these three cases, *the slaveholders excised or withdrew from the abolitionists, and not the abolitionists from the slaveholders!* Yet there are pious souls who sigh over the church-rending propensities of abolitionists, who have no reproofs for their Southern brethren upon the same head.

It is also remarkable that the spirit which presides over and guards the fortunes of American slavery has so managed these rendings of the three great American Protestant denominations, *as to keep slaveholding in fellowship in all the fragments!* Singular enough; three denominations split upon the subject of slavery, yet keep in each half of their riven churches the very thing which divided them! So that slavery has now *six* large church organizations instead of three!! The wounded bear is said to hug closer the spear which enters her heart; but here are *churches* hugging the curse that consumes them!

It is true that in the division of the Baptist General Missionary Convention the support of the slaveholding missions was assigned to the Southern section, *but the leaders and officers of both the Northern and Southern divisions of the Baptists fraternize as before, and no rule is adopted by the Northern body excluding slaveholders from fellowship!*

Thus, while thousands of sincere Christians are blinded by these divisions into the belief that somehow slavery is to suffer by them, in each of the three instances slavery stimulated and slaveholders effected the division, and the result is six large organizations in which slaveholding is fellowshipped, instead of three! And as one half of these have a northern location and some anti-slavery reputation, they wield an influence in favor of slavery ten thousand times stronger and more disastrous than the united bodies did before the divisions took place!

The Presbyterian schism took place in 1837-8. The Old School branch has now fifty slaveholding Presbyteries, more than one third of its whole number. This large body since 1836 has not swerved from its protection and support of slaveholding, but rests on its report adopted at Cincinnati, in 1845, "That it cannot condemn slaveholding as sin, without condemning the course of Christ and the apostles."

The New School Assembly, at its first separate meeting in 1833, was followed by but three slaveholding commissioners, and there was fervent prayer and strong hope that this might become an anti-slavery body. But once separate from the Old School and seized by the natural desire for denominational success, it has steadily increased its slaveholding wing, till it has now twenty slaveholding Presbyteries, between one and two hundred ministers, and from fifteen to twenty thousand members in the slave States, all walking in Christian fellowship with slaveholders! This Assembly meets next year in Washington city.

Until 1845 the great mass of Methodists in this country belonged to one denomination, the Methodist Episcopal Church; and preachers and members of that order now own some more than two hundred thousand slaves. In the year 1845, a secession movement was made by Southern Methodists, who met at Louisville, and formed the Methodist Episcopal Church South. And thousands of pious Northern Methodists suppose that since the division their Church is getting free from slavery. So far is this from true, that on the contrary, the Methodist Church North has already about one fifth part as many slaveholding societies as the entire Church South! It reports in the slave States three Annual Conferences, 857 preachers, and 86,627 members, all in actual and full fellowship with slaveholding.

In the Baptist division, which was completed the same year, (1845,) more deference was paid to the wishes of those who desired a Christianity which was free from

slavery. As their general organization was a missionary organization, in the partition which took place, the slaveholding missions were assigned, or fell rather to the Southern organization, while the two bodies fraternize as before, and neither have any rule against slaveholding fellowship.

Thus, through the craft of the slave-power and the compliance of prominent men in the churches, the spirit which guards American slavery has severed each of the three great American Protestant denominations in twain, and yet in every instance has so managed the schism that not one body of them all is secured to a free Christianity, but the result of the whole is that slavery has the moral and religious protection of six large bodies instead of three; and one half of the six Northern bodies, with more or less of anti-slavery reputation, to blind their own members and reconcile them to a slaveholding fellowship!

In the department of missions proper, the case stands as bad or worse for freedom as in the denominational organizations.

The A. B. C. F. M., which is the leading Mission Board of this country, after more than thirteen years' agitation of the subject, has settled down (so far as organizations can be settled upon error) upon the principle of allowing slaveholders free access to and unmolested fellowship in its mission churches in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations; and the Board endorses the character and course of its missionaries while so doing.

The American Home Missionary Society in 1842 aided nineteen churches, and in 1850 the same Society aided sixty churches, in slave States. This year, 1851, the number aided there is fifty-six. During the intervening period the whole preaching force of this Society has increased about one fifth. And this Home Society, like the Foreign Board, has no rule or custom against slavery, but allows slaveholders to unite with its churches wherever it has churches in States which permit slavery by their laws. So far as my information extends, all its churches in the slave States have slaveholding members. And so far as the Society is concerned, all its churches may receive slaveholders, whether in slave States or free.

Thus the American Home Missionary Society, in these years of anti-slavery church agitation, has increased its slaveholding dependencies faster than its free, in the proportion of ten to one!! This surely does not look like diminishing or getting rid of slavery!

The missions of our Methodist and Old School Presbyterian brethren are ecclesiastical missions, and are of course all conducted upon the principle of slaveholding fellowship; while the Romish and Protestant Episcopal churches are not agitated by such questions as that of human freedom and bondage, their members doing, in these respects, like the rest of the world.

This extensive prevalence of slaveholding, and its vast increase even, in American churches and missions, grievous as it is, is less alarming than the doctrines by which it is sought to be justified. An abuse may be cured, but a false principle is a perpetual fountain of abuses.

The American Board is understood to rest on the doctrines of its report made by a large and influential committee, and adopted at Brooklyn in 1845. The language of said report bearing on the present subject is this:—

“May not the master and slave, the ruler and the subject, giving such evidence of spiritual renovation, be all gathered into the same fold of Christ?” (the Church;) and—

“Under such influences may not the master be prepared to break the bands of the slave, and the oppressive ruler to dispense justice to the subject, and the proud Brahmin fraternally to embrace the man of low caste?” etc., etc.

The same report declares that the missionaries among the Choctaws and Cherokees, in receiving slaveholders to their churches, make no objection to slaveholding, and the Board repeatedly endorse the missionaries' character and course.

The doctrine of this leading Mission Board then is, *to receive slaveholding and caste to fellowship in their mission churches*, trusting to the ameliorating influences of the gospel to do them away. And the American Home Missionary Society's practice is based upon the same principle. For this Society—requiring its missionaries to report their progress against the evil of dram-drinking, while it cheerfully aids an increasing number of churches which are known to receive and retain in fellowship the evil of slaveholding, by many deemed worse—proclaims that it deems slaveholding not a sin to be abandoned, but an evil to be mitigated and corrected by the general influence of Christianity.

Such are the relations of our leading church and mission organizations to slavery. And long and earnest prayer, argument, and remonstrance having failed to change them, and as discussion has revealed to the world that slavery lodges securely in them, it is plain as any moral fact can be made, that till these organizations cast out slavery, every shilling given to their funds is given to a body which supports and propagates a slaveholding religion, and gives religious respectability to slavery as truly as if every such shilling was paid to purchase certificates of church-standing for slaveholders, signed by the secretaries of the mission boards, and countersigned by the pastors whose churches support them!

It is plain, therefore, that no way remained for those who believe slaveholding, caste, and kindred corruptions ought to be and must be excluded from the churches of Christ, but either to acquiesce in a course which, it seemed to them, would entail these evils upon the Church for ever, or to form an association to plant the gospel in this and foreign lands free from slavery, caste, and kindred abominations. They therefore formed such a Society in the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, which, as shown by its Reports, has received, during the few years of its existence, large and yearly increasing evidence that it is regarded with favor by God and by multitudes of his people. I believe that its founders will yet rank among the special benefactors of mankind.

But the views of the men who originated the American Missionary Association were by no means limited to the founding and administering a single missionary organization. Their object is *to divorce Christ's religion from despotism—American Christianity from American slavery*. What they wish is, to see the property-holding of the human species placed among disallowed practices, cast out of Christian fellowship, and stripped of that moral and religious respectability which it derives from sitting at the communion table with the followers of Christ. And they wish this, not merely to carry a point in controversy, but because they sincerely believe that God never intended one man to be the property of another, but that owning men, women, and children as property is as clearly against the constitution of society ordained by God as polygamy or incest.

The Association therefore holds no hostile or menacing attitude toward other mission boards or church organizations, but only against their practice of sheltering and protecting sin. Fully believing in the truth of its own principles, it hopes soon to see them adopted and acted upon, not only by other mission boards, but by all evangelical churches in this country; the number of those churches which exclude slaveholding being already great and rapidly increasing.

Let us therefore consider, briefly, this slavery-excluding principle, noticing some of the objections made to it, and some considerations in its favor.

I. It is said God tolerated sin, especially the sin of polygamy, in the ancient church, on account of men's blindness and hardness of heart; that "the Mosaic institutions, received directly from God, had this principle incorporated in them."

The answer is: The principle of the Mosaic code is obviously and mischievously perverted to the protection of a slaveholding church fellowship. But whatever Moses did or did not teach, we know that Christ taught morals, especially the morality of human relations, *as they were from the beginning*, and we are to *follow* Christ. And surely it must be said of the property-holding of men, as Christ said of divorce at the husband's will, and taking another wife while the first lives: "*From the beginning it was not so.*" Slaveholding should therefore be cast out of Christ's Church, along with divorce at will.

II. It is said again, "that while the facts of the Scriptures were being enacted, idolatry and slavery were universally practised, and that idolatry is and by name denounced, while slavery is not. From this it is argued that we should condemn idolatry and tolerate slavery."

To this there are several answers, and either answer is sufficient.

1. Idolatry is a generic sin, of which there were and are many species, as the worship of Baal, Ashtaroth, and the worship of the groves. But slaveholding is a *species* whose *genus* is oppression; merely one of many forms of despotism. Oppression is denounced as idolatry is, (Ex. xxii. 21, etc.,) and slaveholding is denounced fully as much as some specific forms of idolatry, (Neh. v. 5, and Jer. xxxiv. 17; 1 Tim. i. 10, etc., etc.) A despotic prince is a civil ruler as well as despot. Slaveholding is *unmixed* despotism. The slaveholder's title to his slave is a thief's title to a stolen man. His authority is mere usurpation of power, without warrant in nature, or reason, or Scripture. The civil despot might cease to oppress and still be a ruler; but the man-owner cannot lay down his property-claim to his man and still be a slaveholder. A civil despot should therefore be reformed; a slaveholder disciplined.

2. Again: The Bible does not denounce slavery so much as it denounces idolatry, *because slavery did not need so much denouncing as idolatry did to make men hate it and see its sinfulness.* And it is a principle in God's administration not to do for men what men will do for themselves.

The Bible does not denounce things in simple proportion to their wickedness. Whoever will count the words may see that the commandment which forbids idolatry takes just twenty-five times the space in the Decalogue of the precept against murder; and the like proportions run through the Bible. Is therefore murder twenty-five times less criminal than idolatry? So the command forbidding Sabbath-breaking takes twenty-four times the space of that which forbids theft. Is Sabbath-breaking then twenty-four times more criminal than stealing?

No. God denounces practices in proportion as denunciation is needed to show the candid that the practice is a sin; and he denounces slavery less than idolatry, because *men* will always denounce it more. For wherever a slave is held, there are two men at least who have the means of knowing it is wrong, viz., the owner and the owned. Slaveholding therefore always has been hated and denounced, as murder and theft have. But idolatry, invading directly no one but God, required for that reason a more ample and specific denunciation.

III. Further, it is said: "God by Moses permitted his chosen people to own slaves; therefore slave-owning is not sin, and ought not, as sin, to be cast out of the Church."

The answer is: God did not permit the Hebrews to own slaves. The Hebrew *bond-men* and *bond-maids* were not property. When bought of the heathen, and brought over the lines into Judea, they became Hebrews by circumcision, (Gen. xvii. 13,) and thus entitled to the privileges of God's covenant. They had access to the courts, could plead and be impleaded. The law bore alike on their masters and themselves. They had, by law, exemption from servile labor during the Sabbaths and solemn festivals which constituted nearly one fourth of each year. And during this ample leisure they had by law instructions in the oracles of God. To call these Hebrew bondmen *slaves*, therefore, is to speak in simple contradiction of the facts. For the slave is property. He has no legal existence, no rights, no remedy for his wrongs, no access to courts,* no country, no legal kindred, no wife, husband, brother, sister, son, daughter, land, goods, body, soul even; nothing is his in the sense of being at his own disposal legally, and regarded his as in the case of other men.

Moses found human society a despotism, the world a prison, and mankind situated like convicts under keepers. His own tribe were forced to make brick without straw, not because inferior as persons, but weaker as a clan. The weak were every where victims. The father or master had power of life and death over the son or servant, and the social condition of woman was that of a squaw in an American forest; she was a beast of burden.

In this world-prison Moses set up a community, the freest and most equal the world ever saw. The impartial and unsalaried Ruler was God. The taxes, strictly for governmental and educational uses, were a fixed proportion of each man's gains. "One manner of law" ruled foreigner and native. A regularly recurring bankrupt law brought at fixed intervals a release of debts. While this law equalized property, it operated fairly, as all business transactions were made in view of it. The law courts were held in the city gates where the poor went out to labor. All had access to the judges. The proceedings were summary, and the remedy immediate. There was at first no standing army, no military, naval, or pension list. And when, afterward, a king was permitted, he was forbidden to accumulate chariots and horses, by which he might intimidate and enslave his people, or vast sums of money to corrupt them, or to multiply wives to deprave himself and his court. His office was elective; his subjects called "his brethren;" and he was to rule according to the laws, (Deut., chap. xvii.) And, to crown the whole, this singular, sacred community and type of the kingdom of God was made, by a divine commandment, a safe harbor for the fugitive slaves of the surrounding nations, (Deut. xxiii. 15.)

In this wonderful community the Hebrew bondman was a sort of manual-labor student in the school of God; and the bond-service itself soon expired by its own legal limitation, leaving the laborers of Palestine all free in a world whose laborers were slaves, as the laborers in our Southern States are slaves in a Christendom whose laborers are free! The Mosaic system was light in a world of darkness, while our slavery is a spot of darkness in a world of light! To call the Hebrew bondmen slaves, therefore, and quote Moses' system as a precedent and cover for slavery in American churches, is a most astonishing complication of errors. It denies history, perverts Scripture, quotes an ancient system of legal bond-service with gradual emancipation, to cover a modern, perpetual, property despotism; in short, it falsifies and belies God to degrade and enslave men!

IV. "But Christ and the apostles," it is said, "received slaveholders to fellowship, communed with them, did not denounce them, but prescribed their duties as church

* Except when suing for freedom, and then by proxy.

members; and we, under their example, have no right to cast them out of the Church."

The answer to this, as to the former objection, is, that *its alleged facts are not true*.

Christ saw no slavery. There was none in Judea, where he lived and labored. He said nothing of it, as he said nothing of the harems then existing in Persia. He also founded no churches.

The question is, *Did his apostles set up slaveholding churches? Were the New Testament churches, like those in our slave States, made up of slaveholders, non-slaveholders, and slaves?*

It is certainly difficult to believe that they were. It is difficult to believe that Christ's apostles, who were Jews, abolitionists by nation, and harborers of fugitive slaves by a divine mandate, when converted to Christianity, a freer system still, set up churches upon a "perfect law of liberty," in which the elders and deacons were slaveholders! It is difficult to believe that the apostles, who had obtained a special decision from Christ himself, that the marriage tie was indissoluble except for adultery, immediately set up churches in his name and upon his word, and allowed slavery in them, which denies marriage to slaves and damages it to masters! It is difficult to believe that they founded "the kingdom of God" upon "righteousness," yet allowed slavery in it, which confounds and reverses all the common, obvious, fundamental principles of "righteousness" between man and man. It is difficult to believe that such slaveholding churches, even amid Greek and Roman despotism, could have been long attractive to the poor as the first churches were; or that churches, with slavery in them, which in this country and the nineteenth century allow the mass of society where they are planted to relapse toward paganism, could have brought men from Paganism to Christianity in the first century, and in Asia Minor. No; I never can believe that the Christian Church, which even in this backlidden age makes slavery uneasy by the Holy Spirit in its members, could have introduced and allowed slavery in its communion, when its assembled membership by the same Spirit was blazing all over with tongues of fire!

Yet, however difficult to believe, if true, we must believe it. Let us therefore see how the argument stands.

The argument relied on to prove that the New Testament churches were slaveholding churches, is succinctly this:—

"That the churches planted by the apostles outside Judea were in slaveholding countries; that the Greek terms translated 'master' and 'servant,' mean 'slaveholder' and 'slave;' that the apostles speak of and to these as members of their churches; enjoin duties upon them as members *to be done in the Church*; exhort 'servants under the yoke' to 'count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed;' and that 'they that have believing masters should not despise them because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved,'" etc., etc. This, so far as I am informed, is all the proof relied on that the New Testament churches were slaveholding bodies, unless it be the authority of writers whose opinions are founded upon the evidence given above.

Upon this argument I observe:

1. It is all inferential. No early Christian appears in the New Testament record claiming, buying, selling, or owning a slave or slaves, or exercising any act or right of ownership. The only approach to any thing of the kind is where Paul sends

back Onesimus to Philemon with his apostolic injunction "not now to receive him as a servant, but as a brother beloved;" and it is held by writers that Onesimus was received as a brother, and soon became Bishop of Ephesus. There is certainly no slaveholding in this transaction. Nor is there any direct proof that any one member of any one of the New Testament churches ever claimed or exercised the rights of a slaveholder in a single instance. The supposed proof that there were slaveholders in those churches is purely inferential.

2. And the answer to this inferential proof is this: *It may be* that in the act of joining the Christians, the heathen slaveholder and his slave ceased to be such, and became a Christian master and servant, and equal brethren in the Church. *It may be*, therefore, that our English translators were right in calling them 'masters' and 'servants,' while they call the persons who were articles of traffic in mystic Babylon 'slaves;' (see Rev. xviii. 13.) *It may be* that the 'servants under the yoke' whom the apostle exhorts to obey and serve their masters, 'that the name of God and his gospel be not blasphemed,' were converted slaves, whose owners were still heathen, and they must still obey them or rebel against Rome and die; and if they refused to serve their heathen owners because they were Christians, those owners would think their religion a trick to get their liberty, and blaspheme the gospel in consequence. *It may be* that those who had 'believing masters,' (that is, when owners and slaves both joined the Church,) actually ceased to be slaves, and became *men* when they crossed the lines into the kingdom of God, as a slave becomes free when his master voluntarily comes with him into a free State; and that the apostles exhorted such not to 'despise' their former masters because they were now brethren, but to continue to work for them, as the masters would now 'give' them what was 'just and equal,' (Col. iv. 1,) and because they were equal brethren, partakers of the common 'benefit' as God's children. *It may be* that when the apostle says to a converted slave, 'Art thou called, being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather,' he meant to teach what his words plainly mean, that slavery was to be endured as a grievance, and got rid of if possible; and if he did teach that, no brother could 'give his servant what was just and equal' while he held him in that grievous state. In short, it may be that the New Testament churches were *not* slaveholding churches, and that learned men have fallen into the error of supposing they were so, by attaching modern ideas to ancient texts. But surely, before men make Christ and his apostles the propagators of a slaveholding Christianity, they ought to *prove* that *there were slaveholders in their churches claiming the rights and exercising the power of owners of men!*

Now let us see what argument there is to prove that the New Testament churches were *not* slaveholding churches. And,

1. It is inferentially evident they were not slaveholding churches, because if they had been, as slave increase outruns free, the churches, like the petty States and communities of antiquity, would have soon been full, running over, and finally run down by their slaves. But as the slaves who joined the first churches soon disappear from history, and no convulsions are recorded capable of emancipating them, the inference is that they became free on entering the churches, and by degrees were elevated and melted into the mass of members.

2. *But the CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTION expressly abolishes slavery*, in terms more explicit than the "Bill of Rights" in the Constitution of Massachusetts, by which the judges held that slavery was abolished in that State.

The constitution of Christianity is the Jewish constitution as amended by Christ. Under that constitution, that is, in Christ Jesus, "there is neither bond nor free."

I know that it is said these words have only a spiritual meaning, and that they drew no practical consequences after them. And it is true that the meaning was primarily spiritual, and meant that God made no distinctions of nation, tribe, condition, or sex, in bestowing salvation. But I know also that the *outward* distinctions which Jews and Pagans had before made among men perished and fell off when they entered the Christian Church; so that literally and socially, as well as spiritually, there was among the Christians no Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, "Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." Even the Jewish distinction of male and female was dropped by the Christians, so that the wife became the equal companion of the husband, who was yet her "head." The pious females, like the males, had their names enrolled in the churches, and one at least, viz., Phoebe of Cenchrea, became a messenger and deaconess of the church. In every instance of the above list an outward change actually took place in the Christian's condition, unless the "*bond and free*" were an exception. But they were *not* an exception. Neither the Mosaic bond-service nor the slavery of the heathens was introduced and allowed in the Christian churches. The constitution of Christianity expressly forbids it, and there is not in the whole New Testament one instance of a Christian claiming or exercising the power of an owner of slaves!

Here the whole argument might rest; but there is other and abundant proof that the New Testament churches were not slaveholding churches.

Their rules of discipline, as well as their constitution, forbid the supposition.

Their rules of discipline were the principles taught by Christ. They seceded from the world upon Christ's word, and built their communities upon it. And one of these principles, on which they came out from other Jews, was Christ's law of marriage and divorce. They went to him with this particular case, and got his decision: "What God hath joined let not man put asunder." Of course slaves, when they became converted, and joined the churches, came under this law of the inviolability of marriage. Could their slaveholding brethren then own them as property? sell a man here, and a woman there? Or, as the parental depends on the marriage relation, and is equally sacred, could the Christian master take as property the children who were the fruit of marriages among their servants; and that too in the Church, and under the law of Christ, and while the churches had newly seceded under those laws, and especially under this particular law of marriage, on which they had obtained his special decision? The supposition that such slaveholding acts and relations were allowed in the New Testament churches seems to me to be a very shallow and stupid assumption, not only without proof, but against all such proof as governs such cases.

But the moment you admit that the marriage and parental relations were inviolable among the first Christians, that moment you admit that their churches were not slaveholding churches. A law making the domestic relations inviolable to the 600,000 slaves owned by American Christians would affect their property value and condition, as a like law would affect the property value of horses or cattle which should allow them to clan together in herds of from two to a dozen, and make it impossible to sell or work them apart. And churches in Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or New-Orleans, which should practise and teach that it is against the law of God for slaveholders to separate families, when convenience or necessity required them to dispose of slaves, would be instantly branded as churches of abolitionists; and they would be abolitionists, and slaves under their laws would not be chattels,

but men. And such were the New Testament churches which were planted in slave states.

I conclude therefore that the New Testament churches were not slaveholding churches; and that all churches in this country, or elsewhere, which are so, being constructed upon the admission of the property-holding of men, and practically denying the ground principles of morality, and the domestic relations which God has established, *are not churches of Christ*, but a sort of mongrel organizations, resulting from an attempt to base the "kingdom of God" upon the principles of the kingdom of Satan; and surely, of such organizations the foundation is not apostles and prophets, nor is Christ the chief corner-stone.

If the present views and reasonings are correct, they furnish a ready answer to all the apologies, excuses and palliations, which are used to keep us quiet, and leave slavery in the Church.

"God blesses the Mission Boards, and therefore they cannot be so very wrong," says one. "God works in the missions of the Boards, and where God works is good enough place for me to work," reasons another. Says a third: "God converts slaveholders in their slaveholding, and if the Holy Ghost communes with them, I can."

It is a sufficient reply to all such reasonings to say, that we must not attempt to follow God's example in contempt of his precepts; and his precepts require us to put away our own sins and not to suffer sin upon our neighbors; to keep our garments and the garments of our churches pure.

"God blesses slaveholders and slavery-supporting Mission Boards." True; he blesses sinners of all sorts. His blessings, like his rain and sunshine, fall on the evil and on the good, the just and the unjust. Nay, he blesses serpents, cockatrices, murderers and idolaters, and tolerates devils even in the universe which he rules. He knows his own responsibilities, and will doubtless vindicate the wisdom and propriety of his course. Let us not stupidly intrude into his prerogatives, but seek rather to obey his commandments. And as to the Holy Spirit's converting and communing with slaveholders, God communed with Abraham while he was a polygamist; and if this pretense of copying God's example justifies our keeping slaveholding in the Church, it must justify our taking in concubinage also!

"*But the slaveholders are ignorant, and know no better.*" I answer, *It is time they did.* Two centuries' discussion ought to have enlightened them.

But conceding their ignorance in church discipline, we are not to proceed by the offender's ignorance, but by God's truth. Though in the *application* of discipline to individuals we may charitably consider even inexcusable blindness and error, yet in *settling principles of discipline*, which is what we are now doing, we must not base the rule upon the slaveholder's darkness, but upon our light; otherwise we must have a geographical religion, and a church discipline graduated to every degree of latitude and longitude of human ignorance and sin.

The duty then of the secretaries and appropriating committees is, when churches in slave States apply for aid from their funds, to ascertain whether their communion is open to slaveholding, and if so, to withhold aid till the evil is corrected; and it is the duty of every pastor and of every Christian to see that the funds given are not misapplied and perverted to propagating a slaveholding religion.

And now I am aware that this present argument may be unsuccessful, and fail to convince some. Perhaps it ought to fail. But I am persuaded that every humane and right-minded person *wishes* it *were* successful. I am persuaded that you are not anxious to believe that Christ's apostles welcomed slaveholders such as ours

to the communion table of their Lord. And though you may believe that the pagan slaveholders who joined the first Christian churches, amid the darkness of the age and the weakness and ignorance of the disciples, were allowed by apostles even to retain enough marks of the old relation to enable those who wish to do so to call them slaveholders still, I do not believe that you rejoice in this ancient darkness, or wish to copy it in this age of light. I believe that you hate the presence in the Church of Jesus of a system which is divorcing philanthropy from religion, and by making Christianity odious, turning the heart of humanity from humanity's friend. And if, in spite of these arguments, you still believe that this foul and inhuman system of human bondage did, in the twilight of a dark age, actually find a temporary shelter in communion with Christ's first disciples, I think you look on the fact with mingled pity and abhorrence, as upon concubinage or polygamy in Abraham or Jacob, attributing it to the age and not to the men.

Let us treat these two old crimes alike. If some believe that the first churches were slaveholding churches, *all* agree that the Christian Church afterward abolished slavery out of its fellowship. Let us not go back and try the horrible experiment over. Let us improve by their experience, and proceed from their beginnings, and *keep* the Church of Christ, which has once abolished slavery, barred and bolted against it by the Word and Spirit, in the name and by the authority of God.

Let our home mission societies cease to send our young ministers from the Northern schools into slave States, telling them they are at "liberty to open their mouths against slavery," and *their communion to slaveholders*; thus sending them to preach an anti-slavery gospel, and administer a pro-slavery discipline. It puts our young ministers who go South into the absurd position of maintaining liberty in principle and slavery in practice, and thus confounds their ideas of moral subjects, breaks down their consistency, debauches their integrity, and makes their consciences the material between the upper and nether mill-stone.

Let us drop this wasteful process, and join together to plant the South with slavery-excluding churches. Let us begin with the upper counties of Kentucky, where two such churches already exist. Let us set one of these moral light-houses upon every mountain in East Tennessee. The hundreds gathered into such churches in North Carolina and Georgia by the Wesleyans prove that the thing is possible there. The Scotch Presbyterians who have slavery-excluding churches in Tennessee, Alabama, South Carolina, Maryland and Kentucky, prove that such churches are at least possible in those States. The existence of Christianity in the world which crucified Christ, proves that true churches can exist wherever there are men. Let our great church organizations turn out slaveholding from the temple of God. Let our Mission Boards, which annually gather up the *hearts* with the *treasure* of our churches, cease to lay those treasures at the feet of the slave-power. Let their anniversaries remember that one half the population in one half of our country are slaves, debarred by law from the Word of God and the privileges of the gospel, except as distilled through slaveholding hands. In short, let our religion become a free religion, and our country will soon become a free country; the principles of liberty which Christ taught and our fathers bled for will be wreathed into a bright halo of glory around the eagle upon our national flag, and we may then set up our banners in the name of our God.

I have but a single word more. If haply one still believes the New Testament churches were slaveholding churches; if unconvinced as Christians, I appeal to you as men. "*Why, even of your own selves, judge ye not what is right?*" Why not begin with this subject where the Bible begins revelation, with the assumption that

God is God and man is man, and reject from religion that which dishonors God and destroys man? Why not excommunicate slavery by nature, without waiting for revelation? If "nature herself doth teach that it is shame for a man to wear long hair," doth it not much more cry "shame" upon the guilty folly of putting man into a brute's condition—into a state in which, to conceal the crime of the transaction, he ought to be covered all over with long hair? Oh, if there be a "woe for the man that striveth with his Maker," that woe must sit heavy upon him who, by enslaving men into brutes, boldly resists God's efforts to elevate them; and heaviest of all upon that monster priest whose mercenary soul finds Scripture for the deed!

Let us rejoice then that the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION rests on no doubtful interpretations of Scripture, or reasonings in which there is any dispute. There is certainly no Scripture against abstaining from slavery. Unless slavery is a Christian grace, we are surely safe in propagating Christianity without it. And if God is not an oppressor, we are right in spreading his kingdom without oppression. And if any persist in believing that slaveholding in the first Christian churches was a crime which was "winked at," *God now commands all men every where to repent.* Amen and Amen.

THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE
OF A
NATURAL RHETORIC:

An Address,

DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION
OF HIS
INAUGURATION TO THE CHAIR OF
SACRED RHETORIC AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY,

IN THE
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ADDRESS.

THERE is no greater or more striking contrast, than exists between a thing that is alive, and a thing that is dead ; between a product of nature, and a product of mechanism ; between a thing which has a principle within it, and a “thing of shreds and patches.” The human mind notices this contrast between the various objects that come before it, the quicker and the more sharply, because it is itself a living thing, and because its own operations are unifying, organizing, and vivifying, in their nature. We sometimes speak of the mechanism of the human understanding, and of a mechanizing process as going on within it. But this language is metaphorical, and employed to denote the uniformity and certainty of intellectual processes, rather than their real nature. Man is a living soul, and there is no action anywhere, or in any thing, that is more truly and purely vital, more entirely diverse from and hostile to the mechanical and the dead, than the genuine action of the human mind. Hence it is, that the mind notices this contrary quality and characteristic in an object, with the rapidity of instinct, and starts back from it with a sort of organic recoil. Life detects death, and shrinks from death instantaneously. Nature abhors Art and artifice, as decidedly as, according to the old philosophy, it abhors a vacuum.

This distinction between the natural and the artificial, furnishes a clue to the difference which runs through all the productions of man, and reveals the secret of their excellence or their defects. How often and how spontaneously do we

sum up our whole admiration of a work by saying, "it is natural," and our whole dislike by the words, "it is artificial?" The naturalness and life-likeness in the one case, are the spring of all that has pleased us; the formality and artifice in the other, are the source of all that has repelled or disgusted us. Even when we go no further in our criticism, this general statement of conformity or oppugnancy to Nature, seems to be a sufficient criticism. And with good reason. For, if a production has nature, has life in it, it has real and permanent excellence. It has the germ and root of all excellencies. And if it has not nature or life in it—if it is a mechanical, or artificial, or a formal thing—it has the elements of all defects and all faults in it.

It will be noticed here, that we have used the term Art in its more common and bad sense of contrariety to Nature, and not in that technical and best signification of the word, which implies the oneness and unison of the two. For, true Art—Fine Art—has Nature in it, and the genuine artist, be he painter, or poet, or orator, is one who paints, or sings, or speaks, with a natural freedom and freshness. Hence it is, that we are impressed by the great productions of Fine Art, in the same way that we are by the works of Nature. A painting, warm from the easel of Claude Lorraine, appeals to what is alive in us, in the same genial way that a vernal landscape does. An oration from a clear brain, a beating heart, and a glowing lip, produces effects analogous to those of light, and fire, and the electric currents. In this way, a mysterious union is found to exist between outward nature and that inward nature in the soul of man, which we call genius; and in this way we see that there is no essential difference between Nature and Art.

But in the other and more common sense of the term Art—and the sense in which we shall employ it at this time—there is no such mystic union and unison between it and Nature.

It is its very contrary ; so much so, that the one kills and expels the other ; so much so, that, as we have said, the one affords a universal test of the faultiness, and the other of the excellence of the productions of the human mind, in all departments of effort. For the Natural is the true, while the Artificial is the false. Truth is the inmost essence of that principle by which a production of the human mind is so organized and vitalized, as to make a fresh and powerful impression. Whenever, in any department of effort, the human mind has reached the truth, and is able to give a simple and sincere expression to it, we find the product full of nature, full of life, full of freshness, full of impression. This, and this ultimately, is the plain secret of the charm in every work of genius and of power. In every instance, the influence which sways the observer, or the hearer, or the reader, is the influence of the veritable reality—of the real and the simple truth. The Artificial, on the contrary, is the false. Examine any formal production whatever, and we shall be brought back in the end to a pretence—to a falsehood. The mind of the author is not filled with the truth, and yet he pretends to an utterance of the truth. Its working is not genial and spontaneous like that of nature, and yet he must give out that it is. From the beginning to the end of the process, therefore, an artificial production is essentially untrue, unreal, and hence unnatural.

We have thus briefly directed attention to this very common distinction between the Natural and the Artificial, and to the ground of it, for the purpose of introducing the general topic upon which we propose to speak on this occasion : which is,

THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF A NATURAL RHETORIC, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF THE PREACHER.

There is no branch of knowledge so liable to an artificial method, as that of Rhetoric. Strictly defined, it is, indeed,

as Milton calls it, an instrumental art, and hence, from its very nature, its appropriate subject-matter is the form of a discourse. While Philosophy, and History, and Theology, are properly occupied with the substance of human composition—with truth itself and thought itself—to Rhetoric is left the humbler task of putting this material into a form suited to it. Hence, it is evident, that by the very nature and definition of Rhetoric, this department of knowledge and of discipline is liable to formalism and artificiality. While the mind is carried by the solid, material branches of education, further and further into the very substance of truth itself—while History, and Philosophy, and Theology, by their very structure and contents, tend to deepen and strengthen the mental processes, Rhetoric, in common with the whole department of Fine Art, seems to induce superficiality and formality. And when a bad tendency seems to receive aid from a legitimate department of human knowledge, it is no wonder that it should gain ground until it convert the whole department into its own nature. Hence, as matter of fact, there is no branch of knowledge—no part of a general system of education—so much infected, in all ages, with the merely formal, the merely hollow, the merely artificial, and the totally lifeless, as Rhetoric. The epigram which Ausonius wrote under the portrait of the Rhetorician, Rufus, might, with too much truth, be applied to the Rhetorician generally :

Ipse rhetor, est imago imaginis.*

The need, therefore, of a Rhetoric that educates like nature, and not artificially—a Rhetoric that *organizes* and *vitalizes* the material that is made over to it for purposes of form—is apparent at first glance. Without such a method of expression, the influence of the solid branches of educa-

* Ausonii Epig. LI.

tion themselves, is neutralized. However full of fresh and original thought the mind may be, if it has been trained up in a mode of presenting it, that is in its own nature artificial and destructive of life, the freshness and originality will all disappear in the process of imparting it to another mind. A Rhetoric that is conformed to nature and to truth, is needed, therefore, in order that the department itself, may be co-ordinate with those higher departments of knowledge in which the foundation of mental education is laid. Without such a concurrence with the material branches of education, such a merely formal and instrumental branch as that of Rhetoric, is useless, and worse than useless. For it only diverts the mind from the thought to the expression, without any gain to the latter, and to the positive detriment of the former.

Rhetoric, therefore, can be a truly educating and influential department, only in proportion as it is organizing in its fundamental character. In order to this, it must be grounded first of all in logic, or the laws of thinking, and so become not a mere collection of rules for the structure and decoration of single sentences, but a habit and process of the human mind. The Rhetorician must make his first sacrifice to the austere muses. In an emblematic series by one of the early Florentine engravers, Rhetoric is represented by a female figure of dignified and commanding deportment, with a helmet surmounted by a regal crown on her head, and a naked sword in her right hand. And so it should be. Softness and grace, and beauty, must be supported by strength and prowess; the golden and jewelled crown must be defended by the iron helmet and the steel sword. A rhetorical mind, therefore, in the best and proper sense of the term, is at bottom a constructive mind—a mind capable of methodizing and organizing its acquisitions and reflections into forms of symmetry and strength, and in a greater or less degree of beauty. It

is a mind which, in the effort to express itself, begins from within and works outward, and whose product is, for this reason, characterized by the unity and thorough organization of a product of Nature. Such an example, was the mind of Demosthenes, and such a product is the Oration for the Crown. The oratorical power of this great master is primarily a constructive ability—an ability to arrange and methodize. Take away this deeply-running and vigorous force by which the various parts of the discourse—the whole *materiel* of the plan and division—are compelled and compacted together, and this orator falls into the same class with the Gorgiases and the false Rhetoricians of all ages. Take away the *organization* of the Oration for the Crown, and a style and diction a hundred fold more brilliant and gorgeous than that which now clothes it, would not save it from the fate of the false Rhetoric of all ages.

Such again, for example, was the mind of the Apostle Paul, and such the character of his Rhetoric. Those short epistles, which like godliness are profitable for all things, and ought to be as closely studied by the sermonizer as they are by the theologian—are as jointed and linked in their parts as the human frame itself, and as continuous in the flow of their trains of thought, as the current of a river. The mind of this great first preacher to the Gentiles—this great first sermonizer to cultivated and sceptical Paganism—was also an organizing mind. How naturally does Christian doctrine, as it comes forth from this intellect, whose native characteristics were not destroyed, but only heightened and purified by inspiration—how naturally and inevitably does Christian truth take on forms that are fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, statements that are at once logic and Rhetoric—and satisfy both the reason and the feelings. For does not the profoundest theologian study the Epistle to the Romans to find ultimate and absolute

statements in sacred science, and does not the most unlettered Christian read and pray over this same epistle, that his devotions may be kindled and his heart made better? Does not, to use the illustration of the Christian Father—does not the lamb find a fording place and the elephant a swimming place in this mighty unremitting stream?

This thoroughness in the elaboration of the principal ideas of a discourse, and this closeness in compacting them into the unity of a plan, is, therefore, a prime power in eloquence, and it is that which connects Rhetoric with all the other departments of human knowledge, or rather makes it the organ by and through which these find a full and noble expression. For, contemplated from this point of view, what is the orator but a man of culture, who is able to *tell* in round and full tones what he knows; and what is oratory but the art whereby the acquisitions and reflections of the general human mind are *communicated* to the present and the future. We cannot, therefore, taking this view of the nature of Rhetoric, as essentially organizing in its character, separate it from the higher departments of History, or Philosophy, or Theology, but must regard it as co-ordinate and concurrent with them. The rhetorical process is to go on in education, along with these other processes of acquisition and information and reflection, so that the final result shall be a mind not only disciplined inwardly, but manifested outwardly to other minds—so that there shall be not only an intellect full of thought, and a heart beating with feeling, and an imagination glowing with imagery, but a living expression of them all, in forms of unity and simplicity, and beauty and grandeur. In this way, Rhetoric really becomes what it was once claimed to be, the very crown and completion of all culture, and the rhetorical discipline, the last accomplishment in the process of education, when the man becomes prepared to take the stand on the orator's bema—before his

fellow men, and dares to attempt a transfer of his consciousness into them.

A *second* characteristic of a natural Rhetoric is the *amplifying* power. If Rhetoric should stop with the mere organizing of thought, it might be difficult to distinguish it from logic. But this organizing power in the Rhetorician, is accompanied by another ability which is more purely oratorical. We mean the ability to dwell amply upon an idea until it has unfolded all its folds, and lays off richly in broad, full view. We mean the ability to melt the hard solid ore with so thorough and glowing a heat, that it will run and spread like water. We mean the ability to enlarge and illustrate upon a condensed and cubic idea, until its contents spread out into a wide expanse for the career of the imagination and the play of the feelings.

This union of an organizing with an amplifying power, may be said to be the whole of Rhetoric. He who should combine both in perfect proportions, would be the ideal orator of Cicero. For while the former power presents truth in its clear and connected form for the understanding, the latter transmutes it into its imaginative and impassioned forms, and the product of these two powers, when they are blended into one living energy, is Eloquence. For Eloquence, among the many definitions that have been given, is the union of Philosophy and Poetry, in order to a practical end. When, therefore, the logical organization is clothed upon with the imaginative and impassioned amplification, there arises "a combination and a form indeed"—a mental product adapted more than all others, to move and influence the human mind.

But we shall see still more clearly into the essential characteristics of a Natural Rhetoric, by passing, as we now do, after this brief analysis, to the *second part* of our discourse, which proposes to treat of the worth and importance of such a Rhetoric to the preacher.

I. And in the first place, a natural as distinguished from an artificial Rhetoric, is of the highest worth to the preacher, because it is *fruitful*.

The preacher is one who, from the nature of his calling, is obliged to originate a certain amount of thought within a limited period of time, which is constantly and uniformly recurring. One day in every seven, as regularly as the motion of the globe brings it around, he is compelled to address his fellow men upon the very highest themes, in a manner and to an extent that will secure their attention and interest. No profession, consequently makes such a steady and unintermittent draught upon the resources of the mind as the clerical, and no man so much needs the aid of a fertile and fruitful method of discoursing as the Christian preacher. Besides this great amount of thinking and composition that is required of him, he is moreover shut up to a comparatively small number of topics, and cannot derive that assistance from variety of subjects, and novelty in circumstances, which the secular orator avails himself of so readily. The truths of Christianity are few and simple, and though they are richer and more inexhaustible than all others; they furnish little that is novel or striking. The power that is in them to interest and move men, must be educed from their simple and solid substance, and not from their great number or variety. The preacher may, it is true, be able to maintain a sort of interest in his hearers by the biographical, or geographical, or archaeological or historical, or literary accompaniments of the Scriptures, but his permanent influence and power over them as a preacher, must come from his ability to develop clearly, profoundly and freshly, a few simple and unadorned doctrines. Far be it from me to undervalue the importance of that training and study by which we are introduced into that elder and oriental world, in which the Bible had its origin, and with whose scenery, manners and customs, and modes of living and

thinking, it will be connected to the end of time. No student of the Scriptures, and especially no sacred orator, can make himself too much at home in the gorgeous East; too familiar with that Hebrew spirit which colors like blood the whole Bible—New Testament as well as Old Testament—but at the same time he should remember that all this knowledge is but a means to an end—that he cannot as a preacher of the Word, rely upon this as the last source whence he is to derive subject matter for his thinking and discourse year after year, but must by it all be carried down to deeper and more perennial fountains—to the few infinite facts and the few infinite truths of Christianity.

The need, therefore, of a Rhetorical method, that is in its own nature fertile and fruitful, is plain. And what other ability can succeed but that organizing and amplifying power which we have seen to be the substance of the Rhetoric of Nature as the contrary of Art. Through the former of these, the preacher's mind is led into the inmost structure and fabric of the individual doctrine, and so of the whole Christian system; and through the latter he is enabled to unroll and display the endless richness of the contents. It is safe to say that a mind which has once acquired this natural method of developing and presenting Christian truth, cannot be exhausted. No matter how much drain may be made upon it—no matter how often it may be called upon to preach the “things new and old”—it cannot be made dry. The more it is drawn from, the more salient and bulging is the fullness with which it wells up and pours over. For this *organic* method is the key and the clue. He who is master of it—he with whom it has become a mental habit and process—will find the treasures of wisdom and knowledge in the Scriptures, opening readily and richly to him. He will find his mind habitually in the vein.

II. And this brings us to a second characteristic of a Natural Rhetoric, whereby it is of the greatest worth to the preacher, viz, that it is a *genial* and *invigorating* method. All the discipline of the human mind ought to minister to its enjoyment and its strength. That is a false method of discipline, by which the human mind is made to work by an ungenial effort, much more by spasms and convulsively. It was made to work like nature itself, calmly, cautiously, strongly, and happily. When, therefore, we find a system of training, resulting in a labored, anxious, intermittent and irksome activity, we may be sure that something is wrong in it. The fruits of all methods of discipline that conform to the nature of the human mind and the nature of truth, are freedom, boldness, continuety, and pleasure of execution. In this connection weakness and tedium are faults — sickness is sin.

But the mental method for which we are pleading, while making the most severe and constant draft upon the mental faculties, at the same time braces them and inspires them with power. The mind of the orator, in this slow organization and continuous amplification of the materials with which it is laboring, is itself affected by a reflex action. That truth — that divine truth — which the preacher is endeavoring to throw out, that it may renovate and edify the soul of a fellow being at the same time strikes in and invigorates his own mind, and swells his own heart with joy.

This feature — this genial vigor — in what we have styled a Natural Rhetoric, acquires additional importance, when we recur to the fact that has already been mentioned, viz, that inasmuch as Rhetoric is a formal or instrumental department, its influence is liable to become and too often has become, debilitating to the human mind. When this branch of discipline becomes artificial and mechanical in its character, by being severed too much from those profounder and more solid departments of human knowledge from whose root and fatness

it must derive all its nourishment and circulating juices—when Rhetoric degenerates into a mere collection of rules for the structure of sentences and the finish of expression—no studies or training will do more to diminish the resources of the mind, and to benumb and kill the vitality of the soul, than the Rhetorical. The eye is kept upon the form merely, and no mind individual or national, was ever made strong or fertile by the contemplation of mere form. The mind under such a tutorage works by rote instead of from an inward influence and an organic law. In reality, its action is a surface-action, which only irritates and tires out its powers. Perhaps the strongest objections that have been advanced against a Rhetorical course of instruction, find their support and force here. Men complain of the dryness and the want of geniality of a professed Rhetorician. The common mind is not satisfied with his studious artifice and his measured movements, but craves something more—it craves a robust and hearty utterance, a hale and lifesome method. Notice that it is not positively displeased with this precision and finish of the Rhetorician, but only with the lack of a genial impulse under it. It is its sins of omission that have brought Rhetoric into disrepute.

But when the training, under consideration, results in a genial and invigorating process, by which the profoundest thinking and the best feeling of the soul are discharged to the utmost, and yet the mind feels the more buoyant for it, and the stronger for it, all such objections vanish. There is, we are confident—there is a method of disciplining the mind in the direction of Rhetoric, and for the purposes of form and style, that does not in the least diminish the vigor and the healthiness of its natural processes. If there is not, then the department should be annihilated. If there can be no Rhetorical training in the schools, but such as is destructive of the freshness, and originality, and geniality of native impul-

ses and native utterances, then it were far better to leave the mind to its unpruned and tangled luxuriance—to let it wander at its own sweet will, and bear with its tedious windings and its endless eddies. Here and there, at least, there would be an onward movement, and the inspiration of a forward motion. But it is not so. For says Shakspeare:—

There is an Art which * * * shares
With great creating Nature.

There is a close and elaborate discipline which is in harmony with the poetry and the feeling and the eloquence of the human soul, and which, therefore, may be employed to evoke and express it. There is a Rhetoric which, when it has been wrought into the mind, and has become a spontaneous method and an instinctive habit with it, does not in the least impair the elasticity and vigor of nature, because in the phrase of the same great poet and master of form, from whom we have just quoted, “It is an Art that Nature makes, or rather an Art which itself is Nature.” Such a Rhetoric may, indeed, be defined to be an Art, or discipline, which enables man to be natural—an Art that simply develops the genuine and hearty qualities of the man himself—of the mind itself. For the purpose of all discipline in this direction is not to impose upon the mind a style of thought and expression unnatural and alien to it, but simply to aid the mind to be itself, and to show itself out in the most genuine and sincere manner. The Rhetorical Art is to join on upon the nature and constitution of the individual man, so that what is given by creation, and what is acquired by culture shall be homogeneous, mutually aiding and aided, reciprocally influencing and influenced. And let not this mental veracity—this truthfulness to a man’s individuality and mental structure—be thought to be an easy acquisition. It is really the last and highest accomplishment. It is a very difficult thing for a discourseser to be himself, genuinely and without affectation.

It is a still more difficult thing for an orator—a man who has come out before a listening and criticising auditory—to be himself, genuinely, fearlessly and without mannerism communicating himself to his auditors precisely as he really is. A simple and natural style, says Pascal, always strikes us with a sort of surprise—for while we are on the lookout for an *author*, we find a *man*—while we are expecting a formal *art*, we find a throbbing *heart*. This is really the highest grade of culture, and the point toward which it should always aim to bring Nature out, by means of art; and Rhetorical discipline, instead of leaving the pupil ten fold more formal and artificial than it found him, ought to send him out among men, the most artless, the most hearty, and the most genuine man of them all.

Now of what untold worth is such a mental method and habit to the preacher of the Word! On this method, literally and without a metaphor, the more he works the stronger he becomes; the more he toils the happier he is. He finds the invention and composition of discourse a means of self-culture and of self-enjoyment. He finds that that labor to which he has devoted his life, and to which, perhaps, in the outset, he went with something of a hireling's feeling, is no irksome task, but the source of the noblest and most buoyant happiness. That steady unintermittent drain upon his thought and his feeling, which he feared would soon exsicate his brain and leave his heart dry as powder, he finds is only an outlet for the ever accumulating waters!

This invigorating and genial influence of the Rhetorical method, now under consideration, furthermore, is of special worth in the present state of the world. There never was a time when the general mind was so impatient of dullness as now. He who addresses audiences at the present day must be vigorous and invigorating, or he is nothing. Hence the temptation, which is too often yielded to by the sacred orator

to leave the legitimate field of Christian discourse and to range in that border land which skirts it, or perhaps to pass into a region of thought that is really profane and secular. The preacher feels the need of saying something fresh, vigorous and genial, and not being able to discourse in this style upon the old and standing themes of the Bible, he endeavors to christianize those secular and temporal themes with which the general mind is already too intensely occupied, that he may find in them subjects for entertaining and, as he thinks, original discourse. But this course, on the part of the Christian minister, must always end in the decline of spiritual religion, both in his own heart, and in that of the Church. Nothing, in the long run, is truly edifying to the Christian man or the Christian Church, that is not really religious. Nothing can renovate and sanctify the earthly mind, but that which is in its own nature spiritual and religious. Not that which resembles Christian truth, or which may be modified or affected by Christian truth, can convict of sin and convert to God, but only the substantial and real Christian truth itself. Nothing but material fire can be relied upon as a central sun—as a radiating centre.

The Christian preacher is thus shut up to the old and uniform system of Christianity in an age when, more than in any other, men are seeking for some new thing—when they are seeking and demanding stimulation, invigoration, animation, and impression. His only true course, therefore, is to find the new in the old—to become so penetrated with the spirit of Christianity, that he shall breathe it out from his own mind and heart, upon his congregation, in as fresh and fiery a tongue of flame as that which rested upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost—to enter so thoroughly into the genius and spirit of the Christian system, that it shall exhibit itself through him, with an originality and newness kindred to that of its first inspired preachers, and precisely like that which

characterizes the sermonizing of the Augustines and the Bernards, the Luthers and the Calvins, the Leightons, the Howes and the Edwardses, of the Church. What renders the sermons of these men so vivific and so invigorating to those who study them, and to the audiences who heard them? Not the variety or striking character of the topics, but the thoroughness with which the truth was conceived and elaborated in their minds—not an artificial Rhetoric, polishing and garnishing the outside of a subject in which the mind has no interest, and into the interior of which it has not penetrated—but an organizing Rhetoric, whereby the sermon shot up out of the great Christian system, like a bud out of the side of a great trunk, or a great limb, part and particle of the great whole—an amplifying Rhetoric whereby the sermon was the mere evolution of an involution—the swelling, bursting, leafing out, blossoming and fructuation of this bud.

III. And this brings us, in the third place, to the worth of this Rhetorical method to the preacher, because it is so closely connected with his *theological training and discipline*.

It is plain, from what has been said, that eloquent preaching cannot originate without profound theological knowledge. The eloquent preacher is simply the thorough theologian who has now gone out of his study, and up into the pulpit. In other words, eloquence in this, as well as in every other instance, is founded in knowledge. Cicero says that Socrates was wont to say that all men are eloquent enough on subjects whereon they have knowledge: a saying which re-appears in the common and homely rule for eloquence, “*Have something to say, and then say it.*”

Hence a Rhetorical training which does not sustain intimate relations to the general training and discipline of the pupil is worthless. At no point does an artificial Rhetoric betray itself so quickly and so certainly as here. We feel

that it has no intercommunication with the character and acquisitions of the individual. It is a foreign method, which he has adopted by a volition, and not a spontaneous one which has sprung up out of his character and culture and is in perfect sympathy with it. But the Rhetoric of nature has all the theological training of the preacher back of it as its support—beneath it, as its soil and nutriment. All that he has become by long years of study and reflection, goes to maintain him as a Rhetorician, so that his oratory is really the full and powerful display of what he is and has become by vigorous professional study. The Rhetoric is the man himself.

In this way, a showy and tawdry manner is inevitably avoided, as it always should be, by the preacher. It cannot be said of him, as it can of too many, “He is a *mere* Rhetorician.” For this professional study—this lofty and calm theological discipline, this solemn care of human souls, this sacred professional character—will all show themselves in his general style and manner, and preclude every thing ostentatious or gaudy, much more, every thing scenic or theatrical. The form will correspond to the matter. The matter being the most solemn and most weighty truth of God, the form will be the most chastened, the most symmetrical, and the most commanding manner of man.

And in this way, again, the rhetorical training of the preacher will exert a reflex influence upon his theological training. A true sacred Rhetoric is a sort of practical theology, and is so styled in some nomenclatures. It is a practical expansion and exhibition of a scientific system for the purpose of influencing the popular mind. When, therefore, it is well conceived and well handled, it exerts a reflex influence upon theological science itself, that is beneficial in the highest degree. It cannot, it is true, change the character and substance of the truth, but it can bring it out into dis-

tingent consciousness. The effort to popularize scientific knowledge—the endeavor to put logic into the form of Rhetoric—imparts a clearness to conceptions, and a determination to opinions, that cannot be attained in the closet of the mere speculatist. Not until a man has endeavored to transfer his conceptions—not until he has pushed his way through the confusion and misunderstandings of another man's mind, and has tried to lodge his views in it—does he know the full significance and scope of even his own knowledge.

But especially is this action and re-action between theology and sacred Rhetoric of the highest worth to the preacher, because it results in a due mingling of the theoretic and the practical in his preaching. The desideratum in a sermon is such an exact proportion between doctrine and practice—such thorough fusion of these two elements—that the discourse at once instructs and impels; and he who supplies this desideratum in his sermonizing, is a powerful, influential and eloquent preacher. He may lack many other minor things, but he has the main thing; and in time these other minor things shall all be added unto him. In employing a Rhetoric that is at once organizing and amplifying in its nature and influence, the theological discipline and culture of the preacher are kept constantly growing and vigorous. Every sermon that is composed on this method, sets the whole body of his acquisitions into motion, and, like a bucket continually plunged down into a well and continually drawn up full and dripping, aerates a mass that would otherwise grow stagnant and putrid.

IV. Fourthly and finally, the worth of a Natural, as distinguished from an Artificial Rhetoric, is seen in the fact that it is connected, most intimately, *with the vital religion of the man and the preacher*. For no Rhetoric can be organizing and vivifying, that is not itself organic and alive. Only that

which has itself a living principle, can communicate life. Only that which is itself vigorous, can invigorate. The inmost essential principle, therefore, of a Rhetoric that is to be employed in the service of religion, must be this very religion itself: deep, vital piety in the soul of the sacred orator. Even the pagan Cato, and the pagan Quintilian after him, made goodness, integrity and uprightness of character the foundation of eloquence in a secular sphere, and for secular purposes. The orator, they said, is an upright man—first of all an *upright man*—who understands speaking. How much more true then is it, that Christian character is the font and origin of all Christian eloquence: that the sacred orator is a holy man—first of all a *holy man*—who understands speaking.

We shall not, surely, be suspected of wishing to undervalue or disparage a department to which we propose to consecrate our whole time and attention, and, therefore, we may with the more boldness say, that we have always cherished a proper respect for that theory which has been more in vogue in some other denominations than in our own—that the preacher is to speak as the spirit moves him. There is a great and solid truth at the bottom of it, and though the theory unquestionably does not need to be held up very particularly before an uneducated ministry, we think there is comparatively little danger in reminding the educated man—the man who has been trained by the rules and maxims of a formal and systematic culture—that the spring of all his power, as a Christian preacher, is a *living spring*. It is well for the sacred orator, who has passed through a long collegiate and professional training, and has been taught sermonizing as an art, to be reminded that the living principle which is to render all this culture of use for purposes of practical impression is vital godliness—that he will be able to assimilate all this material of Christian eloquence only in proportion as

he is a devout and holy man. Without this interior religious life in his soul, all his resources of intellect, of memory, and of imagination, will be unimpressive and ineffectual—the mere iron shields and gold ornaments that crush the powerless Tarpeia.

For the first and indispensable thing in every instance is *power*. Given an inward and a living power, and a basis for motion, action and impression is given. In every instance we come back to this ultimate point. There is a theory among philosophers, that this hard, material world, over which we stumble, and against which we strike, is at bottom two forces or powers, held in equilibrium; that when we get back to the reality of the hard and dull clod, upon which “the swain treads with clouted shoon,” we find it to be just as immaterial, just as mobile, and just as nimble, just as much a living energy, as the soul of man itself. Whether this be truth or not, within the sphere of matter, one thing is certain, that within the sphere of mind, we are brought back to forces—to fresh and living energies—in every instance in which the human soul makes an eloquent impression, or receives one. Examine an oration, secular or sacred, that actually moved the minds of men—a speech that obtained votes, or a sermon that, as we say, saved souls, and you find the ultimate cause of this eloquence, so far as man is concerned, to be a vital power in the orator. The same amount of instruction might have been imparted—the same general style and diction might have been employed in both cases—but if that eloquent *power* in the man had been wanting, there would have been no actuation of the hearer, and consequently, no eloquence.

It is, therefore, a great and crowning excellence of the Rhetorical method which we have been describing, that its lowest and longest roots strike down into the Christian character itself. It does not propose or expect to render the

preacher eloquent without personal religion. It tells him on the contrary, that although God is the creator and sovereign of the human soul, and can therefore render the truth preached by an unregenerate man, and in the most unfeeling irreligious manner, effectual to salvation, yet that *the preacher* must expect to see men moved by his discourses only in proportion as he is himself a spiritually-minded, solemn, and devout man. Here is the *power*, and here is its hiding place, so far as the finite agent is concerned. In that holy love of God and of the human soul, which Christianity enjoins and produces—in that religious affection of the soul, which takes its origin in the soul's regeneration—the preacher is to find the source of all his eloquence and impression as an orator, just as much as of his usefulness and happiness as a man and a Christian. Back to this last centre of all, do we trace all that is genuine, and powerful, and influential, in Pulpit Eloquence.

But by this is not meant merely that the preacher must be a man of zealous and fervid emotions. There is a species of eloquence, which springs out of easily excited sensibilities, and which oftentimes produces a great sensation in audiences of peculiar characteristics, and in some particular moods. But this eloquence of the flesh and the blood, without the brain—this eloquence of the animal, without the intellectual spirits—is very different from that deep-toned, that solemn, that commanding eloquence, which springs from the life of God in the soul of man. We feel the difference—all men feel the difference—between the impression made by an ardent but superficial emotion, and that made by a deep feeling; by the sustained, equable, and strong pulsation of religious affections, as distinguished from religious sensibilities. When a man of the latter stamp feels, we know that he feels upon good grounds and in reality—that this stir and movement of the affections is central and all-pervading in

him—that the eternal truth has taken hold of his emotive nature, moving the *whole* of it, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. It is this moral earnestness of a man who habitually feels that religion is the chief concern for mortals here below—it is this profound consciousness of the perfections of God and of the worth of the human soul, which is the inmost principle of sacred eloquence—the *vis vivida vitæ* of the sacred orator.

I have thus, as briefly as possible, exhibited the principal features of what is conceived to be a true method in rhetorical instruction and discipline; not because they are new, or different from the views of the best Rhetoricians of all ages, but merely to vindicate the general spirit in which I would hope, by the blessing of God, to conduct the department of instruction committed to my care by the guardians of this Seminary. The department of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology, is one that from the nature of the case, is not called upon to impart very much positive information. Its function is rather to induce an intellectual method, to form a mental habit, to communicate a general spirit to the future clergyman. It is, therefore, a department of growing importance in this country, and in the present state of society and the Church. Perhaps the general tone and temper of the clerical profession was never a matter of more importance than now. The world, and this country especially, is guided more and more by the general tendencies of particular classes and professions. In politics, a party or class, that really *has* a tendency and maintains it persistently for a length of time, is sure in the end to draw large masses after it. In reforms, a class that is pervaded by a distinctive spirit which it sedulously preserves and maintains, is sure of a wide influence, finally. In literature, or philosophy, or theology, a school that has a marked and determined character of its own, and

keeps faith with it, will in the course of time be rewarded for its self-consistency by an increase in numbers and in power. In all these cases, and in all other cases, the steady continuous stream of a general tendency, sucks into its own volume all the float and drift, and carries it along with it. And the eye of the reflecting observer, as it ranges over the ocean of American society, can see these currents and tendencies, as plainly as the eye of the mariner sees the Gulf-stream.

How important then is any position which makes the occupant to contribute to the formation of a general spirit and temper, in so influential a class of men as the clerical! Well may such an one say—who is sufficient for this thing? For myself, I should shrink altogether from this toil, and this responsibility, did I not dare to hope that the providence of that Being, who is the sovereign controller of all tendencies and all movements in the universe, has led me hither. In his strength would I labor, and to Him would I reverently commend myself and this institution.

CHARGE.

BY REV. L. E. LATHROP, D. D.

MY DEAR BROTHER:—

By your induction into the Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in the Auburn Theological Seminary, your position is, as doubtless you feel it to be, one of profound interest and of high responsibility. The occasion is certainly appropriate for the utterance of words of counsel and encouragement from those by whom you have been designated to sustain the responsibilities which this position involves.

The choice which has been made implies a full conviction on the part of those who made it of your competency for the place you are called to occupy.

In giving you a special charge in relation to the department of instruction which is assigned to you, we would not be understood as assuming the prerogative of prescribing the exact course of instruction, or mode of teaching, you shall pursue, but as solemnly inculcating a faithful discharge of the duties of the office with which you have just been invested. Its privileges, prerogatives and emoluments are henceforth yours. Its results will be seen in the future developments of character which the sacred ministry shall assume, as moulded and modified in this institution which is to be the scene of your future labors. We hesitate not to say that the character of the ministry is very much depending upon the ability and success with which this department of instruction is con-

ducted. It is one of great prominence and importance in the training of the Christian ministry. It demands high qualifications, and involves solemn responsibilities.

The appellation which is given to it, is that of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology. This is the prescribed and definite sphere of action which you are called to pursue.

And definiteness of aim in relation to it, is of much importance. Theology as a science, Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity, are here to be taught by others. Yet an acquaintance with the subjects which belong to each of these great departments of instruction is of unquestionable importance in subserviency to a high degree of usefulness and success in this. But it is not in those departments that you are to give instruction, and it is not expected that you will encroach upon the prerogatives of those who are called to occupy them, but that you will devote your time and your efforts to the specific objects of what is made by your appointment, and by this ceremony of induction, to be henceforth your own appropriate sphere of action. The composition and delivery of sermons, and the manner of discharging the duties of the pastoral office, and all that appertains to the practical accomplishment of the work of the ministry, will be the objects of your immediate supervision and care.

The *materiel* for the ministry may be gathered from the other departments of instruction, while the training for the actual execution of the work, to a large extent, belongs to this. The others make the theologian and the Biblical expositor and critic, while this makes the minister. Its object is to teach how to use the materials already gathered from the other departments, with the greatest usefulness and efficiency. It is to conduct the candidate for the ministry through a preparatory course of training and discipline in what the excellent Doddridge was pleased to call the *art of preaching*. Although this might seem to describe the work as partaking

too much of a *mechanical* aspect, yet it is nevertheless true that a work of such magnitude, demanding such high qualifications, and involving such solemn responsibilities as the Christian ministry, must necessarily require a careful and diligent training and preparation.

To prepare the ministry to make the most effectual presentation, or to give the most effective utterance to the truth, is the legitimate province of Sacred Rhetoric as a department of instruction. It involves the necessity of a right apprehension of the work to be accomplished by the ministry—of the truth to be proclaimed—and the manner in which it should be done.

The great end of the Christian ministry is to persuade men to become reconciled unto God; to obtain salvation by Jesus Christ and to glorify God by a life of devotion to his service. It is to increase the holiness and the consequent happiness of a race destined to immortality. The legitimate, paramount aim of the Christian pulpit is the glory of God in the salvation of men, whatever subordinate ends may be secured by it. "Never forget," says one of high renown in the sacred office, "that the end of a sermon is the salvation of the people." It was the first object of the ministry of the Apostles to make men Christians and so it should be now. It was with them an object of deep solicitude that men should become well informed, stable and useful Christians, and it should be equally so with the ministry of the present day.

The truth to be proclaimed is the truth of the Bible; given not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth. "Give me," says one of the most gifted and experienced occupants of the pulpit in our country, "give me the power of illustrating and enforcing God's truth, and I care not who has the treasures of human learning." Great advances in science and the arts do indeed distinguish this age, and these advances may furnish matter for new and more varied illustrations of religious

truth, and erect new fortresses of defence against the attacks of infidelity, and put into the hands of the ministry new weapons of aggression and assault. The ministry should be able to make these advances available for the furtherance of their great work. Yet it should be remembered that such progress has not added and cannot add anything to the power of the Gospel itself. It has disclosed no new way of enforcing its truths—it has discovered no new way to the kingdom of God. It is *the Gospel* itself, which is in advance of all other advances, that is to be preached among all nations, and is to be the power of God unto salvation.

The manner in which this truth is to be proclaimed, and in which these duties of the pastoral office are to be performed, belongs to the sphere of instruction in the department which you are to fill. It may not be your province to make men eloquent, but you may teach them what eloquence is and what it is not. There is much of truth in the language of one who says, “True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may conspire after it, they cannot reach it. It comes, if it comes at all, like the outbursting of a fountain from the earth—or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force.”

You may cultivate a graceful and effective elocution as greatly subservient to the high purposes of the ministry. This is one of the objects of your special regard, and ought not to be undervalued. We all know its importance, and we speak of it to indicate our conviction of its value, and our desire that all the attention should be given to it which its intrinsic and relative importance demands.

We do not dissuade from, but would rather inculcate æs-

thetic culture and an adaptation to the taste and spirit and progress of the times. The adornments of Rhetoric are not to be rejected; the play of the imagination is not to be discarded; the figures and the flowers of a chastened and disciplined fancy may be legitimately employed, if done in subserviency to a higher object. They may secure attention, and open the way for the play of a more potent enginery which is to assail the heart and to bring it into subjection to the Prince of Peace.

While it is generally supposed that other professions are in a state of progression, it has been thought and often intimated, that the pulpit declines—that while more *beautiful* things are uttered from it than were once uttered, it has been declining in *energy*—that it has more touches of the German artists, but less of tenderness and love—that it has more of transcendentalism and less of Christianity. If these things are so, and if it be true that while, in some respects, the pulpit has made great and rapid advances, its *strength* has been insensibly and gradually decaying, it is a state of things which truly demands sober reflection, and it is a state of things which may demand your careful investigation, and a timely and diligent effort in your particular sphere of instruction for the application of a remedy.

Much has been said about elevating the standard of preaching, and of rendering it accordant with the spirit of the age. The attempt to do this, should be sedulously guarded with reference to an attending liability to depression instead of elevation. For, under this head, there is too much reason to believe that popular harangues and philosophical disquisitions have taken the place of a sober and earnest exhibition of divine truth—and a lax theology has supplanted the old landmarks of sound doctrine, and discourses affording men intellectual entertainment have been substituted for earnest and fervid appeals to the conscience and the heart. And hence the preaching of the times, it is often remarked, is less

scriptural than it has been in times past. This we regard as a defect of no inconsiderable magnitude, and has a claim upon your particular attention and regard. This is not the adaptation to the spirit of the age which is demanded, and which is legitimate and right, but is a mere accommodation to public taste and popular predilections.

At the same time, you will keep in view the difference between the nineteenth century and the centuries which have preceded it. You will bear it in mind that there is an element in preaching which is permanent and universal, and another which is variable and national. The former is founded upon the unchangeableness of the Gospel, and requires the same precepts to be delivered in all times and in all places. The other requires an adaptation to the necessities of our own age and country. Opinions and dispositions, favorable or unfavorable to the reception of the Gospel, belong to every age and people. The Christian orator is bound to study the innumerable wants of men, varying with time, place and other circumstances, and to adapt his instructions accordingly.

Materials for the confirmation of Christianity, may accumulate in every generation. Events in the history of individuals and families and nations, illustrative of the truth of Christianity, may be known to us, which were unknown to those who lived in an earlier day. Our ministry should be taught to avail themselves of the benefit to be derived from them.

The vices and passions of men acquire a force and prominence in one age which they do not in another. In all times there may be observed too much of a spirit of insubordination, which admits no superiority, and disregards salutary and healthful restraint—a spirit of innovation which overthrows everything, and builds up nothing—and a turbulent spirit which makes man love constant and feverish excitement, because he cannot live peaceably with himself. These

and other topics may deserve the attention of those who are in training for the sacred ministry, and to be exhibited with a direct reference to the opinions and manners of the age.

I will not here expatiate farther upon topics which have either a direct or more remote bearing upon the duties which belong to the sphere of action, upon which you are now entering. I cannot well do so, without seeming to encroach upon that field and the time which more appropriately belong to yourself. Let it be your object and your aim, to train the ministry which shall be here educated for their great work, to be an evangelical, a scriptural and earnest ministry, thoroughly furnished by that Word which is given by the inspiration of God.

We welcome you to this field of labor with the utmost cordiality, and pray that your devotion to it may be attended with a large measure of success. We welcome you to our sanctuaries and our pulpits—and the ministers and churches here represented invite your effective co-operation in building up the Redeemer's kingdom.

In behalf of the Faculty, Commissioners and Trustees of the Seminary, and of the brethren in the ministry, I give to you an assurance of their friendly and firm support in all appropriate circumstances. From an experience of fifteen years, while ministering in the place in which I now stand, I do not hesitate to congratulate you on the prospect of being associated with a community of ministerial brethren and a body of christians of so much excellence and worth. Sustained and cheered by the sympathies and prayers of an honored Christian brotherhood, and looking up for guidance and strength to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, the results of your labors, we confidently trust, will be seen in the production of a useful and effective ministry, and in the edification of the Church of the living God.

The Death of Mr. Webster:

A

S E R M O N

PREACHED IN

HOLLIS-STREET MEETING-HOUSE,

ON SUNDAY, OCT. 31, 1852.

BY THOMAS STARR KING,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

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S E R M O N.

DANIEL vi. 3 :—“ THEN THIS DANIEL WAS PREFERRED ABOVE THE PRESIDENTS
AND PRINCES, BECAUSE AN EXCELLENT SPIRIT WAS IN HIM; AND THE KING
THOUGHT TO SET HIM OVER THE WHOLE REALM.”

THERE is but one subject that can engage our thoughts in the church to-day. A great sorrow pervades the air. The solemn sense of irreparable loss weighs down the spirits of the American people. Out from the heart of the land has burst a grief, of which the official symbols—the dreary tones of the cannon, the mourning drapery, the lowered flags, the public resolutions—are, for once, the honest and feeble signs. The whole feeling of the nation, like a conscious weeping willow, arches its vast respect, and droops its sensitive foliage over one new-made grave.

The words I have selected from the Old Testament are perfectly applicable as an expression of the greatness which has recently been stricken from the living forces of our country. He was preferred above all presidents and princes. The highest office would have been nothing but the proper pedestal, to set the proportions of his greatness in their appropriate position and relief. The largest honors would have been only the natural drapery of his broad shoulders. If all the great men of this generation could have been collected from all nations, it is probable that no one would

have been found to deserve the pre-eminent place for massiveness and majesty of mind, and to stand forth, by honorable election, as "the foremost man of all this world," so much as he whose mortal life has recently been quenched.

But, however this may be, it cannot be questioned that the crown of our national genius has been snatched away by death. By common consent of the most eminent in our land,—the orators, the lawyers, the statesmen,—he was their leader, whose supremacy they cheerfully allowed. His brow was, for more than a generation, a prominent part of our natural scenery. His was the great granite face, like that on the Franconia Mountain in New Hampshire, standing out from the solid ridges of our New England intellect and character, and overlooking the land. Him and the great cataract of the lakes, we boasted of to other states as the chief glories of our country. It would have been grand, if, in the fulness of his vigor, and before any controversies of his political honor arose, he could have stood in the most eminent place of our country,—the magnificent entablature, dignifying and completing the various columns of its genius. He did not have this proper setting for his powers; but he did stand highest by his native sublimity. In the regard of those whose opinion is lasting fame, in the respect of foreign eyes, he stood, as he will stand in history, preferred, for mental greatness, above all the presidents and princes that were more distinguished by office.

"Pygmies are pygmies still, though perched on Alps;
And pyramids are pyramids in vales."

How can it be otherwise than that the sudden disappearance of this colossal greatness from the moral landscape of the world should shock all hearts with emotions that affect the lowest strata of our sensibility! If the tidings had been borne to us that some of the permanent

wonders of nature had been obliterated, that an earthquake had shaken down the great range of the Himalayas, or ingulfed the majesty of Mont Blanc in its black bosom, or had levelled the rock over which Niagara has roared for ages, our minds could not have been so startled with a feeling of the mysterious power that envelopes us, as now that we learn —

“ This mighty spirit is eclipsed; this power
Hath passed from day to darkness; to whose hour
Of light no likeness is bequeathed, no name, —
Focus at once of all the rays of fame ! ”

What visitation of Providence can thrill the citizens of our country, especially of New England, with more solemn thoughts than to know that the majestic presence — “ how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! ” — is never more to be seen of men; that the greatest nature our land has reared since Washington was born is never more to guide our councils and ennoble our Capitol; that the book of his activity is sealed; and that he is now to be a treasure of memory, a silent grandeur, in the quiet halls of history, — a force and an ornament belonging to the past?

This is not the place, of course, for any eulogy, or even an analysis of the powers, of the departed statesman. That which would be extravagance if said of most great men is the simple statement of his intellectual power. And yet, in speaking of his genius, we should be careful not to weaken our eulogium by doing injustice to the breadth of the field of genius. There are kinds of greatness of which his mental constitution did not largely partake. To the rank of explorers and discoverers, — men who anticipate history and hasten destiny, and who stand far ahead of the vanguard of humanity, holding up the flame of a new truth, which their intellectual fire had kindled, that flashes

light into the unexplored pathway of the future,— he did not belong. He was made to be an institutionalist, rather than a prophet. His mission was to comprehend, purify, conserve, and strengthen the good structures which society has already gained, to widen and confirm their possible blessings for the race, rather than to meditate a new order, even though it might be a higher one, which could be reached only by disruption of established ties, and through the turmoil of revolution. The natural attitude of his mind was reverence for the beneficent truth and institutions which the past bequeathed. He was the profound interpreter of the practical wisdom embodied in political systems, and the potent defender of it against the misapprehension of ignorance, the perversion of party interests, and the hand of heedless innovation. He estimated the positive social good which rooted institutions disburse, even though many evils were incidental to them, of really more account than the ghastly theories of perfect good, which beckon away so many flighty and adventurous intellects from the solid road of slow and steady progress.

He had the combination of powers, temper, and discipline, that make a safe and successful administrative statesman; and his intellect was just the ally which our system of government most needed, at the time when he entered public life, to set forth its wisdom, to unfold the beautiful symmetry of its structure and powers, and to hold it up to the admiration and gratitude of the country, that the affections of the people might fasten upon it, like the tendrils of the ivy upon the solid castle-wall.

The whole structure of our Constitution; the grandeur and marvel of its combinations, as relieved against the miserable patchwork of the old confederation; its originality among the political edifices of history; the skill with which its forces are balanced, and the ease of their working,— were comprehended in his intellect as the mind of a me-

chanic comprehends the idea of a machine which his genius has invented. He was the epic poet of the Convention of 1787. His sympathies were less with the Revolution than with the builders and the erection of our present national polity. Our whole governmental America; the bands that connect the State forces with the vivifying power of the central administration; the complex harmony of judiciary and executive, military and legislative powers; the ligaments that could sustain the greatest strain, and the delicate tendons where it needed the most tender handling and the most permanent safeguards; the safe vents supplied in it for popular passion, and the cylinders that must constantly condense the force of unrelenting law,—all played in his brain as a vital and complicated conception, whose magnificence he revered, and whose beauty was the constant inspiration of his heart. The work of the great Convention that framed our government seems nobler as reflected in his capacious understanding, and as its ideal rods and beams and valves worked without friction in the bright medium of his imagination, than it probably seemed to the hot intellects of those who had just completed their task, and left it outlined on immortal parchment.

The idea of the Union, which to many minds is an abstraction, and too often is the customary expletive of a demagogue's vile morality and feeble thought, was with him the vivid and adequate symbol of the greatness and the privileges, the power and the peace, of the republic. It seemed as though his eye always took in the moral and civil scenery of the country,—its thousands of happy homes, its schools and churches, its factories and workshops, the vast fleets of its commerce, and the widening line of civilization, before which the wilderness was falling; and then, when he spoke, made the word *Union* embody all the gladness and grandeur which so much prosperity and plenty, so much order and happiness, awakened in his breast.

For this reason it was, we must believe, that he called on his countrymen to cherish the sentiments that should make that word sacred. For this reason he used continually the awful imagery of the breaking up of constellations, and of anarchy in the firmament, to state the terrors and the woes that would attend an explosion of the forces that bind our States together. His intellect appreciated the wisdom of their combination, and felt, too, the delicacy of their poise. Not that he was indifferent to the evils which are covered and partially maintained by our great national bond; but he would not look at the evils exclusively or minutely. He saw an immense overbalance of good, — benefits more various, more substantial, and more precious, than any polity on earth had ever secured to men. These the word Union represented; these, to his mind, the blotting of that word annihilated, and in their place introduced discord, contention, and bloody strife.

Add to this, that the great future of America (if explosive passions could only be kept down) charmed his imagination. He comprehended what the country would be, centuries hence. In swelling speech he bade future generations hail; and there were times when he seemed to see the upturned faces of the Saxon millions yet to come, beseeching him, by their looks and by their prayers, to pledge all the resources of his intellect and his influence to preserve the unity and peace of a nation, upon which their fortunes and their happiness were cast. It may be a sign of the secondary grade of his genius, that the idea of right, in its abstract holiness and majesty, did not burn constantly before him. But no abstract principle or sentiment withdrew him from a careful measure of the good which an actual system would secure to men in the long run. He was not led away by any enthusiasm for liberty as an unbodied idea, but rejoiced in the liberties which the Constitution steadily secured to a continent; and, no doubt, felt

that the law of right commanded him to defend and perpetuate that charter, in the hope that the evils it sheltered would die out in time, while its good would widen and be everlasting.

The prophetic men, who stand above all systems in immediate communion with eternal truth and justice, command the deepest gratitude and worship of after-times. But God has a use for these Herculean heroes of society. And among the crowds of legislators who have no larger vision than sectional and partisan passions disclose, and the swarms of politicians that act only with reference to self, let us gratefully confess the eminence of this man, on whose brain were stamped the features of an empire, whose imagination personified a government, and who felt that he spoke and voted for the interests of millions and the hopes of posterity.

Mr. Webster was a statesman. His greatness did not consist in a capacity of concentrating and leading the passions of large bodies of people. Clay and Chatham were eminent for this power. But he was a philosophical statesman. He had a clear and vigorous comprehension of truth in the domain of public affairs. When he succeeded, it was by the force of his statement in the senate or the cabinet; and his power over the people resulted from the majesty with which he robed the truth, by his argument and utterance, and by the dominion which he made it exercise over their reason and heart. His ample mind was a spiritual state-house or capitol, rich with the annals of constitutional history, filled with the stately lore of national and civil law, studded with apartments that were crowded with records of diplomatic wisdom, freighted with the principles and statistics of public economy. His eye was constructed to see the truth and proprieties of national relations. He knew the coasts, the shoals, and the soundings of the ocean of national experience; and his arm had the vigor to grasp

and guide the helm of a state. His eloquence, too, had the serious and self-assured strength that made it competent to the utterance of a nation's thought and purpose. It was fit in language and manner for a congress of kings. Even in his simplest passages, the power of a great personality was manifest. His common sense was ponderous and sublime, by the momentum which his arm gave it, and the dignity which his diction imparted to it. Within the limits of his genius, his powers were unsounded. No triumph that he ever won seemed to require the whole of his resources, or to drain the hiding-places of his strength. The movement of his mind was like the sluggish might of the sea. His genius has thrown up into literature the most brilliant spray of rhetoric and imagination; but its natural manifestation was the majestic ground-swell of a resistless, undeveloped, unfathomable power.

Other elements and indications of his wonderful greatness would arrest our notice in any thing like a full treatment of the theme,—the truthfulness of nature and sincerity of spirit which hindered even his reason from being a powerful advocate in a bad cause; the dignity of his speech and bearing in all public scenes, and the strenuous influence of his example against the vulgar degradations of congressional debate; the strong moral and religious reverence that pervaded his public words; the fast fidelity to his friends; and the tenderness which made the majesty of his presence sweet and cheering in his home. But we cannot critically measure the outline and bulk of his nature, standing so near his new-made grave. In what I have thus far said, I have kept you too long from the grateful and practical religious lessons that are unveiled by such a life and such a death.

The great Teacher has said, "He that is greatest among you, let him be your servant." We are called on now devoutly to recognize the beneficent ordering of Providence,

that makes all true wisdom and greatness generous, and compels it to be a public advantage. Selfishness is in the heart of the world; but the best portion of the power of pre-eminent genius is saved, by a law of Providence, from the control of selfishness, even if that temper is in the heart of the possessor. The thoughts of a large reason, the creations of a rich imagination, the heroic activity of a great patriotism, are for the people, for mankind, for all time. What gratitude is due from us to Heaven that it is so! A mind like Bacon's burns with the passion for truth, and braces up its brain to the strenuous search and careful demonstration of new principles that rule the domain of science. But he cannot keep those principles for his exclusive use. He cannot put a price upon them, and say, "I will sell them only to the rich, only to feed my purse and my pride." The moment he proves and utters them in his intellectual joy, the air bears them on its wings, and makes them universal. It turns out that the toils and victories of that intellect in its library were for the benefit of humbler men, for the advancement of knowledge and the improvement of civilization. In his desire to satisfy the thirst of his own intellect, Bacon harnessed himself to the whole fabric of society, and strained his sinews to start the world on the path of progress. The greatest of all, he was the servant of all.

So, too, Shakespeare cannot patent his creations, and say, "Those only shall enjoy the fruits of my genius who will pay my price for the great luxury." The all-merciful God will not suffer that, but admits the poor to enjoy them, and scatters the leaves that bear them into almost every home. Newton does not think of the sailor, or the interests of navigation, when he toils till he lifts the moon by the muscles of his logic and weighs it, and proves on what pillars of law the sky-roof is upheld; but he is the intellectual attorney of future ages and the human race, in all

those wearisome labors to unlock the hieroglyphic cipher of celestial law; and the pay he gets is gratitude, and a name printed in star-type on the firmament. The patriot, when he resolves to resist oppression, and peril his life rather than bear the finger-weight of tyranny upon his soul, lifts up the heavy mesh that holds a people in its toils, in his struggles to free himself, and so becomes the saviour of a land.

Every magnificent brain scatters light like the sun. The ample intellect that has just been withdrawn from us, illustrated, in its way, the beneficence of God. The nation is bereaved; the people mourn; for the nation has lost a great servant, the people a majestic friend. God gave him a glorious mind, fit to do national service; and it is compelled to do that service. Whatever interests or desires might draw him towards a strictly professional or private life, he cannot stay there. He rises, by the natural upsoaring of his powers, to the Capitol. The whole land has the benefit of his private discipline, his thought, his speech. Countless farms, workshops, counting-rooms, and homes, that have the deepest interest in peace, have the benefit of his insight, his knowledge of public law, and his cool, just temper, to save them and civilization from the detriment of war with our mother-land. The Greeks, struggling for liberty, catch the inspiration of his eloquence, which strengthens the public opinion of the world in their behalf. His fellows, that need justice, have the aid of his understanding and his lips in the solemn precincts of the temple of law. The whole North has the advantage of his mature powers to silence the malice and the taunts of Southern envy. Public order, that has been shocked by a barbarous midnight murder, has the aid of his arm to tear the accomplices of an assassin from the subtle technicalities that seem to hide them from the reach of justice, and drag them to their doom. And the moral sense of humanity possesses his

frame, and breaks out through his lips, to impeach the Czar for his cruelty to Hungary, and arraign him for trial at the bar of the civilized world.

His work is a public one. With a hero's strength he must do the hero's labor. The ambition which he felt, the desire to stand eminent in the world's history that was in his heart, the noble emulation that stirred him, were the intellectual thongs and traces by which Providence kept him fastened to the great public burdens which it required his strength to draw.

There is nothing in public life to attract the eyes and the heart of one that would taste the purest and constant pleasures of life. How much did the great statesman enjoy of that privacy, those relaxations, the satisfactions of those agricultural pursuits, the affections and repose of home, which most attracted his heart? How slight the opportunities granted to him to retreat from the national arena, and taste the happiness of life!

“He who ascends to mountain-tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapped in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits led.”

The tax is so severe upon political greatness that no man would pay it, — the world would be deprived of the benefit of such greatness, if the Almighty had not provided that it cannot escape the toils by which its service may accrue to the human race. On the score of pleasure, the powerful servant of the country, whom we mourn, would not have looked a moment upon all the pecuniary recompense he gained for his devotion to public life; but fortunately there were providential motives constantly weighing down the

yearnings of the heart, and keeping him pledged to the service of society.

And then think of the detractions and slanders, the open defamation and insult, which public character must bear from partisan hostility and malice. What but the order of God, demanding great service from great talents, could keep a man in public life against this terrible warning,—the certainty of the shower of arrows, many of them poisoned arrows, against which he must stand?

“The secret enemy, whose sleepless eye
 Stands sentinel, accuser, judge, and spy;
 The foe, the fool, the jealous, and the vain;
 The envious, who but breathe in other's pain;
 Behold the host ! delighting to deprave,
 Who track the steps of Glory to the grave,
 Watch every fault that daring Genius owes
 Half to the ardor which its birth bestows,
 Distort the truth, accumulate the lie,
 And pile the Pyramid of Calumny ! ”

With what fearful accuracy does this describe what the eminent man we deplore was compelled to endure! The foulest ink has been cast at him in his latter years. And so much of it by reformers too,—men that stood forth as the patrons of virtue, humanity, and the sacred law of God! We all know the chief and the sad occasion for most of these attacks. We know how many good men were forced to withdraw their sympathies from the great statesman by his speech and course towards the close of his senatorial career. But is the warfare of a pirate upon a prominent man's motives the natural expression of virtuous dissent? Is it essential that a reformer in opposition shall be the assassin of character? Is it necessary that all dignity of temper and charity of criticism shall die out of the nature that holds an advance-idea, and that the cause of humanity must be defended in the disposition of a fiend? We are gathered in a church dedicated to God; and his law is

supreme over the highest genius, as over the humblest man. Let us not hesitate to say, that, if at the time I allude to, the great man, now gone, did bow his magnificent brain unworthily to the Slave-power, which he had always opposed, from the dictate of a personal ambition, forgetting the awful trusts of genius and the service it owes to humanity, he fell; and his intellectual greatness only darkens his degradation. But who has demonstrated this hypothesis? Who has looked into that large heart, and found such black treason there? What if he did feel *all* the trusts of senatorial office and intellectual power; if he felt that the preservation of his country from the imminent danger of disruption was the comprehensive duty of a statesman, and the best permanent legacy to all races in our borders? I prefer to believe this theory. It accords with the principles that always governed him. Then his action was conscientious and heroic; and although it may fail to commend itself to the conscience and wisdom of many, although they find it impossible as Christians to obey the statute which he defended, let them remember, in justice to him, that he was placed in the Capitol to act, not from their light, but from his own. Let the passions of politics be silent, let the heats of hatred cool, at his grave. He went with religious calmness to meet Him who judges with blended charity and justice. And as we bow before the mystery of the vast Providence, let us unite in adoration of his ordinance, that the most gifted of his creatures shall be the servants of all.

The allusion just made to the religious majesty and calmness of Mr. Webster's death, suggests the second point which the contemplation of his career should impress upon us,—the strength and support which religion derives from the convictions and loyalty of such an intellect. I put out of the question here every thing that concerns loyalty of life and religiousness of character. It is not our province

to search for and put together the proofs or the disproofs of that. But it cannot be denied that we have buried a great man, whose heart was alive with religious feeling, and whose mind was reverent in its recognition of religious truth. If proof is needed to establish the chief ideas of religion,—the existence of God, the supremacy of moral principles, and a future life,—we may turn for it with equal confidence to the mystic intimations of nature, or to the faith and the convictions which the greatest men of the world have cherished and expressed. The pre-eminent men of the world have not been atheists or doubters, but reverent believers and worshippers. Where, O atheist! where, O scoffer! will you point us to the large-limbed nature, the encyclopedic soul, that dignifies your miserable creed? Some slender, cold-hearted, third-rate, or perhaps second-rate man, here and there in history, has babbled some skeptical folly, or darkened his name by the shadow of atheistic thought; but, when we look up to the first rank of genius,—to Socrates and Plato and Pythagoras, to Paul and Luther, to Bacon and Leibnitz and Newton,—we find they are men who bow before the infinite sanctities which their souls discern.

You have heard of the great reflecting telescope, built by a nobleman of Great Britain, whose tube, by the aid of ponderous machinery, is pointed towards the night-sky. What if it threw doubt upon the reports which our eyesight and ordinary glasses make concerning the glories of the sky? What if it scattered the stars into mist, made Sirius nothing but a huge heap of fog, and banished all our associations of grandeur and glorious law that have been connected with the heavens? But it confirms all the visions of the ordinary instruments that search the upper space; and, besides that, it breaks up the misty light of the nebulae into sand-heaps of suns, and reports firmaments, far in the depths above us, which other lenses cannot reach.

Thus the greatest souls of the race confirm the views and faith of ordinary minds ; reflect more of the glories of God ; disclose, by their more searching vision, fresh galaxies of mystery ; and make our thoughts of the Providence that embraces us, and comprehends all things, more reverent and profound.

What a shock it would give the world's order, if such minds as Mr. Webster's saw no proofs of the divine existence, felt the strain of no law of duty, thrilled with no emotions of worship, but found the thoughts of their own genius sufficient company for their loneliness ; lifting their proud and flinty summits above the superstitions that shade the valleys of human nature, into a bleak, atheistic air ! It is not so. Religion is commended with the more earnestness to men by their consciousness of its truth. There was a fitting commentary on the glorious eighth Psalm of David, when our statesman stood under the elm, at night, on his estate in Marshfield, and, lifting his solemn eyes to the light that blazed on the firmament, said, " When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and stars which thou hast ordained, Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him ? " That is the soul's astronomy. Oversweeping the skeptical chatter of irreverent mathematicians, there was an echo of the truth that sprang, ages ago, out of a great Hebrew heart. Jura answered to the voice of the Alps.

We do not mean to say, or to hint, that a taste for the literature and elegance of the Scriptures is a saving grace of character ; but we have a right to rejoice in all the unprofessional veneration which is offered to the sacred writings. It is well for the world to have eminent witnesses, that it is not an interested and a clerical taste alone that bows to the sublimity of the great book. Is it not proof of the majesty of Job and Isaiah and Habbakuk, that they

were the chosen teachers of such a mind; that he retreated from care and sorrow into their society, and was strengthened and softened by their lofty and mystic speech? It is sufficient testimony to the greatness of these biblical geniuses, that the largest natures seek inspiration from them: it is equal proof of the loftiness of an intellect, that it rises into near acquaintance with these eminent souls. What if a great man does not always live in harmony with the truth he venerates? What if the stern characters he invites to his library sometimes rebuke him with their prophetic austerity, and the truths spoken from the sacred mount, to which he lifts adoring eyes, flash warning upon his infidelity? Is not this a still more impressive revelation of their supremacy? and does not the great man's reverence, which their occasional denunciation does not impair, point to their royalty over conscience, which we should hasten practically to confess?

We have a right, therefore, to ask, Is the Bible, which such men as Mr. Webster and President Adams revered and made a constant study, a shallow book? Is the Christian faith which such men as they adored as the supreme truth, and the only regenerative power of the world, a secondary matter? Are the religious relations of the soul, which such men affirmed were of first importance, and which no levity of their speech, at least, ever slighted, matters which we may safely disregard? The answer we shall be forced to give these questions makes the most solemn truth practical, and sheds a searching ray into our hearts. The supreme benefaction to humanity of such an intellect as we have lost is the testimony it bears to the reality and the necessity of religion. Now that he is gone, in the momentary gloom of his departure, I know not but these words stand out the most luminous of all the great words he uttered,—these words so simple but sublime: “Religion is necessary and indispensable in any great human

character. There is no living without it. Religion is the tie which connects man with his Creator, and holds him to his throne. If that tie be all sundered, all broken, he floats away, a worthless atom in the universe; its proper attractions all gone, its destiny thwarted, and its whole future nothing but darkness, desolation, and death. A man with no sense of religious duty is he whom the Scriptures describe in such terse, but terrific language as living ‘without God in the world.’ Such a man is out of his proper being, out of the circle of all his duties, out of the circle of all his happiness, and away, far, far away, from the purposes of his creation.”

It is worthy of remark in this connection, that so comprehensive and reverent a student of the Scriptures as Mr. Webster was not the partisan of any intricate and narrow theological theories. The broad, plain, primary truths of religion were sufficient for his reverence and his conscience. I have heard it said that he disliked the word “Christianity,” and preferred the simple phrase, “the religion of Jesus.” The spirit of penitence, faith, and love, and a reverential gratitude for the mission of Christ as the channel of redeeming truth and life to the world,—these were the outlines of his theology; these were the definitions of Christian character which satisfied his mind. The report which a friend has made of his last hours assures the world, that there was nothing in his utterances of faith and hope “of a technical character. No expression escaped him which would mark him as of this or that theology, or of any church save the universal church of Christ.” Thus his life and death give us an original illustration of the difference between theology and religion. What the smallest satellite of our system needs is the controlling force of the sun, and its bounteous heat and light; and the majestic Jupiter, as he ploughs his grand orbit, needs no more. Whatever system of astronomy be true, the regal planet requires nothing

more than the check and the charity of the central orb, and the smallest asteroid receives no less. So the feeblest and the mightiest minds require alike the central and simple forces of religion, and find their strength, not in artful theologies, but in the common and generous light and influence from God that fall equally upon all.

And without the solemn light of religion around it, and the great background of religious truth to relieve it, how utterly must the last hours of Mr. Webster have lost the majesty which was upon them! If he had died simply a worn-out and disappointed man, looking with sadness at the blighted hopes of the earth, and lifting no thought to scenes beyond, how sad the last days would have seemed, — the wreck of a noble and weather-stained bark upon the rocks of death! But now, what a grandeur in the close of his career! The deepening feeling that he was floating out beyond the reckonings of earth and the outline of human charts; the calm fulfilment of every duty, and the reining up of every faculty to obey the mastery of the will; the solemn tones of prayer, laden with the riches of his language, and humble with penitence; the majestic and tender farewell to family and friends; and then, after the broken ejaculations of the psalm for the divine rod and staff, the silent close! — not a wreck on the desolate coasts of mortality, but the fading of a noble ship into the mists that curtain the horizon, its sails all set, bearing one great and serene form beyond our gaze into the everlasting light! The spirit of such grandeur there should be in every death. Are we prepared thus to gather our robes about us; thus to look up to Heaven for help; thus to express our confidence in the truth of the Bible, and the divine mission of Christ; thus to feel the support of the rod and the staff which the feeblest need, and which does not bend under the weight of the mightiest arm?

I must ask you to bear with me while I refer to one more

impressive lesson of such a life and death: I mean the solemn truth of immortality. When the news of such a loss breaks upon society, the first feeling is that of the mystery of death itself. It is as though we had never before realized it. And then it opens anew the problem of eternal life. It seems as if the departure of such a spirit must break the monotonous silence,—must open for the moment some rift in the cloud, and let in a beam from the all-surrounding day. We ought to reflect upon this death in regard to that question of immortality. If such a faith is not a fixed habit of our mind, we ought to pause, and set the vastness of his powers in our thought, and seriously ask the question, “What has become of them? whither are they gone?” ‘This life cannot be what it ought to be,—man cannot be what he ought to be,—duty cannot be as sacred as it should be, unless we have convictions, settled as those which Christ had and which he would inspire, of the everlasting duration of our souls. And now is the time for us to think on that point. God calls on us to meditate. When he removes from the earth such men as Washington and Webster, his providence puts the question to every unsettled mind, “Do you believe that they are annihilated, swallowed up by the dark?” There is not a particle less to-day of the substance that made up the noble frame of Washington, than there was when he dignified the capital. Ages hence, the matter that clothed his spirit will still exist, unwasted by a grain. And does the mind, the virtue, the character, die, while not a hair of his bodily substance is suffered to slip out of the treasury of matter? Of that great brow, which was laid recently in the sepulchre, not a particle will ever drop from the grasp of physical law. It may moulder, but it cannot be destroyed. And do you believe that the reason, of which it was the fortress, and from which it played the lightnings of argument and eloquence, will be less permanent? Does

God think more of such a brain than of the understanding that made its arch sublime? Was that soul an ephemeral thing of threescore years and ten, while the body is beyond the possibility of destruction? It must be a darkened mind that can believe that,—a mind not quickened with a proper sense of God. Death is visibly defeated, to the eye of every reflective mind, when it drags into its darkness such a nature as that. The prey is too great. His hunger is not suffered to appease itself, even on the matter which the spirit inhabited; and we know that the soul cannot slip into his jaws. Over the mystery of that tomb near which the ocean moans, we may hear the chant of nature, according with that of revelation,—“O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?”

This is no mere speculative question, but the most practical of all questions. For, if we answer the question of immortality aright for this man, we answer it for all men. If we feel that it is proved by his genius, then we lift the whole race, with which he was kindred, into the light and the responsibilities of an infinite existence. Then human life is not a mean thing, not a trivial thing, but a solemn grant, a moral trust. Then we are all living with the eye of God upon us, and an eternal future before us, the conditions of whose fortunes our own habits are deciding now; and it behooves each of us to ask ourselves before the tomb that has just opened, “In what spirit am I working? Is it one I am willing to carry into the light of eternity, and submit to the scrutiny of God?”

A friend said, when the news of the great death reached us, that it seemed to him as though such a brain should have had two bodies to wear out. I believe that the limits of its earthly frame were not the limits of its existence. I should believe, on evidence independent of revelation, that there are mysteries in the universe for such a mind to revere eternally; great studies to engage its interest; profounder

laws than were opened here for it to grasp ; divine splendors to kindle deeper faculties than were here developed. If there were heroic virtues which were not appreciated or rewarded fully in his mortal career, I believe that he is gone into a state where the recompense is not affected by human injustice. If there were great errors and violation of trusts committed here, I believe that he has gone into the dominion of a justice that executes searching and righteous judgment on every soul, in view of the spirit's final welfare. And so, let us lift our thoughts from that grave to God and eternity. Let us be grateful to the Providence that sends great genius to us, and bids it work in our service ; that reveals truths to us which the mightiest minds adore with the humility of children ; and that intimates, through the death of such, the great destiny and privilege of every soul. In the light of that Providence and that eternity, let us pray that we may be faithful ; let us resolve to redeem our time.

[Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society.]

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

AT THE MELODEON, THURSDAY EVENING, JAN. 27, 1853.

[PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS came forward, and was received with loud cheering. He presented, from the Business Committee, the following resolution : —

Resolved, That the object of this Society is now, as it has always been, to convince our countrymen, by arguments addressed to their hearts and consciences, that Slaveholding is a heinous crime, and that the duty, safety, and interest of all concerned, demand its immediate abolition, without expatriation.

I wish, Mr. Chairman, to notice some objections that have been made to our course, ever since Mr. GARRISON began his career, and which have been lately urged again, with considerable force and emphasis, in the columns of the *London Leader*, the able organ of a very respectable and influential class in England. I hope, Sir, you will not think it waste of time to bring such a subject before you. I know these objections have been made a thousand times ; that they have been often answered ; though we have generally submitted to them in silence, willing to let results speak for us. But there are times when justice to the Slave will not allow us to be silent. There are many in this country, many in England, who have had their attention turned, recently, to the Anti-Slavery cause. They are asking, “ which is the best and most efficient method of helping it ? ” Engaged ourselves in an effort for the Slave, which time has tested and success hitherto approved, we are, very properly, desirous that they should join us in our labors, and pour into this channel the full tide of their new zeal and great resources. Thoroughly convinced ourselves that our course is wise, we can honestly urge others to adopt it. Long experience gives us a right to advise. The fact that our course, more than all other efforts, has caused that agitation which has awakened these new converts, gives us a right to counsel them.

They are our spiritual children : for their sakes, we would free the cause we love and trust from every seeming defect and plausible objection. For the Slave's sake, we reiterate our explanations, that he may lose no tittle of help by the mistakes or misconceptions of his friends.

All that I have to say on these points will be to you, Mr. Chairman, very trite and familiar ; but the facts may be new to some, and I prefer to state them here, in Boston, where we have lived and worked, because if our statements are incorrect, if we claim too much, our assertions can be easily answered and disproved.

The charges to which I refer are these : That in dealing with Slaveholders and their apologists, we indulge in fierce denunciations, instead of appealing to their reason and common sense by plain statements and fair argument ;— that we might have won the sympathies and support of the nation, if we would have submitted to argue this question with a manly patience ; but instead of this, we have outraged the feelings of the community by attacks, unjust and unnecessarily severe, on its most valued institutions, and gratified our spleen by indiscriminate abuse of leading men, who were often honest in their intentions, however mistaken in their views ;— that we have utterly neglected the ample means that lay around us to convert the nation, submitted to no discipline, formed no plan, been guided by no foresight, but hurried on in childish, reckless, blind, and hot-headed zeal— bigots in the narrowness of our views, and fanatics in our blind fury of invective, and malignant judgment of other men's motives.

There are some who come upon our platform, and give us the aid of names and reputations less burdened than ours with popular odium, who are perpetually urging us to exercise charity in our judgments of those about us, and to consent to argue these questions. These men are ever parading their wish to draw a line between themselves and us, because *they must be permitted* to wait—to trust more to reason than feeling—to indulge a generous charity—to rely on the sure influence of simple truth, uttered in love, &c., &c. I reject with scorn all these implications that *our* judgments are uncharitable,—that *we* are lacking in patience,—that *we* have any other dependence than on the simple truth, spoken with Christian frankness yet with Christian love. These lectures, to which you, Sir, and all of us, have so often listened, would be impertinent, if they were not rather ridiculous for the gross ignorance they betray of the community, of the cause, and of the whole course of its friends.

The article in the *Leader* to which I refer is signed "ION," and may be found in *The Liberator* of December 17, 1852. The writer is cordial and generous in his recognition of Mr. GARRISON's claim to be the representative of the Anti-Slavery movement, and does entire justice to his motives and character. The criticisms of ION were reprinted in the *Christian Register*, of this city, the organ of the Unitarian denomination. The editors of that paper, with their usual Christian courtesy, love of truth, and fair-dealing, omitted all ION's expressions of regard for Mr. GARRISON and appreciation of his motives, and reprinted only those parts of the article which undervalue his sagacity and influence, and endorse the common objections to his method

and views. You will see in a moment, Mr. President, that it is with such men and presses, ION thinks Mr. GARRISON has not been sufficiently wise and patient, in trying to win their help for the Anti-Slavery cause. Perhaps, were he on the spot, it would tire even his patience and puzzle even his sagacity to make any other use of them than that of the drunken Helot—a warning to others how disgusting mean vice is. Perhaps, were he here, he would see that the best and only use to be made of them is to let them unfold their own characters, and then show the world how rotten our Politics and Religion are, that they naturally bear such fruit. ION quotes Mr. GARRISON's original declaration, in *The Liberator* :—

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language ; but is there not cause for severity ? I *will* be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.

It is *pretended* that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true.* On this question, my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing ; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God that he enables me to disregard “the fear of man which bringeth a snare,” and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power.

He then goes on to say :—

This is a defence which has been generally accepted on this side of the Atlantic, and many are the Abolitionists among us whom it has encouraged in honesty and impotence ; and whom it has converted into conscientious hindrances. * * *

We would have Mr. GARRISON to say, “I will be as harsh as *progress*, as uncompromising as *success*.” If a man speaks for his own gratification, he may be as “harsh” as he pleases ; but if he speaks for the down-trodden and oppressed, he must be content to put a curb upon the tongue of holiest passion, and speak only as harshly as is compatible with the amelioration of the evil he proposes to redress. Let the question be again repeated : Do you seek for the Slave vengeance or redress ? If you seek retaliation, go on denouncing. But distant Europe honors WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, because it credits him with seeking for the Slave simply redress. We say, therefore, that “uncompromising” policy is not to be measured by absolute justice, but by practical amelioration of the Slave's condition. Amelioration as fast as you can get it—absolute justice as soon as you can reach it.

He quotes the sentiment of Confucius, that he would choose for a leader “a man who would maintain a steady vigilance in the direction of affairs ; who was capable of forming plans, and of executing them,” and says :—

The philosopher was right in placing wisdom and executive capacity above courage ; for down to this day, our popular movements are led by heroes who *fear* nothing, and who *win* nothing. * * *

There is no question raised in these articles as to the work to be done, but only as to the mode of *really* doing it. The platform resounds with announcements of principle, which is but *asserting* a right, while nothing but contempt is showered on policy which is the *realization* of right. The air is

filled with all high cries and spirited denunciations ; indignation is at a premium ; and this is called advocacy. * * * But to calculate, to make sure of your aim, is to be decried as one who is too cold to feel, too genteel to strike.

Further on, he observes : —

If an artillery officer throws shell after shell which never reach the enemy, he is replaced by some one with a better eye and a surer aim. But in the artillery battle of opinion, *to mean* to hit is quite sufficient ; and if you have a certain grand indifference as to whether you hit or not, you may count on public applause. * * *

A man need be no less militant, as the soldier of facts, than as the agent of swords. But the arena of argument needs discipline no less than that of arms. It is this which the Anti-Slavery party seem to me not only to overlook, but to despise. They do not put their valor to drill. Neither on the field nor the platform has courage any inherent capacity of taking care of itself.

The writer then proceeds to make a quotation from Mr. EMERSON, the latter part of which I will read : —

Let us withhold every *reproachful*, and, if we can, every *indignant* remark. In this cause, we must renounce our temper and the risings of pride. If there be any man who thinks the ruin of a race of men a small matter compared with the last decorations and completions of his own comfort — who would not so much as part with his ice-cream to save them from rapine and manacles — I think I must not hesitate to satisfy *that* man, that also his cream and vanilla are safer and cheaper by placing the negro nation on a fair footing than by robbing them. If the Virginian piques himself on the picturesque luxury of his vassalage, on the heavy Ethiopian manners of his house servants, their silent obedience, their hue of bronze, their turbaned heads, and would not exchange them for the more intelligent but precarious hired services of whites, I shall not refuse to show *him* that when their free papers are made out, it will still be their interest to remain on his estates ; and that the oldest planters of Jamaica are convinced that it is cheaper to pay wages than to own Slaves.

The critic takes exception to Mr. GARRISON's approval of the denunciatory language in which DANIEL O'CONNELL rebuked the giant sin of America, and concludes his article with this sentence : —

When WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON praises the great Celtic Monarch of invective for this dire outpouring, he acts the part of the boy who fancies that the terror is in the war-whoop of the savage, unmindful of the quieter muskets of the civilized infantry, whose unostentatious execution blows whoop and tomahawk to the devil.

Before passing to a consideration of these remarks of ION, let me say a word in relation to Mr. EMERSON. I do not consider him as endorsing any of these criticisms on the Abolitionists. His services to the most radical Anti-Slavery movement have been generous and marked. He has never shrunk from any odium which lending his name and voice to it would incur. Making fair allowance for his peculiar taste, habits, and genius, he has given a generous amount of aid to the Anti-Slavery movement, and never let its friends want his cordial "God-speed."

ION's charges are the old ones, that we Abolitionists are hurting our own cause — that, instead of waiting for the community to come up to our views, and endeavoring to remove prejudice and enlighten ignorance, by patient explanation and fair argument, we fall at once, like children, to abusing everything and everybody — that we imagine zeal will supply the place of common sense — that we have never shown any sagacity in adapting our means to our ends, have never studied the national character, or attempted to make use of the materials which lay all about us, to influence public opinion, but by blind, childish, obstinate fury and indiscriminate denunciation, have become “honestly impotent and conscientious hindrances.”

These, Sir, are the charges which have uniformly been brought against all reformers in all ages. ION thinks the same faults are chargeable on the leaders of all the “popular movements” in England, which, he says, “are led by heroes who *fear* nothing, and who *win* nothing.” If the leaders of popular movements in Great Britain for the last fifty years have been *losers*, I should be curious to know what party, in ION's opinion, have won? My Lord DERBY and his friends seem to think Democracy has made and is making dangerous headway. If the men who, by popular agitation, outside of Parliament, wrung from a powerful oligarchy Parliamentary Reform, and the Abolition of the Test Acts, of high Post Rates, of Catholic Disability, of Negro Slavery and the Corn Laws, did “not win anything,” it would be hard to say what winning is. If the men who, without the ballot, made PEELE their tool and conquered the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, are considered unsuccessful, pray what kind of a thing would success be? Those who now, at the head of that same middle class, demand the separation of Church and State, and the Extension of the Ballot, may well guess, from the fluttering of Whig and Tory dovescotes, that soon they will “win” that same “nothing.” Heaven grant they may enjoy the same *ill success* with their predecessors! On our side of the ocean, too, we ought deeply to sympathize with the leaders of the Temperance movement in their entire want of success! If ION's mistakes about the Anti-Slavery cause lay as much on the surface as those I have just noticed, it would be hardly worth while to reply to him; for as to these, he certainly exhibits only “the extent and variety of his mis-information.”

His remarks upon the Anti-Slavery movement are, however, equally inaccurate. I claim, before you who know the true state of the case, I claim for the Anti-Slavery movement with which this Society is identified, that, looking back over its whole course, and considering the men connected with it in the mass, it has been marked by sound judgment, unerring foresight, the most sagacious adaptation of means to ends, the strictest self-discipline, the most thorough research, and an amount of patient and manly argument addressed to the conscience and intellect of the nation, such as no other cause of the kind, in England or this country, has ever offered. I claim, also, that its course has been marked by a cheerful surrender of all individual claims to merit or leadership — the most cordial welcoming of the slightest effort, of every honest attempt to lighten or to break the chain of the Slave. I need not waste time by repeating the superfluous confession that we are

men, and therefore do not claim to be perfect. Neither would I be understood as denying that we use denunciation, and ridicule, and every other weapon that the human mind knows. We must plead guilty, if there be guilt in not knowing how to separate the sin from the sinner. With all the fondness for abstractions attributed to us, we are not yet capable of that. We are fighting a momentous battle at desperate odds — one against a thousand. Every weapon that ability or ignorance, wit, wealth, prejudice or fashion can command, is pointed against us. The guns are shotted to their lips. The arrows are poisoned. Fighting against such an array, we cannot afford to confine ourselves to any one weapon. The cause is not ours, so that we might, rightfully, postpone or put in peril the victory by moderating our demands, stifling our convictions, or filing down our rebukes, to gratify any sickly taste of our own, or to spare the delicate nerves of our neighbor. Our clients are three million of Slaves, standing dull suppliants at the threshold of the Christian world. They have no voice but ours to utter their complaints, or to demand justice. The press, the pulpit, the wealth, the literature, the prejudices, the political arrangements, the present self-interest of the country, are all against us. God has given us no weapon but the truth, faithfully uttered, and addressed, with the old prophet's directness, to the conscience of the individual sinner. The elements which control public opinion and mould the masses are against us. We can but pick off here and there a man from the triumphant majority. We have facts for those who think — arguments for those who reason; but he who cannot be reasoned out of his prejudices, must be laughed out of them; he who cannot be argued out of his selfishness, must be shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes. We live in a land where every man makes broad his phylactery, inscribing thereon, "All men are created equal" — "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." It seems to us that in such a land there must be, on this question of Slavery, sluggards to be awakened as well as doubters to be convinced. Many more, we verily believe, of the first, than of the last. There are far more dead hearts to be quickened, than confused intellects to be cleared up — more dumb dogs to be made to speak, than doubting consciences to be enlightened. (Loud cheers.) We have use, then, sometimes, for something beside argument.

What is the denunciation with which we are charged? It is endeavoring, in our faltering human speech, to declare the enormity of the sin of making merchandise of men — of separating husband and wife — taking the infant from its mother, and selling the daughter to prostitution — of a professedly Christian nation denying, by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of its population, and making it illegal for "two or three" to meet together, except a white man be present! What is this harsh criticism of motives with which we are charged? It is simply holding the intelligent and deliberate actor responsible for the character and consequences of his acts. Is there anything inherently wrong in such denunciation or such criticism? This we may claim — we have never judged a man but out of his own mouth. We have seldom, if ever, held him to account, except for acts

of which he and his own friends were proud. All that we ask the world, and thoughtful men to note are the principles and deeds on which the American pulpit and American public men plume themselves. We always allow our opponents to paint their own pictures. Our humble duty is to stand by and assure the spectators, that what they would take for a knave or a hypocrite is really, in American estimation, a Doctor of Divinity or Secretary of State.*

The South is one great brothel, where half a million of women are flogged to prostitution, or, worse still, are degraded to believe it honorable. The public squares of half our great cities echo to the wail of families torn asunder at the auction-block — no one of our fair rivers that has not closed over the negro seeking in death a refuge from a life too wretched to bear — thousands of fugitives skulk along our highways, afraid to tell their names, and trembling at the sight of a human being — free men are kidnapped in our streets, to be plunged into that hell of Slavery, and now and then one, as if by miracle, after long years, returns to make men aghast with his tale. The Press says, "It is all right;" and the Pulpit cries, "Amen." We print

* A paragraph from the *New England Farmer*, of this city, has gone the rounds of the Press, and is generally believed. It says: —

"We learn, on reliable authority, that Mr. WEBSTER confessed to a warm political friend, a short time before his death, that the great mistake of his life was the famous seventh of March speech, in which, it will be remembered, he defended the Fugitive Slave Law, and fully committed himself to the Compromise measures. Before taking his stand on that occasion, he is said to have corresponded with Prof. STUART and other eminent divines, to ascertain how far the religious sentiment of the North would sustain him in the position he was about to assume."

Some say this "warm political friend" was a clergyman! Consider a moment the language of this statement, the form it takes on every lip and in every press. "The great *mistake* of his life"! Seventy years old, brought up in New England churches, with all the culture of the world at his command, his soul melted by the repeated loss of those dearest to him, a great statesman, with a heart, according to his admirers, yet tender and fresh, one who bent in such agony over the death-bed of his first daughter — he looks back on this Speech, which his friends say changed the feelings of ten millions of people, and made it possible to enact and execute the Fugitive Slave Law. He sees that it flooded the hearthstones of thousands of colored men with wretchedness and despair — crazed the mother, and broke the heart of the wife — putting the virtue of woman and the liberty of man in the power of the vilest — and all, as he at least now saw, for nothing. Yet one, who, according to his worshippers, was "the grandest growth of our soil and our institutions," looked back on such an act, and said what? With one foot in the grave, said what of it? "I did wrong"? "I committed a foul outrage on my brother man"? "I sported too carelessly with the welfare of the poor"? Was there no moral chord in that heart, "the grandest growth of our soil and our institutions"? No! He said, "I made a mistake!" Not, "I was false in my stewardship of these great talents and this high position!" No! But on the chess-board of the political game, I made a bad move! I threw away my chances! A gambler, I did not understand my cards! And to whom does he offer this acknowledgment? To a clergyman! the representative of the moral sense of the community! What a picture! We laugh at the lack of heart in TALLEYRAND, when he says, "It is worse than a crime, a blunder." Yet all our New Englander can call this momentous crime of his life is, a *mistake*!

Whether this statement be entirely true or not, we all know it is exactly the tone in which all about us talk of that Speech. If the statement be true, what an entire want of right feeling and moral sensibility it shows in Mr. WEBSTER! If it be unfounded, still the welcome it has received, and the ready belief it has gained, show the popular appreciation of him, and of such a crime. Such is the public with whom Abolitionists have to deal.

the Bible in every tongue in which man utters his prayers — and get the money to do so, by agreeing never to give the book, in the language our mothers taught us, to any negro, free or bond, South of Mason and Dixon's line. The Press says, "It is all right;" and the Pulpit cries, "Amen." The Slave lifts up his imploring eyes, and sees in every face, but ours, the face of an enemy. Prove to me now that harsh rebuke, indignant denunciation, scathing sarcasm, and pitiless ridicule, are wholly and always unjustifiable; else we dare not, in so desperate a case, throw away any weapon which ever broke up the crust of an ignorant prejudice, roused a slumbering conscience, shamed a proud sinner, or changed, in any way, the conduct of a human being. Our aim is to alter public opinion. Did we live in a market, our talk should be of dollars and cents, and we would seek to prove only that Slavery was an unprofitable investment. Were the nation one great, pure Church, we would sit down and reason of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." Had Slavery fortified itself in a College, we would load our cannons with cold facts, and wing our arrows with arguments. But we happen to live in the world — the world made up of thought and impulse, of self-conceit and self-interest, of weak men and wicked. To conquer, we must reach all. Our object is not to make every man a Christian or a philosopher, but to induce every one to aid in the abolition of Slavery. We expect to accomplish our object long before the nation is made over into saints, or elevated into philosophers. To change public opinion, we use the very tools by which it was formed. That is, all such as an honest man may touch.

All this I am not only ready to allow, but I should be ashamed to think of the Slave, or to look into the face of my fellow-man, if it were otherwise. It is the only thing that justifies us to our own consciences, and makes us able to say we have done, or at least tried to do, our duty.

So far, however you distrust my philosophy, you will not doubt my statements. That we have denounced and rebuked with unsparing fidelity will not be denied. Have we not also addressed ourselves to that other duty, of arguing our question thoroughly — of using due discretion and fair sagacity in endeavoring to promote our cause? Yes, we have. Every statement we have made has been doubted. Every principle we have laid down has been denied by overwhelming majorities against us. No one step has ever been gained but by the most laborious research and the most exhausting argument. And no question has ever, since Revolutionary days, been so thoroughly investigated or argued here, as that of Slavery. Of that research and that argument, of the whole of it, the old-fashioned, fanatical, crazy, Garrisonian Anti-Slavery movement has been the author. From this band of men has proceeded every important argument or idea that has been broached on the Anti-Slavery question from 1830 to the present time. (Cheers.) I am well aware of the extent of the claim I make. I recognise, as fully as any one can, the ability of the new laborers — the eloquence and genius with which they have recommended this cause to the nation, and flashed conviction home on the conscience of the community. I do not mean, either, to assert that they have in every instance borrowed from our

treasury their facts and arguments. Left to themselves, they would probably have looked up the one, and originated the other. As a matter of fact, however, they have generally made use of the materials collected to their hands. But there are some persons about us, sympathizers, to a great extent, with Iox, who pretend that the Anti-Slavery movement has been hitherto mere fanaticism, its only weapon angry abuse. They are obliged to assert this, in order to justify their past indifference or hostility. At present, when it suits their purpose to give it some attention, they endeavor to explain the change by alleging that now it has been taken up by men of thoughtful minds, and its claims are urged by fair discussion and able argument. My claim, then, is this : that neither the charity of the most timid of sects, the sagacity of our wisest converts, nor the culture of the ripest scholars, though all have been aided by our twenty years' experience, has yet struck out any new method of reaching the public mind, or originated any new argument or train of thought, or discovered any new fact bearing on the question. When once brought fully into the struggle, they have found it necessary to adopt the same means, to rely on the same arguments, to hold up the same men and the same measures to public reprobation, with the same bold rebuke and unsparing invective that we have used. All their conciliatory bearing, their pains-taking moderation, their constant and anxious endeavor to draw a broad line between their camp and ours, have been thrown away. Just so far as they have been effective laborers, they have found, as we have, their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them. The most experienced of them are ready to acknowledge that our plan has been wise, our course efficient, and that our unpopularity is no fault of ours, but flows necessarily and unavoidably from our position. "I should suspect," says old FULLER, "that his preaching had no salt in it, if no galled horse did wince." Our friends find, after all, that men do not so much hate us as the truth we utter and the light we bring. They find that the community are not the honest seekers after truth which they fancied, but selfish politicians and sectarian bigots, who shiver, like Alexander's butler, whenever the sun shines on them. Experience has driven these new laborers back to our method. We have no quarrel with them — would not steal one wreath of their laurels. All we claim is, that if they are to be complimented as prudent, moderate, Christian, sagacious, statesmanlike reformers, we deserve the same praise ; for they have done nothing that we, in our measures, did not attempt before. (Cheers.)

I claim this, that the cause, in its recent aspect, has put on nothing but timidity. It has taken to itself no new weapons of recent years ; it has become more compromising — that is all ! It has become neither more persuasive, more learned, more Christian, more charitable, nor more effective, than for the twenty years preceding. Mr. HALE, the head of the Free Soil movement, after a career in the Senate that would do honor to any man — after a six years' course which entitles him to the respect and confidence of the Anti-Slavery public — can put his name, within the last month, to an appeal from the city of Washington, signed by a HOUSTON and a CASS, for a monument to be raised to HENRY CLAY ! If that be the test of charity and

courtesy, we cannot give it to the world. (Loud cheers.) Some of the leaders of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, after exhausting the whole capacity of our language to paint the treachery of DANIEL WEBSTER to the cause of liberty, and the evil they thought he was able and seeking to do ; — after that, could feel it in their hearts to parade themselves in the funeral procession got up to do him honor ! In this we allow we cannot follow them. The deference which every gentleman owes to the proprieties of social life, that self-respect and regard to consistency which is every man's duty, these, if no deeper feelings, will ever prevent us from giving such proofs of this newly-invented Christian courtesy. (Great cheering.) We do not *play* politics ; Anti-Slavery is no half-jest with us ; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue. It is no law-suit, where it matters not to the good feeling of opposing counsel which way the verdict goes, and where advocates can shake hands after the decision as pleasantly as before. When we look upon such a man as HENRY CLAY, his long life, his mighty influence cast always into the scale against the Slave ; of that irresistible fascination with which he moulded every one to his will ; when we remember that, his conscience acknowledging the justice of our cause, and his heart open on every other side to the gentle impulses, he could sacrifice so remorselessly his convictions and the welfare of millions to his low ambition ; when we think how the Slave trembled at the sound of his voice, and that, from a multitude of breaking hearts, there went up nothing but gratitude to God when it pleased Him to call that great sinner from this world, — we cannot find it in our hearts, we could not shape our lips to ask any man to do him honor. (Great sensation.) No amount of eloquence, no sheen of official position, no loud grief of partisan friends, would ever lead us to ask monuments or walk in fine processions for pirates ; and the sectarian zeal or selfish ambition which gives up, deliberately and in full knowledge of the facts, three million of human beings to hopeless ignorance, daily robbery, systematic prostitution, and murder, which the law is neither able nor undertakes to prevent or avenge, is more monstrous, in our eyes, than the love of gold which takes a score of lives with merciful quickness on the high seas. HAYNAU on the Danube is no more hateful to us than HAYNAU on the Potomac. Why give mobs to one, and monuments to the other ?

If these things be necessary to courtesy, I cannot claim that we are courteous. We seek only to be honest men, and speak the same of the dead as of the living. If the grave that hides their bodies could swallow also the evil they have done and the example they leave, we might enjoy at least the luxury of forgetting them. But the evil that men do lives after them, and Example acquires tenfold authority when it speaks from the grave. History, also, is to be written. How shall a feeble minority, without weight or influence in the country, with no jury of millions to appeal to, — denounced, vilified, and condemned, — how shall we make way against the overwhelming weight of some colossal reputation, if we do not turn from the idolatrous Present, and appeal to the Human Race ; saying to your idols of to-day, “ Here we are defeated, but we will write our judgment with the iron pen

of a century to come, and it shall never be forgotten, if we can help it, that you were false in your generation to the claims of the Slave!" (Loud cheers.)

At present, our leading men, strong in the support of large majorities, and counting safely on the prejudices of the community, can afford to despise us. They know they can overawe or cajole the present; their only fear is the judgment of the future. Strange fear, perhaps, considering how short and local their fame! But however little, it is their all. Our only hold upon them is the thought of that bar of posterity, before which we are all to stand. Thank God! there is the elder brother of the Saxon race across the water—there is the army of honest men to come! Before that jury we summon you. We are weak here—out-talked, out-voted. You load our names with infamy, and shout us down. But our words bide their time. We warn the living that we have terrible memories, and that their sins are never to be forgotten. We will gibbet the name of every apostate so black and high that his children's children shall blush to bear it. Yet we bear no malice—cherish no resentment. We thank God that the love of fame, "that last infirmity of noble mind," is shared by the ignoble. In our necessity, we seize this weapon in the Slave's behalf, and teach caution to the living by meting out relentless justice to the dead. How strange the change death produces in the way a man is talked about here! While leading men live, they avoid as much as possible all mention of Slavery, from fear of being thought Abolitionists. The moment they are dead, their friends rake up every word they ever contrived to whisper in a corner for liberty, and parade it before the world; growing angry, all the while, with us, because we insist on explaining these chance expressions by the tenor of a long and base life. While drunk with the temptations of the present hour, men are willing to bow to any Moloch. When their friends bury them, they feel what bitter mockery, fifty years hence, any epitaph will be, if it cannot record of one living in this era, some service rendered to the Slave! These, Mr. Chairman, are the reasons why we take care that "the memory of the wicked shall rot."

I have claimed that the Anti-Slavery cause has, from the first, been ably and dispassionately argued, every objection candidly examined, and every difficulty or doubt anywhere honestly entertained, treated with respect. Let me glance at the literature of the cause, and try not so much, in a brief hour, to prove this assertion, as to point out the sources from which any one may satisfy himself of its truth.

I will begin with certainly the ablest and perhaps the most honest statesman who has ever touched the Slave question. Any one who will examine JOHN QUINCY ADAMS's speech on Texas, in 1838, will see that he was only seconding the full and able exposure of the Texas plot, prepared by BENJAMIN LUNDY; to one of whose pamphlets Dr. CHANNING, in his Letter to HENRY CLAY, has confessed his obligation. Every one acquainted with those years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. LUNDY, who made long journeys and devoted years to the investigation. His labors have this attestation, that they

quicken the zeal and strengthened the hands of such men as ADAMS and CHANNING.

Look next at the Right of Petition. Long before any member of Congress had opened his mouth in its defence, the Abolition presses and lecturers had examined and defended the limits of this right, with profound historical research and eminent constitutional ability. So thoroughly had the work been done, that all classes of the people had made up their minds about it, long before any speaker of eminence had touched it in Congress. The politicians were little aware of this. When MR. ADAMS threw himself so gallantly into the breach, it is said he wrote anxiously home to know whether he would be supported in Massachusetts; little aware of the outburst of popular gratitude that the Northern breeze was even then bringing him, deep and cordial enough to wipe away the old grudge Massachusetts had borne him so long. MR. ADAMS himself was only in favor of receiving the petitions, and advised to refuse their prayer, which was the abolition of Slavery in the District. He doubted the power of Congress. His doubts were examined by MR. WILLIAM GOODELL, in two letters of most able and acute logic, and of masterly ability. If MR. ADAMS still retained his doubts, it is certain, at least, that he never expressed them afterward. When MR. CLAY paraded the same objections, the whole question of the power of Congress over the District was treated by THEODORE D. WELD, in the fullest manner, and with the widest research: indeed, leaving nothing to be added: an argument which DR. CHANNING characterized as "demonstration," and pronounced the Essay "the ablest pamphlet from the American press." No answer was ever attempted. The best proof of its ability is, that no one since has presumed to doubt the power. Lawyers and statesmen have tacitly settled down into its full acknowledgment.

The influence of the Colonization Society on the welfare of the colored race was the first question our movement encountered. To the close logic, eloquent appeals, and fully sustained charges of MR. GARRISON'S Letters on that subject, no answer was ever made. Judge JAY followed with a work full and able, establishing every charge by the most patient investigation of facts. It is not too much to say of these two volumes, that they left the Colonization Society hopeless at the North. It dares never show its face before the people, and only lingers in some few nooks of sectarian pride, so secluded from the influence of present ideas as to be almost fossil in their character.

The practical working of the Slave system, the Slave laws, the treatment of Slaves, their food, the duration of their lives, their ignorance and moral condition, and the influence of Southern public opinion on their fate, have been spread out in a detail and with a fullness of evidence which no subject has ever received before in this country. Witness the works of PHELPS, BOURNE, RANKIN, GRIMKE, the "Anti-Slavery Record," and, above all, that encyclopædia of facts and storehouse of arguments, the "Thousand Witnesses" of MR. THEODORE D. WELD. Unique in Anti-Slavery literature is MRS. CHILDS'S "Appeal," one of the ablest of our weapons, and one of the finest efforts of her rare genius.

The Princeton Review, I believe, first challenged the Abolitionists to an investigation of the teachings of the Bible on Slavery. That field had been somewhat broken by our English predecessors. But in England, the Pro-Slavery party had been soon shamed out of the attempt to drag the Bible into their service, and hence the discussion there had been short and somewhat superficial. The Pro-Slavery side of the question has been eagerly sustained by Theological Reviews and Doctors of Divinity without number, from the half-way and timid faltering of WAYLAND up to the unblushing and melancholy recklessness of STUART. The argument on the other side has come wholly from the Abolitionists. For neither Dr. HAGUE nor Dr. BARNES can be said to have added anything to the wide research, critical acumen, and comprehensive views of THEODORE D. WELD, BERTHA GREEN, J. G. FEE, and the old work of DUNCAN.

On the constitutional questions which have at various times arisen, — the citizenship of the colored man, the soundness of the "PRIGG" decision, the constitutionality of the old Fugitive Slave Law, the true construction of the Slave surrender clause, — nothing has been added, either in the way of fact or argument, to the works of JAY, WELD, ALVAN STEWART, E. G. LORING, S. E. SEWALL, RICHARD HILDRETH, W. I. BOWDITCH, the masterly Essays of the *Emancipator* at New York, and the *Liberator* at Boston, and the various addresses of the Massachusetts and American Societies for the last twenty years. The idea of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution — the opiate with which Free Soil quiets its conscience for voting under a Pro-Slavery government — I heard first suggested by Mr. GARRISON in 1838. It was elaborately argued in that year in all our Anti-Slavery gatherings, both here and in New York, and sustained with great ability by ALVAN STEWART, and in part by T. D. WELD. If it has either merit or truth, they are due to no legal learning recently added to our ranks, but to some of its old and well known pioneers. This claim has since received the fullest investigation from Mr. LYSANDER SPOONER, who has urged it with all his unrivalled ingenuity, laborious research, and close logic. He writes as a lawyer, and has no wish, I believe, to be ranked with any class of Anti-Slavery men.

The influence of Slavery on our government has received the profoundest philosophical investigation from the pen of RICHARD HILDRETH, in his invaluable essay on "Despotism in America," — a work which deserves a place by the side of the ablest political disquisitions of any age.

Mrs. CHAPMAN'S survey of "Ten Years of Anti-Slavery Experience," was the first attempt at a philosophical discussion of the various aspects of the Anti-Slavery cause, and the problems raised by its struggles with sect and party. You, Mr. Chairman, [EDMUND QUINCY, Esq.,] in the elaborate Reports of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the last ten years, have followed in the same path, making to American literature a contribution of the highest value, and in a department where you have few rivals and no superior. Whoever shall write the history either of this movement, or any other attempted under a Republican Government, will find nowhere else so

clear an insight and so full an acquaintance with the most difficult part of his subject.

Even the vigorous mind of RANTOUL, the ablest man, without doubt, of the Democratic party, and perhaps the ablest politician in New England, added little or nothing to the storehouse of Anti-Slavery argument. The grasp of his intellect and the fullness of his learning every one will acknowledge. He never trusted himself to speak on any subject till he had dug down to its primal granite. He laid a most generous contribution on the altar of the Anti-Slavery cause. His speeches on our question, too short and too few, are remarkable for their compact statement, iron logic, bold denunciations, and the wonderful light thrown back upon our history. Yet how little do they present which was not familiar for years in our Anti-Slavery meetings!

Look, too, at the last great effort of the idol of so many thousands, Mr. Senator SUMNER; a discussion of a great national question, of which it has been said that we must go back to WEBSTER'S Reply to HAYNE, and FISHER AMES on the JAY Treaty, to find its equal in Congress; — praise which we might perhaps qualify, if any adequate report were left us of some of those noble orations of ADAMS. No one can be blind to the skillful use he has made of his materials, the consummate ability with which he has marshalled them, and the radiant glow which his genius has thrown over all. Yet, with the exception of his reference to the Anti-Slavery debate in Congress in 1817, there is no train of thought or argument, and no single fact in the whole speech, which has not been familiar in our meetings and essays for the last ten years.

Before leaving the Halls of Congress, I have great pleasure in recognising one exception to my remarks, Mr. GIDDINGS. Perhaps he is no real exception, since it would not be difficult to establish his claim to be considered one of the original Abolition party. But whether he would choose to be so considered or not, it is certainly true that his long presence at the seat of government, his whole-souled devotedness, his sagacity and unwearied industry, have made him a large contributor to our Anti-Slavery resources.

The relations of the American Church to Slavery, and the duties of private Christians, — the whole casuistry of this portion of the question, so momentous among descendants of the Puritans, — have been discussed with great acuteness and rare common sense by MESSRS. GARRISON, GOODELL, GERRIT SMITH, PILLSBURY, and FOSTER. They have never attempted to judge the American Church by any standard except that which she has herself laid down — never claimed that she should be perfect, but have contented themselves with demanding that she should be consistent. They have never judged her except out of her own mouth, and on facts asserted by her own presses and leaders. The sundering of the Methodist and Baptist denominations, and the universal agitation of the religious world, are the best proof of the sagacity with which their measures have been chosen, the cogent arguments they have used, and the indisputable facts on which their criticisms have been founded.

In nothing have the Abolitionists shown more sagacity or more thorough

knowledge of their countrymen, than in the course they have pursued in relation to the Church. None but a New Englander can appreciate the power which Church organizations wield over all that share the blood of the Puritans. The influence of each sect over its own members is overwhelming, often shutting out, or controlling, all other influences. We have Popes here, all the more dangerous because no triple crown puts you on your guard. The Methodist priesthood brings Catholicism very vividly to mind. That each local church is independent of all others, we have been somewhat careful to assert, in theory and practice. The individual's independence of all organizations that place themselves between him and his God, some few bold minds have asserted in theory, but most even of those have stopped there.

In such a land, the Abolitionists early saw, that for a moral question like theirs, only two paths lay open : to work through the Church — that failing, to join battle with it. Some tried long, like Luther, to be Protestants, and yet not come out of Catholicism ; but their eyes were soon opened. Since then, we have been convinced that, to come out from the Church, to hold her up as the Bulwark of Slavery, and to make her shortcomings the main burden of our appeals to the religious sentiment of the community, was our first duty and best policy. This course alienated many friends, and was a subject of frequent rebuke from such men as Dr. CHANNING. But nothing has ever more strengthened the cause, or won it more influence ; and it has had the healthiest effect on the Church itself. British Christians have always sanctioned it, whenever the case has been fairly presented to them. Mr. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, a man far better acquainted with his own times than Dr. CHANNING, recognised the soundness of our policy. I do not know that he ever uttered a word in public on the delinquency of the churches ; but he is said to have assured his son, at the time the Methodist Church broke asunder, that other men might be more startled by the eclat of political success, but nothing, in his opinion, promised more good, or showed more clearly the real strength of the Anti-Slavery movement, than that momentous event.

In 1838, the British Emancipation in the West Indies opened a rich field for observation, and a full harvest of important facts. The Abolitionists, not willing to wait for the official reports of the government, sent special agents through those islands, whose reports they scattered, at great expense and by great exertion, broadcast through the land. This was at a time when no newspaper in the country would either lend or sell them the aid of its columns to enlighten the nation on an experiment so vitally important to us. And even now, hardly a press in the country cares or dares to bestow a line or communicate a fact toward the history of that remarkable revolution. The columns of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and *Ohio Bugle*, have been for years full of all that a thorough and patient advocacy of our cause demands. And the eloquent lips of many whom I see around me, and whom I need not name here, have done their share toward pressing all these topics on public attention.

I remember that when, in 1845, the present leaders of the Free Soil party,

with DANIEL WEBSTER in their company, met to draw up the Anti-Texas Address of the Massachusetts Convention, they sent to Abolitionists for Anti-Slavery facts and history, for the remarkable testimonies of our Revolutionary great men which they wished to quote. ("Hear, hear.") When, many years ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts wished to send to Congress a resolution affirming the duty of immediate emancipation, the Committee sent to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON to draw it up, and it stands now on our Statute Book as he drafted it.

How vigilantly, how patiently did we watch the Texas plot from its commencement! The politic South felt that its first move had been too bold, and thenceforward worked underground. For many a year, men laughed at us for entertaining any apprehensions. It was impossible to rouse the North to its peril. DAVID LEE CHILD was thought crazy, because he would not believe there was no danger. His elaborate "Letters on Texan Annexation" are the ablest and most valuable contribution that has been made towards a history of the whole plot. Though we foresaw and proclaimed our conviction that Annexation would be, in the end, a fatal step for the South, we did not feel at liberty to relax our opposition, well-knowing the vast increase of strength it would give, at first, to the Slave Power. I remember being one of a Committee which waited on ABBOTT LAWRENCE, a year or two only before Annexation, to ask his countenance to some general movement, without distinction of party, against the Texas scheme. He smiled at our fears, begged us to have no apprehensions; stating that his correspondence with leading men at Washington enabled him to assure us Annexation was impossible, and that the South itself was determined to defeat the project. A short while after, Senators and Representatives from Texas took their seats in Congress!

Many of these services to the Slave were done before I joined his cause. In thus referring to them, do not suppose me merely seeking occasion of eulogy on my predecessors and present co-laborers. I recall these things only to rebut the contemptuous criticism which some about us make the excuse for their past neglect of the movement, and in answer to ION's representation of our course as reckless fanaticism, childish impatience, utter lack of good sense, and of our meetings as scenes only of excitement, of reckless and indiscriminate denunciation. I assert that every social, moral, economical, religious, political, and historical aspect of the question has been ably and patiently examined. And all this has been done with an industry and ability which have left little for the professional skill, scholarly culture, and historical learning of the new laborers to accomplish. If the people are still in doubt, it is from the inherent difficulty of the subject, or a hatred of light, not from want of it.

So far from the Anti-Slavery cause having lacked a manly and able discussion, I think it will be acknowledged hereafter, that this discussion has been one of the noblest contributions to a literature really American. Heretofore, not only has our tone been but an echo of foreign culture, but the very topics discussed and the views maintained have been too often pale reflections of European politics and European philosophy. No matter what

dress we assumed, the voice was ever "the voice of Jacob." At last we have stirred a question thoroughly American. The subject has been looked at from a point of view entirely American; and it is of such deep interest, that it has called out all the intellectual strength of the nation. For once, the nation speaks its own thoughts, in its own language, and the tone also is all its own. It will hardly do for the defeated party to claim that, in this discussion, all the ability is on their side.

We are charged with lacking foresight, and said to exaggerate. This charge of exaggeration brings to my mind a fact I mentioned, last month, at Horticultural Hall. The theatres, in many of our large cities, bring out, night after night, all the radical doctrines and all the startling scenes of "Uncle Tom." They preach immediate emancipation, and Slaves shoot their hunters to loud applause. Two years ago, sitting in this hall, I was myself somewhat startled by the assertion of my friend, Mr. PILLSBURY, that the theatres would receive the gospel of Anti-Slavery truth earlier than the churches. A hiss went up from the galleries, and many in the audience were shocked by the remark. I asked myself whether I could endorse such a statement, and felt that I could not. I could not believe it to be true. Only two years have passed, and what was then deemed rant and fanaticism, by seven out of ten who heard it, has proved true. The theatre, bowing to its audience, has preached immediate emancipation, and given us the whole of "Uncle Tom;" while the pulpit is either silent or hostile, and in the columns of the theological papers, the work is subjected to criticism, to reproach, and its author to severe rebuke. Do not, therefore, friends, set down as extravagant every statement which your experience does not warrant. It may be that you and I have not studied the signs of the times quite as accurately as the speaker. Going up and down the land, coming into close contact with the feelings and prejudices of the community, he is sometimes a better judge than you are of its present state. An Abolitionist has more motives for watching and more means of finding out the true state of public opinion, than most of those careless critics who jeer at his assertions to-day, and are the first to cry, "Just what *I* said," when his prophecy becomes fact to-morrow.

Mr. IOW thinks, also, that we have thrown away opportunities, and needlessly outraged the men and parties about us. Far from it. The Anti-Slavery movement was a patient and humble suppliant at every door whence any help could possibly be hoped. If we now repudiate and denounce some of our institutions, it is because we have faithfully tried them, and found them deaf to the claims of justice and humanity. Our great Leader, when he first meditated this crusade, did not

"At once, like a sunburst, his banner unfurl."

O, no! he sounded his way warily forward. Brought up in the strictest reverence for church organizations, his first effort was to enlist the clergymen of Boston in the support of his views. On their aid he counted confidently in his effort to preach immediate repentance of all sin. He did not go, with

malice prepense, as some seem to imagine, up to that "attic" where Mayor OTIS with difficulty found him. He did not court hostility or seek exile. He did not sedulously endeavor to cut himself off from the sympathy and countenance of the community about him. O, no ! A fervid disciple of the American Church, he conferred with some of the leading clergy of the city, and laid before them his convictions on the subject of Slavery.* He painted their responsibility, and tried to induce them to take from his shoulders the burden of so mighty a movement. He laid himself at their feet. He recognised the colossal strength of the Church ; he knew that against their opposition it would be almost desperate to attempt to relieve the Slave. He entreated them, therefore, to take up the cause. But the Church turned away from him ! They shut their doors upon him ! They bade him compromise his convictions — smother one half of them, and support the Colonization movement, making his own auxiliary to that, or they would have none of him. Like Luther, he said — "Here I stand ; God help me ; I can do nothing else !" But the men who joined him were not persuaded that the case was so desperate. So they returned, each to his own local sect, and remained in them until some of us, myself among the number — later converts to the Anti-Slavery movement — thought they were slow and faltering in their obedience to conscience, and that they ought to have cut loose much sooner than they did. But a patience, that old sympathies would not allow to be exhausted, and associations, planted deeply in youth, and spreading over a large part of manhood, were too strong for any mere argument to dislodge them. So they still persisted in remaining in the Church. Their zeal was so fervent and their labors so abundant, that in some towns large societies were formed, led by most of the clergymen, and having almost all the church members on their lists. In those same towns now, you will not find one single Abolitionist, of any stamp whatever. They excuse their falling back by alleging that we have injured the cause by our extravagance and denunciation, and by the various other questions with which our names are associated. This might be a good reason why they should not work with us, but does it excuse their not working at all ? These people have been once awakened, thoroughly instructed in the momentous character of the movement, and have acknowledged the rightful claim of the Slave on their sympathy and exertions. It is not possible that a few thousand persons, however extravagant, could prevent devoted men from finding some way to help such a cause, or at least manifesting their interest in it. But they have

* "The writer accompanied Mr. GARRISON, in 1829, in calling upon a number of prominent ministers in Boston, to secure their co-operation in this cause. *Our expectations of important assistance from them were, at that time, very sanguine.*" — [Testimony of WILLIAM GOODELL, in a recent work entitled "SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY."]

In an address on Slavery and Colonization, delivered by Mr. GARRISON, in the Park Street Church, Boston, July 4, 1829, (which was subsequently published in the *National Philanthropist*,) he said — "I call on the ambassadors of Christ, everywhere, to make known this proclamation, 'Thus saith the Lord God of the Africans, Let this people go, that they may serve me.' I ask them to 'proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.' I call on the churches of the living God to LEAD in this great enterprise."

not only left us, they have utterly deserted the Slave, in the hour when the interest of their sects came across his cause. Is it uncharitable to conjecture the reason? At the early period, however, to which I have referred, the Church was much exercised by the persistency of the Abolitionists in not going out from her. When I joined the Anti-Slavery ranks, sixteen years ago, the voice of the clergy was, "Will these pests *never* leave us? Will they still remain to trouble us? If you do not like us, there is the door?" When our friends had exhausted all entreaty, and tested the Christianity of that body, they shook off the dust of their feet, and came out of her.

At the outset, Mr. GARRISON called on the head of the Orthodox denomination — a man, compared with whose influence on the mind of New England, that of the statesman whose death you have just mourned was, I think, but as dust in the balance — a man who then held the Orthodoxy of Boston in his right hand, and who has since taken up the West by its four corners, and given it so largely to Puritanism — I mean the Rev. Dr. LYMAN BEECHER. Mr. GARRISON was one of those who bowed to the spell of the matchless eloquence that then fulminated over our Zion. He waited on his favorite divine, and urged him to give to the new movement the incalculable aid of his name and countenance. He was patiently heard. He was allowed to unfold his plans and array his facts. The reply of the veteran was, "Mr. GARRISON, I have too many irons in the fire to put in another." My friend said, "Doctor, you had better take all the irons you have in the fire out, and put this one in, if you mean well either to the religion or the civil liberty of our country." (Cheers.)

The great Orthodox leader did not rest with merely refusing to put another iron into his fire; he attempted to limit the irons of other men. As President of Lane Theological Seminary, he endeavored to prevent the students from investigating the subject of Slavery. The result, we all remember, was a strenuous resistance on the part of a large number of the students, led by that remarkable man, THEODORE D. WELD. The Right triumphed, and Lane Seminary lost her character and noblest pupils at the same time. She has languished ever since, even with such a President. Why should I follow Dr. BEECHER into those Ecclesiastical Conventions where he has been tried, and found wanting, in fidelity to the Slave? He has done no worse, indeed, he has done much better, than most of his class. His opposition has been always open and manly.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is something in the blood, which, men tell us, brings out virtues and defects, even when they have lain dormant for a generation. Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physicians say. The blood whose warm currents of eloquent aid my friend solicited in vain in that generation, has sprung voluntarily to his assistance in the next — both from the pulpit and the press — to rouse the world by the vigor and pathos of its appeals. (Enthusiastic cheers.) Even on that great triumph I would say a word. Marked and unequalled as has been that success, remember, in explanation of the phenomenon — for "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is rather an event than a book — remember this: if the old Anti-Slavery movement had not roused the sympathies of Mrs. Stowe, the book had never been written;

if that movement had not raised up hundreds of thousands of hearts to sympathise with the Slave, the book had never been read. (Cheers.) Not that the genius of the author has not made the triumph all her own ; not that the unrivalled felicity of its execution has not trebled, quadrupled, increased ten-fold, if you please, the number of readers ; but there must be a spot even for Archimedes to rest his lever upon, before he can move the world, (applause,) and this effort of genius, consecrated to the noblest purpose, might have fallen dead and unnoticed in 1835. It is the Anti-Slavery movement which has changed 1835 to 1852. Those of us familiar with Anti-Slavery literature know well that RICHARD HILDRETH'S "Archy Moore," now "The White Slave," was a book of eminent ability ; that it owed its want of success to no lack of genius, but only to the fact, that it was a work born out of due time ; that the Anti-Slavery cause had not then aroused sufficient numbers, on the wings of whose enthusiasm even the most delightful fiction could have risen into world-wide influence and repute. To the cause which had changed 1835 to 1852 is due something of the influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

The Abolitionists have never overlooked the wonderful power that the wand of the novelist was yet to wield in their behalf over the hearts of the world. FREDERIKA BREMER only expressed the common sentiment of many of us, when she declared that "the fate of the negro was the romance of our history." Again and again, from my earliest knowledge of the cause, have I heard the opinion, that, in the debateable land between Freedom and Slavery, in the thrilling incidents of the escape and sufferings of the fugitive, and the perils of his friends, the future Walter Scott of America would find the "border-land" of his romance, and the most touching incidents of his "sixty years since ;" and that the literature of America would gather its freshest laurels from that field.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for our treatment of the Church. We clung to it as long as we hoped to make it useful. Disappointed in that, we have tried to expose its paltering and hypocrisy on this question, broadly and with unflinching boldness, in hopes to purify and bring it to our aid. Our labors with the great religious societies, with the press, with the institutions of learning, have been as untiring, and almost as unsuccessful. We have tried to do our duty to every public question that has arisen, which could be made serviceable in rousing general attention. The Right of Petition, the Power of Congress, the Internal Slave Trade, Texas, the Compromise measures, the Fugitive Slave Law, the motions of leading men, the tactics of parties, have all been watched and used with sagacity and effect as means to produce a change in public opinion. Dr. CHANNING has thanked the Abolition party, in the name of all the lovers of free thought and free speech, for having vindicated that right, when all others seemed ready to surrender it ; vindicated it at the cost of reputation, ease, property, even life itself. The only blood that has ever been shed, on this side the ocean, in defence of the freedom of the press, was the blood of LOVEJOY, one of their number. In December, 1836, Dr. CHANNING spoke of their position in these terms :—

"Whilst, in obedience to conscience, they have refrained from opposing force to force, they have still persevered, amidst menace and insult, in bearing their testimony against wrong, in giving utterance to their deep convictions. Of such men, I do not hesitate to say, that they have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one assails, or who win shouts of applause by well-turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies, or single tyrants put in jeopardy; who contend for liberty in that particular form which is threatened at the moment by the many or the few. To the Abolitionists this honor belongs. The first systematic effort to strip the citizen of freedom of speech, they have met with invincible resolution. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I am not sure that I should this moment write in safety, had they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their ferocious assailants. I know not where these outrages would have stopped, had they not met resistance from their first destined victims. The newspaper press, with a few exceptions, uttered no genuine indignant rebuke of the wrong-doers, but rather countenanced by its gentle censures the reign of Force. The mass of the people looked supinely on this new tyranny, under which a portion of their fellow-citizens seemed to be sinking. A tone of denunciation was beginning to proscrib all discussion of Slavery; and had the spirit of violence, which selected associations as its first objects, succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might have been easily turned against any and every individual, who might presume to agitate the unwelcome subject. It is hard to say, to what outrage the fettered press of the country might not have been reconciled. I thank the Abolitionists that, in this evil day, they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray. Their purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender their dearest liberties, taught the lawless that they had a foe to contend with, whom it was not safe to press, whilst, like all manly appeals, it called forth reflection and sympathy in the better portion of the community. In the name of freedom and humanity, I thank them."

No one, Mr. Chairman, deserves more of that honor than he whose chair you now occupy. Our youthful city can boast of but few places of historic renown. But I know no one which coming time is more likely to keep in memory, than the roof which FRANCIS JACKSON offered to the Anti-Slavery women of Boston, when Mayor LYMAN confessed he was unable to protect their meeting, and when the only protection the laws could afford Mr. GARRISON was the shelter of the common jail.

Sir, when a nation sets itself to do evil, and all its leading forces, wealth, party, and piety, join in the career, it is impossible but that those who offer a constant opposition should be hated and maligned, no matter how wise, cautious, and well-planned their course may be. We are peculiar sufferers in this way. The community has come to hate its reproving Nathan so bitterly, that even those whom the relenting part is beginning to regard as standard-bearers of the Anti-Slavery host, think it unwise to avow any connection or sympathy with him. I refer to some of the leaders of the political movement against Slavery. They feel it to be their mission to marshal and use as effectively as possible the present convictions of the people. They cannot afford to encumber themselves with the odium which twenty years of angry agitation have engendered in great sects sore from unsparing rebuke, parties galled by constant defeat, and leading men provoked by unexpected

exposure. They are willing to confess, privately, that our movement produced theirs, and that its continued existence is the very breath of their life. But, at the same time, they would fain walk on the road, without being soiled by too close contact with the rough pioneers who threw it up. They are wise and honorable, and their silence is very expressive.

When I speak of their eminent position and acknowledged ability, another thought strikes me. Who converted these men and their distinguished associates? It is said we have shown neither sagacity in plans, nor candor in discussion, nor ability in argument. Who then or what converted BURLINGAME and WILSON, SUMNER and ADAMS, PALFREY and MANN, CHASE and HALE, and PHILLIPS and GIDDINGS? Who taught the *Christian Register*, the *Daily Advertiser*, and that class of prints, that there were such things as a Slave and a Slaveholder in the land, and so gave them some more intelligent basis than their mere instincts to hate WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON? (Shouts and laughter.) What magic wand was it whose touch made the toadying servility of the land start up the real demon that it was, and at the same time gathered into the Slave's service the professional ability, ripe culture, and personal integrity that grace the Free Soil ranks? We never argue! These men, then, were converted by simple denunciation! They were all converted by the "hot," "reckless," "ranting," "bigoted," "fanatic" GARRISON, who never troubled himself about facts, nor stopped to argue with an opponent, but straightway knocked him down! (Roars of laughter and cheers.) My old and valued friend, Mr. SUMNER, often boasts that he was a reader of *The Liberator* before I was. Do not criticise too much the agency by which such men were converted. That blade has a double edge. Our reckless course — our empty rant — our fanaticism, has made Abolitionists of some of the best and ablest men in the land. We are inclined to go on, and see if even with such poor tools we cannot make some more. (Enthusiastic applause.) Anti-Slavery zeal and the roused conscience of the "godless comeouters" made the trembling South demand the Fugitive Slave Law; and the Fugitive Slave Law "provoked" Mrs. STOWE to the good work of "Uncle Tom." That is something! (Cheers.) Let me say, in passing, that you will nowhere find an earlier or more generous appreciation, or more flowing eulogy, of these men and their labors, than in the columns of *The Liberator*. No one, however feeble, has ever peeped or muttered, in any quarter, that the vigilant eye of the Pioneer has not recognised him. He has stretched out the right hand of a most cordial welcome the moment any man's face was turned Zionward. (Loud cheers.)

I do not mention these things to praise Mr. GARRISON; I do not stand here for that purpose. You will not deny — if you do, I can prove it — that the movement of the Abolitionists converted these men. Their constituents were converted by it. The assault upon the right of petition, upon the right to print and speak of Slavery, the denial of the right of Congress over the District, the annexation of Texas, the Fugitive Slave Law, were measures which the Anti-Slavery movement provoked, and the discussion of which has made all the Abolitionists we have. 'The Anti-Slavery cause, then, converted these men; it gave them a constituency; it gave them an opportunity

to speak, and it gave them a public to listen. The Anti-Slavery cause gave them their votes, gave them their offices, furnished them their facts, gave them their audience. If you tell me they cherished all these principles in their own breasts before Mr. GARRISON appeared, I can only say, if the Anti-Slavery movement did not give them their ideas, it surely gave them the courage to utter them.

In such circumstances, is it not singular that the name of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON has never been pronounced on the floor of the United States Congress, linked with any epithet but that of contempt! No one of those men who owe their ideas, their station, their audience, to him, have ever thought it worth their while to utter one word in grateful recognition of the power that called them into being. When obliged, by the course of their argument, to treat the question historically, they can go across the water to CLARKSON and WILBERFORCE — yes, to a safe salt-water distance. (Laughter.) As DANIEL WEBSTER, when he was talking to the farmers of Western New York, and wished to contrast Slave labor and Free labor, did not dare to compare New York with Virginia — sister States under the same government, planted by the same race, worshipping at the same altar, speaking the same language, — identical in all respects, save that one in which he wished to seek the contrast; but, no; he compared it with *Brazil* — (cheers and laughter,) — the contrast was so close! (Renewed cheers.) Catholic — Protestant; Spanish — Saxon; despotism — municipal institutions; readers of Lope de Vega and of Shakspeare; mutterers of the Mass — children of the Bible! But Virginia is too near home! So is GARRISON! One would have thought there was something in the human breast that would sometimes break through policy. These noble-hearted men whom I have named must surely have found quite irksome the constant practice of what Dr. GARDNER used to call “that despicable virtue, *prudence*”! — (laughter) — one would have thought, when they heard that name spoken with contempt, their ready eloquence would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge even a word that threatened him with insult. But it never came — never! (Sensation.) I do not say I blame them. Perhaps they thought they should serve the cause better by drawing a broad black line between themselves and him. Perhaps they thought the devil could be cheated; — I do not think he can. (Laughter and cheers.)

We are perfectly willing — I am for one — to be the dead lumber that shall make a path for these men into the light and love of the people. We hope for nothing better. Use us freely, in any way, for the Slave. When the temple is finished, the tools will not complain that they are thrown aside, let who will lead up the nation to “put on the topstone with shoutings.” But while so much remains to be done, while our little camp is beleaguered all about, do nothing to weaken his influence, whose sagacity, more than any other single man’s, has led us up hither, and whose name is identified with that movement which the North still heeds, and the South still fears the most. After all, Mr. Chairman, this is no hard task. We know very well, that, notwithstanding this loud clamor about our harsh judgments of men and things, our opinions differ very little from those of

our Free Soil friends, or of intelligent men generally, when you really get at them. It has even been said, that one of that family which has made itself so infamously conspicuous here, in executing the Fugitive Slave Law, a Judge, whose earnest defence of that Law we all heard in Faneuil Hall, did himself, but a little while before, arrange for a fugitive to be hid till pursuit was over. I hope it is true—it would be an honorable inconsistency. And if it be not true of him, we know it is of others. Yet it is base to incite others to deeds, at which, whenever we are hidden from public notice, our own hearts recoil! But thus we see that when men lay aside the judicial ermine, the senator's robe, or the party collar, and sit down in private life, you can hardly distinguish their tones from ours. Their eyes seem as anointed as our *own*. As in Pope's day—

———"At all we laugh they laugh, no doubt;
The only difference is, we dare *laugh out*."

Caution is not always good policy in a cause like ours. It is said that when Napoleon saw the day going against him, he used to throw away all the rules of war, and trust himself to the hot impetuosity of his soldiers. The masses are governed more by impulse than conviction; and even were it not so, the convictions of most men are on our side, and this will surely appear, if we can only pierce the crust of their prejudice or indifference. I observe that our Free Soil friends never stir their audience so deeply as when some individual leaps beyond the platform, and strikes upon the very heart of the people. Men listen to discussions of laws and tactics with ominous patience. It is when Mr. SUMNER, in Faneuil Hall, avows his determination to disobey the Fugitive Slave Law, and cries out, "I was a man before I was a Commissioner,"—when Mr. GIDDINGS says of the fall of Slavery, quoting ADAMS, "Let it come; if it must come in *blood*, yet I say, LET IT COME!"—that their associates on the platform are sure they are wrecking the party—while many a heart beneath beats its first pulse of Anti-Slavery life.

These are brave words. When I compare them with the general tone of Free Soil men in Congress, I distrust the atmosphere of Washington and of politics. These men move about, Sauls and Goliaths among us, taller by many a cubit. There they lose port and stature. Mr. SUMNER's speech in the Senate unsays no part of his Faneuil Hall pledge. But, though discussing the same topic, no one would gather from any word or argument that the speaker ever took such ground as he did in Faneuil Hall. It is all through, the *law*, the *manner* of the surrender, not the surrender itself, of the Slave that he objects to. As my friend Mr. PILLSBURY so forcibly says, so far as anything in the speech shows, he puts the Slave behind the jury trial, behind the *habeas corpus* act, and behind the new interpretation of the Constitution, and says to the Slave claimant—"You must get through all these, before you reach him; but if you *can* get through all these, you may have him!" It was no tone like this which made the old Hall rock! Not if he got through twelve jury trials, and forty *habeas corpus* acts, and Constitutions built high as yonder monument, would he permit so much as the

shadow of the little finger of the Slave claimant to touch the Slave ! (Great applause.) At least, so he was understood. In an elaborate discussion by the leader of the political Anti-Slavery party, of the whole topic of Fugitive Slaves, you do not find one protest against the surrender itself, one frank expression on the constitutional clause, or any indication of the speaker's final purpose, should any one be properly claimed under that provision. It was under no such uncertain trumpet that the Anti-Slavery host was originally marshalled. The tone is that of the German soldiers whom Napoleon routed. They did not care, they said, for the defeat, but only that they were not beat according to rule. (Laughter and cheers.) MR. MANN, in his speech February 15, 1850, says : — "THE STATES BEING SEPARATED, I WOULD AS SOON RETURN MY OWN BROTHER OR SISTER INTO BONDAGE, AS I WOULD RETURN A FUGITIVE SLAVE. BEFORE GOD, AND CHRIST, AND ALL CHRISTIAN MEN, THEY ARE MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS." What a condition ! from the lips, too, of a champion of the Higher Law ! Whether the States be separate or united, neither my brother nor any other man's brother shall, with my consent, go back to bondage. (Enthusiastic cheers.) So speaks the *heart* — Mr. MANN's version is that of the politician.

MR. MANN's recent speech in August, 1852, has the same non-committal tone to which I have alluded in MR. SUMNER's. While professing, in the most eloquent terms, his loyalty to the Higher Law, MR. SUTHERLAND asked — "Is there, in MR. MANN's opinion, any conflict between that Higher Law and the Constitution ? If so, what is it ? If not so, why introduce an irrelevant topic into the debate ?" *Mr. Mann avoided any reply, and asked not to be interrupted !* Is that the frankness which becomes an Abolitionist ? Can such concealment help any cause ? The design of MR. SUTHERLAND is evident. If MR. MANN had allowed there was no conflict between the Higher Law and the Constitution, all his remarks were futile, and out of order. But if he asserted that any such conflict existed, how did he justify himself in swearing to support that instrument ? — a question our Free Soil friends are slow to meet. MR. MANN saw the dilemma, and avoided it by silence !

The same speech contains the usual deprecatory assertions that Free Soilers have no wish to interfere with Slavery in the States ; that they "consent to let Slavery remain where it is." If he means that he, HORACE MANN, a moral and accountable being, "consents to let Slavery remain where it is," all the rest of his speech is sound and fury, signifying nothing. If he means that he, HORACE MANN, *as a politician and party man*, consents to that, but, elsewhere and otherwise, will do his best to abolish this "all-comprehending wickedness of Slavery, in which every wrong and every crime has its natural home" — then he should have plainly said so. Otherwise, his disclaimer is but an unworthy trick, which could have deceived none. He must have known that all the South care for is the *action*, not in what *capacity* the deed is done.

MR. GIDDINGS is more careful in his statement ; but, judged by his speech on the "Platforms," how little does he seem to understand either his own duty, or the true philosophy of the cause he serves ! He says —

"We, Sir, would drive the Slave question from discussion in this Hall. It never had a constitutional existence here. Separate this Government from all interference with Slavery; let the Federal Power wash its hands from that institution; let us purify ourselves from its contagion; leave it with the States, who alone have the power to sustain it—then, Sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing more to do with it; our time will be no more occupied with it; and, like a band of freemen, a band of brothers, we could meet here, and legislate for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of our race."

Mr. SUMNER speaks in the same strain. He says—

"The time will come when Courts or Congress will declare, that nowhere under the Constitution can man hold property in man. For the republic, such a decree will be the way of peace and safety. As Slavery is banished from the National jurisdiction, it will cease to vex our National politics. It may linger in the States as a local institution, but it will no longer endanger national animosities when it no longer demands national support." * * * "For himself, he knows *no better aim* under the Constitution than to bring the Government back to the precise position which it occupied" when it was launched.

This seems to me a very mistaken strain. Whenever Slavery is banished from our National jurisdiction, it will be a momentous gain, a vast stride. But let us not mistake the half-way house for the end of the journey. I need not say that it matters not to Abolitionists under what special law Slavery exists. Their battle lasts while it exists anywhere, and I doubt not Mr. SUMNER and Mr. GIDDINGS feel themselves enlisted for the whole war. I will even suppose, what neither of these gentlemen states, that their plan includes not only that Slavery shall be abolished in the District and Territories, but that the Slave basis of representation shall be struck from the Constitution, and the Slave-surrender clause construed away. But even then, does Mr. GIDDINGS or Mr. SUMNER really believe that Slavery, existing in its full force in the States, "will cease to vex our national politics?" Can they point to any State where a powerful oligarchy, possessed of immense wealth, has ever existed, without attempting to meddle in the government? Even now, do not manufacturing, banking, and commercial capital perpetually vex our politics? Why should not Slave capital exert the same influence? Do they imagine that a hundred thousand men, possessed of *two thousand millions of dollars*, which they feel the spirit of the age is seeking to tear from their grasp, will not eagerly catch at all the support they can obtain by getting the control of the Government? In a land where the dollar is almighty, "where the sin of not being rich is only atoned for by the effort to become so," do they doubt that such an oligarchy will generally succeed? Besides, banking and manufacturing capital are not urged by despair to seek a controlling influence in politics. They know they are about equally safe, whichever party rules—that no party wishes to legislate their rights away. Slave property knows that its being allowed to exist depends on its having the virtual control of the Government. Its constant presence in politics is dictated, therefore, by despair as well as by the wish

to secure fresh privileges. Money, however, is not the only strength of the Slave Power. That indeed were enough in an age when capitalists are our feudal barons. But, though driven entirely from National shelter, the Slaveholders would have the strength of old associations, and of peculiar laws in their own States, which gives those States wholly into their hands. A weaker prestige, fewer privileges, and less comparative wealth, have enabled the British aristocracy to rule England for two centuries, though the root of their strength was cut at Naseby. It takes ages for deeply rooted institutions to die. And driving Slavery into the States will hardly be our Naseby. Whoever, therefore, lays the flattering unction to his soul, that while Slavery exists anywhere in the States, our legislators will sit down "like a band of brothers," — unless they are all Slaveholding brothers, — is doomed to find himself woefully mistaken. Mr. ADAMS, ten years ago, refused to sanction this doctrine of his friend, Mr. GIDDINGS, combating it ably and eloquently in his well-known reply to INGERSOLL. Though Mr. ADAMS touches on but one point, the principle he lays down has many other applications.

But is Mr. GIDDINGS willing to sit down with Slaveholders, "like a band of brothers," knowing all the time that they are tyrants at home, and not seek to use the common strength to protect their victims? Does he not know that it is impossible for Free States and Slave States to unite under any form of Constitution, no matter how clean the parchment may be, without the compact resulting in new strength to the Slave system? It is the unimpaired strength of Massachusetts and New York, and the youthful vigor of Ohio, that, even now, enable bankrupt Carolina to hold up the institution. Every nation must maintain peace within her limits. No government can exist which does not fulfil that function. When we say the Union will maintain peace in Carolina, that being a Slave State, what does "peace" mean? It means keeping the Slave beneath the heel of his master. Now, even on the principle of two wrongs making a right, if we put this great weight of a common government into the scale of the Slaveholder, we are bound to add something equal to the Slave's side. But, no; Mr. GIDDINGS is content to give the Slaveholder the irresistible and organic help of a common government, and bind himself to utter no word, and move not a finger, in his civil capacity, to help the Slave! An Abolitionist would find himself not much at home, I fancy, in that "band of brothers"!

And Mr. SUMNER "knows no better aim, under the Constitution, than to bring back the Government" to where it was in 1789! Has the voyage been so very honest and prosperous a one, in his opinion, that his only wish is to start again with the same ship, the same crew, and the same sailing orders? Grant all he claims, as to the state of public opinion, the intentions of leading men, and the form of our institutions at that period; still, with all these checks on wicked men, and helps to good ones, here we are, according to his own showing, ruled by Slavery, tainted to the core with Slavery, and binding the infamous Fugitive Slave Law like an honorable frontlet on our brows! The more accurate and truthful his glowing picture of the public virtue of 1789, the stronger my argument. If even all those great patri-

ots, and all that enthusiasm for justice and liberty, did not avail to keep us safe in such a Union, what will? In such desperate circumstances, can his statesmanship devise no better aim than to try the same experiment over again, under precisely the same conditions? What new guarantees does he propose to prevent the voyage from being turned again into a piratical Slave-trading cruise? None! Have sixty years taught us nothing? In 1660, the English thought, in recalling Charles II., that the memory of that scaffold which had once darkened the windows of Whitehall, would be guarantee enough for his good behaviour. But, spite of the spectre, Charles II. repeated Charles I., and James outdid him. Wiser by this experience, when the nation, in 1689, got another chance, they trusted to no guarantees, but so arranged the very elements of their government, that William III. *could not* repeat Charles I. Let us profit by the lesson. These mistakes of leading men merit constant attention. Such remarks, as those I have quoted, uttered from the high places of political life, however carefully guarded, have a sad influence on the rank and file of the party. By such speeches and avowals, the Free Soil presses are encouraged to advise, as in Ohio, that we should be satisfied to have Slaves sent back, for the present, by State authority and jury trials; holding out the hope that thus we shall sooner and more readily abolish the whole system. The Anti-Slavery awakening has cost too many years and too much labor to risk letting its energy be turned into a wrong channel, or balked by fruitless experiments. Neither the Slave nor the country must be cheated a second time.

Mr. Chairman, when I remember the grand port of these men elsewhere, and witness this confusion of ideas, and veiling of their proud crests to party necessities, they seem to me to lose in Washington something of their old giant proportions. How often have we witnessed this change! It seems the inevitable result of political life under any government, but especially under ours: and we are surprised at it in these men, only because we fondly hoped they would be exceptions to the general rule. It was CHAMFORT, I think, who first likened a Republican Senate House to MILTON'S Pandemonium; — another proof of the rare insight French writers have shown in criticising Republican Institutions. The Capitol at Washington always brings to my mind that other Capitol, which in MILTON'S great Epic “rose like an exhalation” “from the burning marl” — that towered palace, “with starry lamps and blazing cressets” hung — with “roof of fretted gold” and stately height, its hall “like a covered field.” You remember, Sir, the host of archangels gathered round it, and how thick the airy crowd

“Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder! They but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount; or fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees.

* * * * *

Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amid the hall
Of that infernal court.”

Mr. Chairman, they got no farther than the hall ! (Cheers.) They were not, in the current phrase, "*a healthy party* !" The healthy party, — the men who made no compromise in order to come under that arch, — MILTON describes further on, where he says —

—— " But far within,
And in their own dimensions, like themselves,
The great seraphic lords and cherubim,
In close recess and secret conclave, sat ;
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats
Frequent and full."

These were the healthy party ! (Loud applause.) These are the CASSES and the HOUSTONS, the FOOTES and the SOULES, the CLAYS, the WEBSTERS and the DOUGLASES, that bow no lofty forehead in the dust, but can find ample room and verge enough under the Constitution. Our friends go down there, and must be dwarfed into pigmies before they can find space within the lists ! (Cheers.)

It would be superfluous to say that we grant the entire sincerity and true-heartedness of these men. But in critical times, when a wrong step entails most disastrous consequences, to "mean well" is not enough. Sincerity is no shield for any man from the criticism of his fellow-laborers. I do not fear that such men as these will take offence at our discussion of their views and conduct. Long years of hard labor, in which we have borne at least our share, have resulted in a golden opportunity. How to use it, friends differ. Shall we stand' courteously silent, and let these men play out the play, when, to our thinking, their plan will slacken the zeal, balk the hopes, and waste the efforts of the Slave's friends ? No ! I know CHARLES SUMNER's love for the cause so well, that I am sure he will welcome my criticism whenever I deem his counsel wrong ; that he will hail every effort to serve our common client more efficiently. (Great cheering.) It is not his honor nor mine that is at issue ; not his feeling nor mine that is to be consulted. The only question for either of us is, What in these golden moments can be done — where can the hardest blow be struck ? (Loud applause.) I hope I am just to Mr. SUMNER ; I have known him long, and honor him. I know his genius — I honor his virtues ; yet if, from his high place, he sends out counsels which I think dangerous to the cause, I am bound to raise my voice against them. I do my duty in a private communication to him first, then in public to his friends and mine. The friendship that will not bear this criticism is but the frost-work of a winter's morning, which the sun looks upon and it is gone. His friendship will survive all that I say of him, and mine will survive all that he shall say of me ; and this is the only way in which the Anti-Slavery cause can be served. Truth, success, victory, triumph over the obstacles that beset us — this is all either of us wants. (Cheers.)

If all I have said to you is untrue, if I have exaggerated, explain to me this fact. In 1831, Mr. GARRISON commenced a paper advocating the doctrine of immediate emancipation. He had against him the thirty thousand churches and all the clergy of the country — its wealth, its commerce, its press. In 1831, what was the state of things ? There was the most entire

ignorance and apathy on the Slave question. If men knew of the existence of Slavery, it was only as a part of picturesque Virginia life. No one preached, no one talked, no one wrote about it. No whisper of it stirred the surface of the political sea. The Church heard of it occasionally, when some Colonization agent asked funds to send the blacks to Africa. Old school books tainted with some Anti-Slavery selections, had passed out of use, and new ones were compiled to suit the times. Soon as any dissent from the prevailing faith appeared, every one set himself to crush it. The pulpits preached at it: the press denounced it: mobs tore down houses, threw presses into the fire and the stream, and shot the editors: religious conventions tried to smother it: parties arrayed themselves against it. DANIEL WEBSTER boasted in the Senate, that he had never introduced the subject of Slavery to that body, and never would. Mr. CLAY, in 1839, makes a speech for the Presidency, in which he says, that to discuss the subject of Slavery is moral treason, and that no man has a right to introduce the subject into Congress. Mr. BENTON, in 1844, laid down his platform, and he not only denies the right, but asserts he never has and never will discuss the subject. Yet Mr. CLAY, from 1839 down to his death, hardly made a remarkable speech of any kind, except on Slavery. Mr. WEBSTER, having indulged now and then in a little easy rhetoric, as at NIBLO's and elsewhere, opens his mouth in 1840, generously contributing his aid to both sides, and stops talking about it only when death closes his lips. Mr. BENTON's six or eight speeches in the United States Senate have all been on the subject of Slavery in the Southwestern section of the country, and form the basis of whatever claim he has to the character of a statesman, and he owes his seat in the next Congress somewhat, perhaps, to Anti-Slavery pretensions! The Whig and Democratic parties pledged themselves just as emphatically against the Anti-Slavery discussion—against agitation and free speech. These men said, "It shan't be talked about, it won't be talked about!" These are *your statesmen!*—men who understand the present, that is, and mould the future! The man who understands his own time, and whose genius moulds the future to his views, he is a statesman, is he not? These men devoted themselves to banks, to the tariff, to internal improvements, to constitutional and financial questions. They said to Slavery—"Back! no entrance here! We pledge ourselves against you." And then there came up a humble printer boy, who whipped them into the traces, and made them talk, like Hotspur's starling, nothing but Slavery. He scattered all these gigantic shadows—tariff, bank, constitutional questions, financial questions—and Slavery, like the colossal head in Walpole's romance, came up and filled the whole political horizon! (Enthusiastic applause.) Yet you must remember he is not a statesman; he is a "fanatic." He has no discipline—Mr. "ION" says so; he does not understand the "discipline that is essential to victory"! This man did not understand his own time—he did not know what the future was to be—he was not able to shape it—he had no "prudence"—he had no "foresight"! DANIEL WEBSTER says, "I have never introduced this subject, and never will"—and died broken-hearted because he had not been able to talk

enough about it. BENTON says, "I will never speak of Slavery"—and lives to break with his party on this issue! Mr. CLAY says it is "moral treason" to introduce the subject into Congress, and lives to see Congress turned into an Anti-Slavery Debating Society, to suit the purpose of one "too powerful individual"!

These were statesmen, mark you! Two of them have gone to their graves covered with eulogy; and our national stock of eloquence is all insufficient to describe how profound and far-reaching was the sagacity of DANIEL WEBSTER! Remember who it was that said, in 1831, "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and *I will be heard!*" (Repeated cheers.) That speaker has lived twenty-two years, and the complaint of twenty-three millions of people is, "Shall we never hear of anything but Slavery?" (Cheers.) I heard Dr. KIRK, of Boston, say in his own pulpit, when he returned from London—where he had been as a representative to the "Evangelical Alliance"—"I went up to London, and they asked me what I thought of the question of immediate emancipation? They examined us all. Is an American never to travel anywhere in the world, but men will throw this troublesome question in his face?" Well, it is all HIS fault [pointing to Mr. GARRISON.] (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Now, when we come to talk of statesmanship, of sagacity in choosing time and measures, of endeavor, by proper means, to right the public mind, of keen insight into the present and potent sway over the future, it seems to me that the Abolitionists, who have taken—whether for good or for ill, whether to their discredit or to their praise—this country by the four corners, and shaken it until you can hear nothing but Slavery, whether you travel in railroad or steamboat, whether you enter the hall of legislation or read the columns of a newspaper—it seems to me that such men may point to the present aspect of the nation, to their originally avowed purpose, to the pledges and efforts of all your great men against them, and then let you determine to which side the credit of sagacity and statesmanship belongs. Napoleon busied himself, at St. Helena, in showing how WELLINGTON ought not to have conquered at Waterloo. The world has never got time to listen to the explanation. Sufficient for it that the Allies entered Paris. In like manner, it seems hardly the province of a defeated Church and State to deny the skill of measures by which they have been conquered!

It may sound strange to some, this claim for Mr. GARRISON of a profound statesmanship. Men have heard him styled a mere fanatic so long, that they are incompetent to judge him fairly. "The phrases men are accustomed," says Goethe, "to repeat incessantly, end by becoming convictions, and ossify the organs of intelligence." I cannot accept you, therefore, as my jury. I appeal from Festus to Cæsar; from the prejudice of our streets to the common sense of the world, and to your children.

Every thoughtful and unprejudiced mind must see that such an evil as Slavery will yield only to the most radical treatment. If you consider the work we have to do, you will not think us needlessly aggressive, or that we dig down unnecessarily deep in laying the foundations of our enterprise.

A money power of two thousand millions of dollars, as the prices of Slaves now range, held by a small body of able and desperate men; that body raised into a political aristocracy by special constitutional provisions; cotton, the product of Slave labor, forming the basis of our whole foreign commerce, and the commercial class thus subsidized; the press bought up, the pulpit reduced to vassalage, the heart of the common people chilled by a bitter prejudice against the black race; our leading men bribed, by ambition, either to silence or open hostility—in such a land, on what shall an Abolitionist rely? On a few cold prayers, mere lip service, and never from the heart? On a Church Resolution, hidden often in its records, and meant only as a decent cover for servility in daily practice? On political parties, with their superficial influence at best, and seeking, ordinarily, only to use existing prejudices to the best advantage? Slavery has deeper root here than any aristocratic institution has in Europe; and Politics is but the common pulse-beat of which Revolution is the fever spasm. Yet we have seen European aristocracy survive storms which seemed to reach down to the primal strata of European life. Shall we then trust to mere Politics where even Revolution has failed? How shall the stream rise above its fountain? Where shall our Church organizations or parties get strength to attack their great parent and moulder, the Slave Power? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus? The old jest of one who tried to lift himself in his own basket, is but a tame picture of the man who imagines that, by working solely through existing sects and parties, he can destroy Slavery. Mechanics say nothing but an earthquake, strong enough to move all Egypt, can bring down the Pyramids.

Experience has confirmed these views. The Abolitionists who have acted on them have a “short method” with all unbelievers. They have but to point to their own success, in contrast with every other man’s failure. To waken the nation to its real state, and chain it to the consideration of this one duty, is half the work. So much we have done. Slavery has been made the question of this generation. To startle the South to madness, so that every step she takes, in her blindness, is one step more toward ruin, is much. This we have done. Witness Texas and the Fugitive Slave Law. To have elaborated for the nation the only plan of redemption, pointed out the only Exodus from this “sea of troubles,” is much. This we claim to have done in our motto of IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION ON THE SOIL. The closer any statesmanlike mind looks into the question, the more favor our plan finds with it. The Christian asks fairly of the Infidel, “If this Religion be not from God, how do you explain its triumph, and the history of the first three centuries?” Our question is similar. If our agitation has not been wisely planned and conducted, explain for us the history of the last twenty years! Experience is a safe light to walk by, and he is not a rash man who expects success in future from the same means which have secured it in times past.

NOTE.

SINCE the publication of my speech in *The Liberator*, delivered at the last Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Mrs. Stowe has, very kindly, addressed me a letter, from which I extract all relating to Dr. BEECHER :—

“One part of your speech occasioned me pain. You know what it is, I presume, and you will be glad, I also presume, to find that you have overstated the subject. I will give you the facts of the case, and leave it to your own honorable mind to judge what abatement should be made in the case. My father did *not* silence the discussion in Lane Seminary. Those resolutions of the Trustees were not passed at his request, either expressed or implied. They were passed while he and my husband were here in New England. They were passed with such determination, and in such a state of feeling, that they had no choice, except to throw up their professorships or submit to them. My father being, as you know, in the advance party of the church in theology, was at that time as much a persecuted man in the Presbyterian church, as WM. LLOYD GARRISON has been in the world. Such bitter, unscrupulous enmity, such bigotry, such persecution, can only be paralleled in the history of the Abolitionists. To destroy his influence, to detach from him all his friends, to break down the Institution he was trying to build, and to force him away from the Western country, these were the objects in view. THEODORE WELD's enthusiasm, and the whirlwind of excitement which he produced, were equally welcomed by this party as so much capital to be used against him. With all credit to my good brother THEODORE, I must say that prudence is not his forte, and that there was a plentiful lack of that useful article in all those worthy reformers. I sympathise most cordially in that generous contempt for prudence, which seems to be a necessary part of young Luthers; but I cannot help seeing that the want of it was rather unfortunate in that crisis. It seems to me, that it is not necessary always to present a disagreeable subject in the most disagreeable way possible, and needlessly to shock prejudices which we must combat at any rate. That, however, is a matter of opinion: I will not insist upon it. But the simple question before my father was, either to give up the enterprise of Lane Seminary, or to submit temporarily to those regulations. So much for that.”

I gladly give Dr. BEECHER the benefit of this statement by his daughter, and well recollect how every free heart sympathised with him in his conflict

with bigoted and unscrupulous foes. But, with all respect for Mrs. STOWE, I cannot see that the facts she states form any excuse for his conduct as President of Lane Seminary. They seem to me to deepen the fault. The students at the Seminary were not school-boys, but of mature age, and some of them graduates of other Colleges, preparing for the ministry. At no time did their Anti-Slavery labors or discussions interfere with their regular studies, lead them to omit a recitation, or to break the established rules of the Institution. Such men the Trustees forbade either to discuss the Slave question in public, or to converse about it in private ! They issued this order in deference to a corrupt public opinion, and from fear of a mob. Surely this was to sacrifice the Slave to the welfare of the Seminary.

In these circumstances, Mrs. STOWE says Dr. BEECHER submitted to these orders, which he had neither requested nor advised, in order to disarm his Presbyterian enemies, and save the Institution. That is, against his own judgment, he sacrificed the Slave to his own standing with his sect, and to the welfare of Lane Seminary. This is just what the clergy of the United States are doing at the present moment. Few hate the Slave for his own sake. They only sacrifice *his rights* to their own popularity, to their sect or party, — to something they like better, or value more. Those familiar with the history of Lane Seminary will bear me out in the assertion, that whatever was Dr. BEECHER's conduct or language in private, he pursued such a course of *action*, that the public inferred, had a right to infer, and could not but infer, that his *heart* was with the Trustees. When, after leaving the Seminary, the young men began to lecture on Slavery, in that neighborhood, Dr. BEECHER's name and course were quoted by professing Christians as a reason for refusing to give them a hearing.

We have never asked that any man, or body of men, should devote themselves exclusively to the Anti-Slavery cause. But we have claimed that they should give it a fair share of attention ; and, above all, that they should never repudiate or deny it, even for an hour, in order to save or to increase their own popularity, or build up a favorite project. All good causes are a brotherhood. We have no right to repudiate one, or to sacrifice its claims, that we may be more able to serve another. Indeed, this is not possible, as the result at Lane Seminary shows. The Institution began to die from that hour.

With regard to Mr. WELD's "prudence," justice to him requires a word. No reformer has ever been thought prudent by his cotemporaries, not even those who turned the world upside down eighteen hundred years ago. But, during that very visit to New England, to which Mrs. STOWE refers, at the very moment the Trustees were passing their Resolutions, Dr. BEECHER, who had but just left the Seminary, was extolling, in unmeasured terms, the devotedness, fidelity, attention, and general good conduct of these very students. And since Dr. BEECHER was himself opposed to the Resolutions, we have the support of his judgment, on the spot and at the time, that they were not necessary. Whoever wishes to inquire further will find the whole struggle painted in the Defence put forth by the Trustees, and the Statement published by the students.

The letter goes on : —

"Second. It is not true that 'in ecclesiastical discussions, subsequent to this time, the weight of his heavy hand has always been felt against the Slave.' The Cincinnati Presbytery, of which he, and my husband, and the other professors were leading members, actually have taken higher Anti-Slavery ground, and used more vigorous Anti-Slavery action, than any ecclesiastical body in the United States, except the Quakers; and this was done with my father's concurrence and consent. This ground was the deposing of Mr. GRAHAM from the ministry, for defending Slavery from the Bible. This was the almost unanimous vote of the Cincinnati Presbytery, and it was confirmed by the Cincinnati Synod. Mr. GRAHAM appealed to the General Assembly, and the Assembly reversed the action, and recommended to the Presbytery to restore him. Prof. ALLEN, of Lane Seminary, who was on the floor of the Assembly at the time, told the General Assembly they might rely upon it that the Cincinnati Presbytery would never retrace their steps; and so it proved. Mr. GRAHAM was obliged to go to the Old School Church. You will observe, that an important principle was established here, which, had it been observed, would have kept the Church free from complicity with Slaveholders.

"Your remark with regard to blood is certainly true. If I have had any Anti-Slavery proclivities, I got them very early in life from my father's sermons and prayers, at the time of the discussion of the Missouri question. I shall never forget the deep feeling he showed when he heard of the admission of Missouri. It was as if he had sustained some great personal calamity.

"These facts I lay before you. You can make any use you please of them."

I joyfully accord to Dr. BEECHER all the merit which concurrence in the movement against Mr. GRAHAM deserves. How low must the general Church have fallen, when we are glad to confess that the stand made by that Presbytery was a noble one, and does them great honor; while it was only to forbid a clergyman to defend Slavery from the Bible! If, however, he is to be praised for "concurring" in the good deed of that Presbytery, of which he was but a simple member, surely, he is still more to be held accountable for the evil decree of the Trustees of Lane Seminary, to which he not only gave, in public, his "concurrence," but, as President of the Faculty, carried it into execution. If my language, as quoted, is too strong, I should willingly qualify it. But Dr. BEECHER has, for twenty-five years, occupied a very prominent position, and exerted a most commanding influence. During that time, there have been, in fact, but two parties on this question. The Pro-Slavery world, Church and State, is one: the Anti-Slavery body is the other. I can appeal to every laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause to say, whether, during those years, Dr. BEECHER's influence has ever been distinctly felt on the Slave's side? Whether it has not always been thrown into the scale of a Church, then and now a Pro-Slavery body? I think I do not misrepresent when I say, that his first public, explicit word in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause is yet to be uttered.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston, March 4, 1853.

CORRECTIONS.

In enumerating essays on the practical working of the Slave system, I ought to have named a very full and valuable one — “Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States,” prepared for the WORLD’S CONVENTION, by T. D. WELD and others, and published, at London, in 1841.

The Anti-Slavery construction of the Constitution was ably argued in 1836, two years earlier than I have dated it, in the “Anti-Slavery Magazine,” by SAMUEL J. MAY; one of the very first to seek the side of Mr. GARRISON, and pledge to the Slave his life and efforts — a pledge which more than twenty years of devoted labors have nobly redeemed.

The allusion on page 28, to the Free Soil press of Ohio, should be erased, as it is incorrect. On page 12, Dr. CHANNING should be quoted as pronouncing Mr. WELD’s Essay “one of the ablest pamphlets from the American press.” My request to have the words “unworthy trick,” struck out from the paragraph relating to Mr. MANN, page 25, reached the printer too late. I intended to say only that the disclaimer was unworthy of Mr. MANN.

On page 6, fourteenth line from the top, for *dull*, read *dumb*.

W. P.

TRUTH, AND ITS RELATION TO THE MIND OF MAN.

AN ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

UNION AND PHŒNIX SOCIETIES

OF

HAMILTON COLLEGE, N. Y.,

AT THE COMMENCEMENT

IN JULY, 1853.

BY CHARLES MURRAY NAIRNE, M. A.

NEW-YORK :

PRINTED BY JOHN A. GRAY, 95 & 97 CLIFF STREET.

1854.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HAMILTON COLLEGE, NOV. 7, 1853.

SIR :

THE undersigned, in behalf of the UNION and PHOENIX LITERARY SOCIETIES OF HAMILTON COLLEGE, tender you their thanks for the able, eloquent, and instructive Address delivered by you, before them at their last Anniversary ; and would request a copy of the same for publication.

Respectfully yours,

C. E. BILLINGTON,

WM. A. BOYNTON,

Cor. Com. of Union Society.

PROF. C. M. NAIRNE,
No. 35 Bible House, New-York.

35 BIBLE HOUSE, NEW-YORK, NOV. 17, 1853.

GENTLEMEN :

I CHEERFULLY comply with your request, and consent to the printing of my Address, in the hope, that, by rendering permanent so much of the truth as it contains, the good which is said to have flowed from its delivery, may be extended by its publication.

Believe me to be,

Very sincerely, yours,

CHARLES MURRAY NAIRNE.

TO MESSRS. C. E. BILLINGTON,
WM. A. BOYNTON.

ORATION.

GENTLEMEN OF THE UNION AND THE PHŒNIX SOCIETIES:

THE subject upon which I shall have the honor to address you, is "Truth and its Relation to the Mind of Man." As the discussion of this theme will occupy us rather longer than the hour usually allotted to such exercises as the present, I shall abstain from all prefatory remarks, in the hope that the appropriateness of the subject to the position which I now hold, will become abundantly apparent as the discussion proceeds. The argument will comprise two propositions, followed up by a few lessons of practical utility, founded on the observations which it will be my duty to submit to your consideration.

My first proposition will consist of two parts—a lemma and a theorem—the former being an attempt to determine "What Truth is;" and the latter to prove "That the Soul of Man was designed and fitted by his Creator for the *perception* and *practice* of Truth."

And in the second division of my Address, I shall endeavor to show "How these natural powers—the power of *discerning*, and the power of *doing* the truth—may be trained and strengthened for the exercise of their appropriate functions." In this portion of the argument, the demonstration will partake more, perhaps, of the indirect, than the direct method; forasmuch as by applying the "Reductio ad absurdum" to existing opinions, the true path may become manifest, after even a cursory survey of the erroneous ones.

In establishing these two propositions, I shall not adopt the terminology of any particular system of philosophy; but em-

ploy words, unless when specially defined, in their ordinary popular sense. This audience consists of others besides students and philosophers.

1st. The term Truth is one of very extensive application. There is an ordinary and every-day acceptation of the word to which I need but barely advert, since it is far too loose and unphilosophical to serve the purposes of argument. For example, such statements as these: That John or James is at school; or that corn sells at so many shillings a bushel; or that a certain stone is round or square; or that the weather is fair or foul, and so forth, may, every one of them, be statements that are true; and as such, they are objects of apprehension by the mind; as such, also, they behoove to be acted on by the discerner of them, if they happen to enter into the number of those considerations which go to shape his course in any given case. So far, then, even this most fractional and unclassified sort of truth falls under our present proposition; and a certain amount of education, although not sought in schools and colleges, is requisite to its apprehension, and to any good use being made of it. But the Truth of which we speak, when we affirm that the Almighty designed and fitted man to be a discerner and a doer of the truth, while it assuredly includes truth in all its senses, is specially intended to denote Truth as a system—truth classified and permanent, not fractional, random, and transitory. Any one of the foregoing statements may be a fact; and consequently, even in its isolated condition, a portion of truth, when regarded merely as an aggregate of particulars; yet only so in a very rude sort of way—in somewhat the same way, for instance, that a pitcher of water may be called a part of a river, or a handful of soil a portion of an empire. It is entirely separated from its connection in any general plan; and before we can look upon it as a part of truth in the acceptation now meant to be insisted on, it must be placed in relation to some common law; it must be seen to occupy a position in some regular scheme; for, otherwise, it cannot become the object of any science or systematized branch of human knowledge. It may be a truth in the loose and vulgar sense of the term; but no portion of *the* truth in the philosophical sense of the term.

What, then, is the philosophical signification of Truth? I answer—but yet by way of approximation only—that the universe of God being every where regulated by law, that law is Truth; that to know that law, is to discern the Truth; and that to obey that law is to do the Truth.

In every occupation of man, in every position he can hold, he is the appointed subject of law; of law so perfect, that it secures, without the visible interposition of any executive, its own rewards and penalties; and on the discernment and doing of this law depends his true and permanent well-being. Such discernment is the discernment of truth; such doing is the doing of truth. So far as he mistakes the law, he falls short of the truth, and believes a lie; so far as he disobeys the law, he deceives himself, and will find that he acts a lie; for the law will not be disregarded with impunity.

In the government of material nature, the existence of strict law is unhesitatingly acknowledged. The man who would step forth from the verge of a cliff, in the belief that he might as well remain stationary; or ascend in the air, as fall to the ground; or that even if he did fall, his bones would not be broken, or his life destroyed, we should count a madman; because he either has forgotten, or chooses to despise a promulgated law of nature. The engineer who should propose to raise a stream of water above its source, without the interposition of mechanical power, we should laugh at as an ignorant pretender; because he acts without the knowledge of another material law, which is a material truth. The common laws of matter, the common truths of the physical world are thus generally recognized, and in most instances they are implicitly obeyed; forasmuch as the penalty of transgressing them is usually exacted on the spot. Mischief or failure follows immediately. In their case judgment against an error is executed speedily, and therefore men are deterred from such evil as they forbid. Still, there are other material laws of a somewhat different kind, whose vengeance on the breakers of them is not so very prompt and decisive; and hence they are not so quickly nor so easily discerned to be truths. These laws may for a time be disregarded; the transgression of them may not occasion so great a shock to the universal government as instantaneously to check or cut off the offender. Yet in

the end, their day of retribution will also come. With the very first act of disobedience, indeed, the avenger begins to stir; and the continuance of disobedience will as assuredly cause his stroke at last to descend, as if, like the madman before spoken of, we were to step out from the brink of a precipice. The mistake and the madness are different only in degree. They are precisely the same in kind; for the one no less than the other is a contempt, or at least an ignorance of truth. Of such laws, we have suitable examples in the laws of temperance, of exercise, of cleanliness, and of health generally. These laws, perhaps, may not be so well ascertained as the former; or if so well ascertained by the few, they are not so fully acknowledged by the many; nevertheless, whatever delusions and unrealities may perplex the popular knowledge of the rules of right physical living, there can be no doubt that any practice which weakens, or clogs, or over-accelerates our corporeal functions, is a departure from the proper path, and will, if persevered in, terminate punitively either in chronic disarrangement, or in acute distemper and destruction.

But in the mental and moral world, no less than in the material, there is a government by discoverable law; and that law is *truth*. The laws of reason, will, and conscience, no doubt differ from the laws of matter, inasmuch as the faculties of soul differ from the properties of body; yet they are not less laws on that account. This higher law, too, has its sanctions and its penalties; it as certainly punishes the disobedient and rewards the obedient as does any law of matter,—the law of fluids, the law of gravitation, or the law of health. To discern this law is to discern what is true; to follow this law is to do what is true; whereas, not to know it, and not to do it, are to think and act falsely, and the result will be accordingly.

For example, in the administration of nations there is a law, a method, according to which alone national well-being is truly, fully, steadily, and permanently secured. If in any government there be an element of injustice either to citizens or foreign states; if there be in it any principle at variance with universal order; if it admits and retains any compromise which is also a contradiction; if its constitution suffers it to fall easily into the hands of unrighteous aggressors and despotic autocrats

on the one side, or of mock patriots, selfish schemers, and scrambling partisans on the other—then do we declare that such government contains within itself the seeds of disruption and ruin. The accursed thing must be purged out of it, else it will eventually die; the true way and the right way must be discovered and followed, else it cannot live; the law must be found out and fulfilled, if glory and immortality are to be secured. The people who come nearest to this law, approach nearest to a mighty truth; the people who adhere, and compel their leaders to adhere most closely to this way in the regulation of their affairs, secure most firmly, by thus doing the truth and defeating falsehood, their own prosperity; whereas, the people who know it not, or knowing, who do it not, though they may exist and flourish for a while, yet will ultimately and infallibly, if they continue in their error, reap the terrible fruits of their error. Nations are more long-lived than individuals. Like the men before the flood, they date by centuries and not by lustrums. The body politic is great, and so corruption is proportionably longer in doing on it its deadly work; but yet all organic disorder, all mal-practice and empirical treatment, all aberration from eternal truth, all political profligacy and unrighteous or selfish legislation, tend as surely to undermine the constitution of the commonwealth, as personal profligacy or ignorant prescription hastens the decay of the individual. This is one of the plainest and most awful lessons of history.

In like manner there is a law of commerce, a law of household economy, a law of general respectability, a law of honest fame and glory, a law of education, a law in every thing; which law, once more, is truth, the veritable and righteous constitution of this universe whereof our planet is a member; and being so—being law universal and irrefragable, the unrepentant transgressors of it cannot, in the upshot, possibly go unpunished, neither shall the faithful doers of it by any means lose their reward. So much, however, must suffice for the illustration of this point; and we now hasten to the discussion of another.

In maintaining the existence and the sovereignty of law, we must take care not to deify a mere abstraction, even though that abstraction be truth. We must guard against the pan-

theism of certain transcendentalists, whose God is the laws of nature; we must mount much higher than they do, and rise from the law to the Lawgiver, from truth revealed to the Supreme Essence in whom truth resides. I can no more logically conceive of law without a legislator, than I can of any other consequence without a cause, of design without a designer, contrivance without a contriver. Nay, it is in the laws of nature, and the beautiful adaptation of all things to these laws, that I most clearly discern the existence and wisdom and goodness of a God. I have certainly no objection to the modern, or rather the resuscitated doctrine, that the germ of our belief, the initiatory notion of a Deity, may be the result of an intuitional process, similar to the perception of beauty, or of right and wrong. But, admitting that it is thus we obtain the primary conception of a God; it is indisputable, that apart from revelation, we can gain a *knowledge* of His objective reality, and of His various attributes, only from the skillful and benevolent arrangements of the universe. The pure reason may be the source of the *simple idea* of a Divinity; but revelation and the study of nature can alone instruct us in the *science* of a Divinity. It would appear, therefore, that God and the laws of the universe, or, in other words, that God and truth have, at least, a very intimate relation to each other; and in following out the question, "What is truth?" we now proceed to show that He whose image man originally bore, and the intimate knowledge and acquaintance of whom would have been man's chiefest glory, is, himself, the impersonation of truth; that the idea of a God is not, as the rationalist imagines, a mere code of law, universal and unchangeable law; a mere metaphysical assemblage of eternities and infinities to which we must simply be subject; an abstract, cold, impersonal despotism which cannot be the object of affection; a dim, unfeeling destiny, only described as God by a figure of speech; but that God, the author of all things, is still, and ever will be, the *All in all*; the source, at once, and the sum of all existence; a Person, a Father, whom, loving and adoring, we shall delight to serve; a Living Sovereign, who is absolute over all, because without any fiction of jurisprudence, he can do no wrong, and reigns in the hearts of his people; and that all we call truth, is only a revelation of Him, of what he *is*, demonstrated by

what he *does*, and what he enjoins on those who would be like him, to do. The rule, "He that made the eye, shall he not see; and he that planted the ear, shall he not hear?" is alike applicable to all the works of God. He whose works and ways are the subjects of all science, the objects of all knowledge, the field of all investigation—is he not the truth, the end of all research, and the exceeding great reward of all who love and long for what is true? Books have been composed on the connection of the physical sciences, and that connection is most remarkable. The connection of the mental sciences is certainly not less striking; and now we need not wonder that it should be so. The ultimate grand subject of them all is the same. They are all no more than parts of God's ways. The universe is but the outward working of One secret power, "the stars are but His footprints upon space," and all that they contain, are only the characters in which His name and attributes are written.

Now, that the assertion, "God is Truth" is no mere figure of speech, no mere personification of an attribute, no unwarrantable deifying of an abstract quality, may, without much difficulty, be made apparent. Were we to affirm that "Truth is God," that converse proposition would be a fallacy. It would be simply Atheism; and therefore itself one of the greatest untruths that man can utter. But when we maintain that God is Truth, we merely carry the idea of truth upwards to its source and essence. God is Virtue; this is his character, inseparable from himself; his very being; for virtue is nothing apart from the mind of which it is the description—of which virtue acted is only the legitimate effect, the consequence and the evidence of its existence. Virtue in man, is God made manifest in man. Virtue in the angels is a higher manifestation of God in the angelic nature. Divinity in Jesus Christ is the perfect manifestation of the entire fullness of Godhead in a human form. We have an infallible authority, even the authority of God himself, for naming him by a single one of his many perfections; and the *rationale* of such expressions is that which I have just been stating. They are the expressions of each particular virtue in its origin, in its essential condition, in its infinitude.

"God is Love;" that is to say, love is not only one of his attributes, but he is the impersonation of love, the aggregate and

fountain of the quality, the author of the susceptibility in all creatures who possess it, the source and pattern of all that is lovely in the universe, and the centre whither all the rational love in the universe ought ultimately to return, even as the great ocean is at once the origin and the receptacle of all the streams that water the earth. In so far as any one has this affection truly dwelling in him, he is godlike. God dwells in him. In like manner, God is Light, and in him is no darkness at all. He is Intelligence, pure, ethereal, unlimited; the grand, original, uncreated, infinite MIND, of which the intellect of every creature is a spark, a light by him bestowed. He is the fount of flame, which, itself undiminished, has supplied, and will supply all the souls that ever have been and ever will be, with intelligence—each soul or mind being a vital scintillation of the central and yet omnipresent Spirit. So that here also, as in the former case, in so far as any living creature possesses intelligence, that creature is divine; he has God dwelling in him.

Wherefore, with these Bible instances before us, we need not hesitate to aver that God likewise is Truth. God is truth. In Him every truth centres and dwells; and the universe, in all its provinces—each the subject of a science—is only the expression of God, his glory reduced in its effulgence, that we may look upon it and not die; his nature published in the only character wherein man can read it. Nothing can be known that is not of God; and nothing can be known, in the very fullest sense of which a created being is capable, unless that creature retains its own perfection in being able to see God in all things.

I make these assertions advisedly. All science consists either in the knowledge of what God is, or of what he has done, or of the laws according to which he acts. The *essence* of God we cannot know. Indeed, of essences of any kind we are entirely ignorant. We only know things by their properties. We know God only by *his* properties; and these properties, in their turn, we only know by his actions and his laws. Revelation itself adopts little or no other means of presenting him to our knowledge. We there behold him as the Maker, the Mover, the Ruler, the Lawgiver, the Redeemer, and the Judge. I repeat, therefore, that all truth is the knowledge of God. If our science,

or system of truths be metaphysical, it investigates the laws of man's mental nature, which laws have been impressed upon it by God, and are a partial revelation of Himself. If it be moral and political, it has for its subject man's moral and social nature, which also comes from, and tells of God. If it be physical, it treats of the motions, forces, attractions, repulsions, balancings, whether mechanical, chemical, or physiological, with which God has endowed the materialism of the universe, and which, before they were imposed in the shape of laws, must have existed in Him, the infinite, eternal MIND. And, lastly, if our science be theological, it aspires not to comprehend and explain God's essence; for that is, as I have said already, unsearchable and unintelligible by all minds except his own; but it aspires to know generally what are the characteristics, the properties, of that Being, whose existence is perceived in all things, who made all things, and sustains all things, and governs all things. In one word, throughout all science—which is truth reduced to system—God is present; it is God whom we are studying whether we acknowledge him or not; it is in reality God that we are knowing, whether or not we recognize him as the Supreme All-in-All, whose centre is every where, and circumference, no where; the first and the last, the beginning and the ending, the Light, and the Life, and the Truth.

The entomologist watches the habits of an insect, numbers and names its various parts, tells of its germination, its transmutations, its internal and external economy, its works and its ways, and this he calls the knowledge or natural history of that insect. The chemist pursues his processes of analysis and composition, marks minutely how the subtle agencies of his favorite science operate—how they conspire or counteract, how they attract or repel, how they blend, how they undulate, how they vibrate, and how they speed on their mysterious course; and this he calls knowing the chemical nature of matter. The astronomer measures and computes the magnitudes, motions, and distances of the heavenly bodies, generalizes the order of their revolutions into that which he terms the law of gravitation, confirms this deduction by their very perturbations and apparent irregularities, predicts, on the strength of his generalized and concentrated observation, their periods, and their phases, and their positions; and this he likewise calls the knowledge of

these bodies, the science of astronomy. The mental philosopher, turning his spirit inward upon itself, viewing his own soul objectively, or tracing the operations of mind at large, in language and in action, notes its various powers and susceptibilities, reduces its operations to their elements, searches out the laws of reasoning, of taste, of memory, of suggestion, and of conscience; enumerates, and defines its emotions, passions, appetites; investigates what, by an adaptation of medical language, may be denominated its physiology, its anatomy, and the chemistry of its many compounded states and feelings; thus finding out and registering its works and ways; and this he, too, terms the knowledge or science of mind. And not farther to accumulate examples of this sort, which every science or system of truth affords, I affirm generally, and the affirmation, I presume, will not be questioned or gainsaid, that all science or known truth is the knowledge of the properties, the works, and the ways of the things which God has made; and what else, I ask, is this than the knowledge of a part of God's own works and God's own ways, the whole of which knowledge is the only knowledge that we can have of God at all? I have a knowledge of animals, when I know their works and ways; I have a knowledge of chemistry, when I know the works and ways of material atoms and chemical agencies; I know astronomy, when I know the operations and ways of the stars; I have a knowledge of mind, when I know its works and its ways; even so also, I have a knowledge of God, when I know his works and his ways; and the Bible declares it to me, while my reason reëchoes the words of the Bible, that God "worketh ALL things according to the counsel of his will." His will is law—the law of the universe, of all things, the very law or ultimate truth at which all science labors to arrive; the nearest approximation that finite intelligence can make to truth in the abstract. But God's will is determined solely by what he is in himself; God's law or revealed will is the expression of his wisdom, the manifestation of that spirit which we call God, and the outward exhibition of the intellect and character of the Most High Lawgiver. It is the exposition of his mind, the utterance of what he is, the perceptible image, so far as we can perceive it, of the Invisible. This analogy, or rather sameness in all other departments of Truth, would lead us to believe—and why

should we not believe?—that even mathematical truth, unchangeable and eternal as it is, must be a manifestation of the unchangeable and eternal God. I can see a glimmer of this thought in the ancient Philosopher's definition of the Supreme Being: "It is he who geometrizes;" and in the mystical representations of the same Being by the triangle and the circle, those geometrical elements of which all spaces whatsoever consist, as well as in the arithmetical fancies of Pythagoras, and the sacred numbers of Divine revelation. Let it not be considered as an objection to this doctrine that mathematical truth does not depend upon the will of God. It surely has been observed that we have just taken a step beyond the volitions of God; even to the character and intellect of God, the personal properties of God; and while with reverence we proclaim it, yet we do proclaim it, that no universal law or truth of any kind depends upon the mere will of God. Truth is antecedent to the divine will, for God himself is Truth; it resides in his character; and things are neither right nor true because He willed them. He willed them, on the contrary, because they were antecedently, eternally right and true; because he himself, as we contend, is Truth, and his will only tells us what he is.

"These as they change, Almighty Father! these
Are but the varied God."

It is thus that the belief of the genuine truth-lover always partakes of the nature of that principle which theologians distinguish by the name of Faith. The mere intellectual assent to a truth is one thing; the having a hearty faith in it is another. I may believe a truth even when God is not in all my thoughts, or when I skeptically dispute his existence; I can have faith in the truth only when I perceive that God dwells in it, and it in Him. Hence Faith is a much more exalted and powerful principle than simple, naked belief is. It has noble feeling, warm affection, high, adoring trust in it. It is the constant and conquering antagonist of all those falsities, and partial, fragmentary, imperfect, seeming realities, wherewith this world excludes from our contemplation the perfect and eternal realities of Godhead. Faith is the genius of the purified soul, a faculty of spiritual apprehension, whose upward glance penetrates all the mists that obstruct and distort our vision here.

below and interpose betwixt our gaze and heaven; and the man on whom it is bestowed, while he surveys the field of science, and expatiates amid its infinite loveliness and harmony, feels in some measure as one would feel who, while looking on the stars and admiring their majestic march across the deep serene, should find his mortal senses suddenly enlarged, so that he could see their living multitudes, and hear the high converse of their glorious population! His eyes are no longer dimmed by the shadows, or bewildered by the vast and sacred recesses of the universal temple. They are strengthened to behold the light; the vail is rent in twain; God, the maker and mover, is there; the great secret of nature is revealed!

Such is my answer to the question "What is Truth?" and that man was designed and fitted by his Creator to apprehend and to obey the truth, will appear easily and clearly from this answer.

Even the old philosophers, who, having no divine revelation, yet were driven by their difficulties and differences to pray for one, in order that real truth might at length be known—even they perceived that the human being is distinguished from the brute by the faculty of seeing what the order of the universe is; that the investigation of truth is natural and peculiar, among animals, to man; and that obedience to the truth, if the truth may possibly be discovered, is the *summum bonum*, the chief good, the grand secret of human felicity. Man they unequivocally saw to be, in his perfect condition, a creature of order, and at all times, a calculator of futurity; a searcher after the best, an investigator of what is and what ought to be; a witness, in his longings and struggles, that right is *order*, and wrong *disorder*; and that truth, in opinion and in action, is the fountain of happiness.

Now, by pursuing the same course of observation and inference which the philosophers of antiquity followed, we also may arrive at the same conclusion regarding the intended occupation of the mind of man. The faculty of reason which we alone of animals possess, implies a mental adaptation to the perception of truth, which is the proper object of reason. The powers of taste and conscience, equally peculiar on this earth to mankind, the former of which discerns and derives enjoyment from the beauty, grace, and fitness of things; while the

latter distinguishes between right and wrong, commending the one and condemning the other—these superadd their testimony to the evidence of reason. The tendency of men to classify objects and events, and the existence of sciences which are founded on this principle, constitute farther proofs of our natural love of truth, when no evil influence intrudes to send us after error. The credulity of children, who believe everything, till by experience they learn the possibility of being deceived, and the implicit reliance we repose in the witness of our senses throughout our whole lives, argue a counterpart design in the Creator, of making truth the rule of life, and show that untruth is the natural exception. The necessity of truth for the permanence of society, the pleasure we feel in its discovery, the tribute of respect which we pay to the man of extensive information and perspicacious judgment, and the felt impossibility of believing what is contrary to our reason—all these, and other acknowledged facts which might without much difficulty be adduced, conspire to demonstrate that the human soul was framed and fitted for the discernment and the practice of truth.

Even amid the manifold errors and perversities of fallen humanity, there is no room for doubt that such was its original destination. But with a divine revelation at hand, we are not under the necessity of prolonging an argument of this kind. I have said that my answer to the question, "What is Truth?" evinces clearly the primary design of our immortal souls. God is Truth, and man was made to know and serve God, to learn and obey God's law, to explore the realities of God's creation, to search earth and heaven for truth, and to fill his allotted place in the universe, to constitute an item in the sum of truth universal, by *accomplishing* this object of his being. In this manner, a manner altogether suited to his nature, he was appointed to glorify his Maker and enjoy him; and in this manner, before he fell, he did glorify and enjoy his Maker. That after his fall he ceased to answer the divine purpose in his creation, is made plainly evident by the very struggle which the partial maintenance of truth now costs us; by our innumerable aberrations from the truth, both in counsel and in act; by the caution, suspicion, and skepticism which daily intercourse with the world teaches us; and, without enumerating any farther considerations, by that great one, inclusive of all the rest—our

not liking to retain God in our knowledge. Moreover, we are not satisfied with our present condition. We feel that something is certainly wrong with it. Ten thousand obstacles stand between us and *truth*. There is mental lassitude which flags the spirit's wing in its highest soarings, and at the very moment when truth's eminence seems reached; there is the clog of diseased and dying bodies—the tabernacle of clay which confines or gives way under the efforts of its immortal tenant; there are the disturbing forces of indolence and interest, and passion and prejudice; the entanglements of sense, and hypothesis and venerable error; in one word, there is the whole host of things earthly, visible, and temporal, incessantly soliciting us on every side, intruding perpetually on our endeavors like so many imps of disorder, leading us astray like *ignes-fatui*, and flitting like rack across the firmament of things ethereal and eternal: so that we resemble, in our search after fact, the astronomers of some variable and foggy clime, who spend the greater portion of their year in futile efforts to observe the stars through an atmosphere beclouded and perplexed by exhalations and currents. Heaven is shut out from us. The reality that we want to know, and the knowledge of which, we feel, would completely rectify our state, we strive in vain to compass. It baffles us continually. It exists, but we cannot grasp it. Like the shade of one departed to another and a better sphere, it is seen now here, now there, shifting and evanescent. A spirit of beauty is before our eyes, but we cannot discern the form thereof—it is too ethereal for our injured organs. Only the gifted sons of our species can converse steadily with truth at all; only they can stay the heavenly vision, and that merely in a few of her shapes. Dimness hath passed upon the general soul of man! The truth-discerner hath been damaged, the celestial instrument hath been dismantled, and only enough of its mechanism remains to tell for what use it was, originally framed.

It were not an uninteresting speculation to consider *how far* the intellectual powers of man have been impaired by his lapse from innocence and truth. One might probably make it apparent that they have been injured almost or altogether as extensively as his moral powers. And who can tell the amount of pernicious and depraving influence that has been exerted by

the moral upon the intellectual? Look at the monstrous forms of faith, and the equally monstrous forms of government, under which countless myriads of our race have groaned! How did it ever come to pass that beings possessed of thought and reason should believe old Jupiter a God, or submit to such prodigies as Nero and Nebuchadnezzar? Where slept the faculties of the species which has produced a Shakspeare and a Newton, a Cromwell and a Washington, a Knox and a Luther, while superstition reared its pandemonium, and universal Tyranny forged her chains? Who can estimate the adamantine strength of prejudices and errors, hardening into solidity since the fall, as sea-beaches have become rocks since the flood; and who can fathom the abysses of an ignorance gathering and darkening over the people since the dispersion of the mad projectors in the plains of Shinar? Think on these things, and on others like them, and then say if the human intellect has not suffered from sin as severely as have the affections and the conscience.

2. This brings me to the *second* division of my subject, namely, the means whereby the original powers of man, impaired as they at present are, may be trained and strengthened, so as to secure, in the actual circumstances of the case, the nearest approximation to his intended destiny as a discerner and doer of the truth.

Of course, I cannot here enter on the discussion of what I believe to be the main instrument of human regeneration. Neither your time nor your expectations admit of this. I leave the task to the ordained expounders of Divine revelation. My business at this moment is with the intellectual part of the matter, to which I pass on, after simply declaring my conviction that even science, and chiefly the science of man, both in his individual and social capacity, is still in its youth, and will not reach its prime on earth, till the advent of the millennial age, when the knowledge of God, who is Truth, shall shine like the equinoctial sun, from pole to pole. *Now*, the inlets and messengers of knowledge—the telegraphs of the soul, are perpetually being injured by violence and deranged by storms; but *then* they will operate under a sky which no tempests can deform, and among a race who shall guard them as the sacred means of communication between earth and heaven—between time and

eternity; and then, too, the mind, with the balance and full force of its energies restored, shall no longer be doomed to spend these energies in beating down error; but shall carry them in entire vigor and uninterrupted application, to the building up of Truth alone!

Genius is the power of discovering original truth, of seeing what, to any lower power, is invisible till shown; talent is the power of discerning and applying the truth which genius has first seen and pointed out. Genius is the divine ambassador to make known God's royal laws; talent is the subject freeman that comprehends, and fulfills, and enjoys them. The genius of Newton first perceived that the falling apple and the rolling moon obey the same attraction. The talent of Laplace has carried out this law in all its bearings. The genius of Franklin perceived that the electricity of a machine and the lightning of the clouds are identical; the talent of others invents conductors to disarm the storm. The genius of Columbus saw, from far, a land beyond the Atlantic main; the talent of his successors has made that ocean, by him first surveyed, a highway between the old world and the new. The genius of a Homer and a Shakspeare beheld, as with the high vision of a seer, the spiritual beauties of nature, while their magic pens turned them to shape; the talent of the critic and the rhetorician perceives those beauties when disclosed, and tells how inferior men may imitate these mighty masters of truth and of song. Thus talent is plentiful and practical, while genius is rare and precious; genius is the leader, talent is the host; genius is the high-throned promulgator of law, talent is the intelligent people who own its supremacy and execute its will. For one man of genius, there are a million men of talent; and then, even genius itself may be improved by experience, and governed by rule. It disregards not the precedents of predecessors; and hence, while superior in place and authority to mere talent, still, like a constitutional sovereign, it is subject to the law of the realm, in which its own divine right is loyally acknowledged.

In our farther observations, therefore, we may leave behind us the distinction between genius and talent, between the original discovery or intuitive perception of truth, and the apprehension and application of truth after it has been once

revealed. This liberty will considerably facilitate the progress of our discussion.

It may already be evident from what has been said on the nature of truth—and I shall speedily endeavor to make it more evident—that any study having truth for its object, will furnish a field for the training of the mind to the apprehension of truth; while the discovery of truth, the other name for which it will be recollected is *law*, will show that obedience to the truth is a necessary condition of ultimate success in all things; and so, common interest and common sense will unite their voices in favor of doing the truth continually. This part of our investigation, by the way, will lead us to the root of that much-agitated question, “Do the reasoning faculties of various minds differ from each other in kind, or only in degree; or, in other words, is there one kind of intellect suited to one branch of learning, and another to another; as for example, one kind of intellect adapted to the inquiries of the linguist, another to those of the mathematician, another to those of the metaphysician, and so forth? or, do various intellects differ from each other only in power, and not in such specific adaptation?” We shall find that precisely the same intellectual faculties are called into operation by the investigation of every description of truth, *when that investigation is conducted in the proper way*; and that the apparent variety of aptitude for the various branches of study arises entirely from accident and accessories; from a lack of true philosophy either in the teacher or the taught; from a deficiency in the power of discerning *absolute* truth; from an only partial mental discipline, while a full and perfect training is necessary to the fair operation of the rational powers.

A slight degree of attention and reflection will convince you that all philosophy whatever consists in the classification of facts according to some observed points of resemblance between them; in the rising by an induction of particulars to common or general truth; in the deducing, from faithful observation and experiment, the ultimate laws that govern the relations of things. When these generalizations have been made, we register them as fixed and fundamental truths; from which, in the same manner as we do from the definitions and axioms of mathematics, we by reasoning deduce other properties and

conclusions; and thus build up the manifold propositions of science. Each proposition in its turn serves as a fixed fact, which in subsequent theorems and problems we are entitled to take for granted; and as we proceed in our discovery and demonstration of the truth, we are all the while only unfolding the laws of God's universe; which laws we must obey, if we would act wisely and well; if we would secure eventual profit, and avoid eventual and otherwise unavoidable loss. The reason why the mathematics has ever been the most certain and satisfactory of the sciences, is that its fundamental truths or ideas, the ideas of a point, a line, an angle, a triangle, a circle, and of parallelism and ratio, are so easily and certainly attainable, compared with the fundamental ideas of other sciences; while its subsequent reasonings are so purely abstract, presenting truth in its naked, spiritual beauty, so entirely free from the disturbing forces that jostle and deflect the mind in those studies where the moral perversity of our fallen nature comes into play. Nevertheless, even in mathematical science there are not a few points of controversy, especially in its more elementary propositions; and what is more to our present purpose, there is in it, as in every other science—*first*, the process of classification, by which we arrange its objects, its magnitudes, its quantities, and its relations under general heads; *secondly*, the process of deduction, by which in the exercise of our reasoning powers, we combine propositions into trains of thought, ending in the establishment of less obvious propositions; and *thirdly*, the process of applying established results and approved methods of investigation, to any problems, whether practical or theoretical, that may occur. These three processes, I repeat, are common to all sciences whatsoever, and I think I am safe in affirming, constitute the entire philosophy of them all.

If these observations be true, therefore, and I commend them to your candid consideration,—if the same fundamental principles and processes of investigation are common to all the sciences, it must follow that the man whose mind has been properly disciplined in the apprehension of truth, is competent to the study of any science whatever, provided his inclination or his circumstances lead him to the prosecution of it. Inclinations may differ, and absurd fancies may be entertained;

but an intellect which has not been perverted by bad education, (unfortunately there are only a select few which have not,) I say, such an intellect can discern truth in any shape or under any name. The same mind, for instance, which can comprehend, I do not mean mechanically apply, but really comprehend a rule of syntax as a principle, can also comprehend a proposition in geometry; the same understanding which can intelligently calculate the interest of money, can comprehend the distance of a star; the same acumen which can master the intricacies of finance, will assuredly not fail, if the will be right, in mastering the intricacies of philosophy; the same earnest attention which guides the understanding to perfection in whist or chess-playing would, with the very same amount of understanding, accomplish wonders before deemed impossible in the field of legitimate study. But not to multiply examples, let us take, once for all, the case of language and mathematical reasoning, which it is usual to contrast with each other, as if the faculties for the study of the two were, *toto cœlo*, diverse things. It is no doubt true that the use of language as an art, is different from the use of any other science, in the particular art or arts of which it is the basis. To make a speech and to build a bridge or railroad are palpably not the same. Nevertheless, to study language is to study science, just as much as to study astronomy or chemistry is to study science. Language *is a science*; and he who tries to teach it on other than scientific principles, who makes interpretation a matter of guess-work, and not a scientific certainty, is a martinet and not a master; a mere hammerer of words, and no architect of thought; a parser and not a preceptor; a small drill-corporal of memory, no leader of god-like reason. For what is science? What, for example, is astronomy or chemistry? The astronomer, using the heavens as his book, discerns that certain bodies are planets, certain others satellites, certain others comets and certain other suns; the chemist, using matter for his book, finds that certain bodies there are acids, certain others alkalies, certain others, earths, metals, gases, &c.; and so the linguist, searching his books also, perceives that certain words there are nouns, certain others adjectives, verbs, prepositions, and so on; all three—astronomer, chemist, linguist, and as many more as you choose to add to them—manifestly alike pur-

suing the *first* process of philosophy, namely, the induction and classification of objects. The astronomer again observes how his stars affect each other, how they are related, how they act, where is their proper place; the chemist does the same thing with his simples; and so likewise, the linguist observes the objects of his care—his words, or parts of speech; how they are related, how they affect each other, how they act, where they ought to stand, and he frames his rules or laws accordingly. That an active transitive verb governs the objective case, is just as much a deduction of science, as that acids and alkalis, combined, form neutral salts; or that the planets move in elliptical orbits, having the sun in one of the foci. The phenomena which we observe and generalize in these three instances are different, but the scientific part of the process, that part where simple truth away from names is concerned, is equally and identically the same in all. Suppose there are sixty planets in astronomy—how do I find that out? Why, by searching the sky, and noting their distinctive peculiarities. Suppose there are sixty simple substances in chemistry—how do I find out that? Just by search and observation of resemblances as before. And suppose there are sixty prepositions in Greek or Latin—how do I discover that? Again, precisely in the same way, by research and observation of those peculiarities which form the ground of classifying them together under one general name. It signifies not whether it be a planet or a preposition—the mere names are nothing to the purpose; we might for that matter have called the planet, preposition, and the preposition, planet; but the truth, as truth, in either case, is the result of processes exactly similar—of mental operations precisely identical. But surely, it would be superfluous to prosecute this reasoning farther. The point in question must be obvious to any one who will bestow a moment's thought upon it. The principles of language are discovered and applied just as the principles of any other branch of science are discovered and applied. In all sciences, however unlike their nomenclatures may be, the processes of philosophising are indisputably the same; no matter whether it be language or electricity, logic or galvanism, music or political economy, therapeutics or theology, the three cardinal processes, the two truth-finding processes, and the one truth-doing process, the classification, the deduction, and the

practical application, are alike in all. How, then, it may be demanded, should one man excel in science and another in language? To this question I might reply by asking another. Why is it that one musician excels in playing the fiddle and another the flute? It is simply because he chooses to learn and practice the one art, and to neglect the other. To perform on either instrument, he must know music, he must have a musical soul, a spirit attuned to melody. The possession of the musical faculty is the question, not the instrument on which the faculty is exercised. With this faculty, and the usual number of serviceable thumbs and fingers, he can learn to play either flute or fiddle if he wills it; but without the faculty, he may have as many hands as Briareus had, and a whole orchestra of instruments to handle with them, and yet produce nothing but din. Now, I affirm that just as a musical soul can learn any thing that has music in it, so a rational soul can learn any thing that has reason in it—can learn any science, whether that be the science of language or the science of any thing else. Science is conversant in truth and not in names. Names are mere adjuncts and conveniences in science; and perhaps the expert linguist, having mastered in his youth the terminology and definitions of his favorite study, may be too indolent in riper years to acquire the nomenclature and definitions of any other science, and as a cloak for his indolence, or acting under some delusion, he may persuade himself that he has a talent for languages alone. He might as well believe that he has a musical ear for the violin alone. Truth may be expressed in various vocabularies; philosophy may employ various languages, the language of astronomy, the language of chemistry, the language of natural history, the language of philology; the tongue of France or the tongue of England. Yet, surely, they are truth and philosophy after all; and when the mere vocabulary has been acquired, the truth-discerner, the trained and philosophic mind, will apprehend the *truth* as certainly as the musical ear will appreciate good music on any instrument whatever. No doubt some truths are more recondite than others; and so, while they are perceived by some minds, they may remain necessarily invisible to others; but this difference arises manifestly from *quantity* of intellect, not from *quality*; from a difference of *power*, and not a difference of *species*.

From the foregoing account of that which science or systematic truth really is, you will, I trust, comprehend, without farther detail, what is intended generally by the mental training necessary to render man a discernor of the truth.*

And now passing over what are regarded as the mere mean *necessaries* of an education, let us inquire what ought to be the grand object of instruction in our universities and other high-class institutes of learning. That object ought unquestionably to be the exercising of mind in and for the apprehension of truth. This is a doctrine on which we desire to insist with all our might; for on no other subject does there exist a more imperious necessity for enlightening the popular understanding. We hear the orthodoxy of this doctrine commonly admitted in words, but we see it constantly denied in practice; neither is there any deviation from the truth which more sorely perplexes and embarrasses those who, zealous for the truth above all things, are anxious to lead their fellow men to revere and serve their own divinity. The parents and protectors of youth, and young people falsely taught by their seniors, frequently lose sight of truth as the main object of life—fail to reverence truth in her pure abstract beauty—and appreciate only such a fragmentary, or it may be, distorted portion of the truth as may be immediately useful in the pursuit of some petty personal gain. These persons complacently call themselves practical men, advocates of a sound practical education, and know not, all the while, that the most practical and sound of all processes is that by which a human being is removed from the category of mechanism and mammon-worship into that of genuine manhood. Now, listen to me, ye practical men! The serving of an apprenticeship is one thing; the education of an immortal soul is another and a very different thing. To make a tailor, or a shoemaker, or a carpenter of a boy—nay, to make a merchant, or a lawyer, or a physician of him, is not to educate him. It is to give him a trade or profession; but

* It is a training in the three great processes of philosophy which have been expounded. The sciences used for such exercise are left open to choice, and may be determined by circumstances. That the Literature of Greece and Rome, in the hands of a properly qualified instructor, affords one of the very best fields for mental training, admits of very satisfactory proof: which, however, cannot be undertaken here.

not to educate him. To educate him is to make a MAN of him, to make of him what the great Maker intended he should be a discerner and a doer of the truth! That, I say, is to educate him; and that ought to be done, whatever else we may do for professional men. Brother! you may make of your son what you will, a merchant or a lawyer, a cobbler or a tinker, for in principle it is all the same. As for me, I will make of mine, if possible, a *man*, a *God-seer*; and then I know that wherever his lot may be cast, whether in the ranks of the lowly or the exalted, he will honor his position and vindicate his worth. I shall have placed a man there; a discerner and a doer of the truth there. Let there be but sent out from our schools and colleges a race of men; of men whose souls have been refined and rectified by veritable truth-teaching; give us that in the first place; and then leave it to masters, or employers, or whatever less seeming despotic name you choose to call them; let them instruct these *men* in trades and occupations. That is *their* business, not the teacher's; and be assured that men—good men and true—will make the best specific workers, the best barristers, the best physicians, the best statesmen, the best every thing, along all the way to the best laborers, or, even, if you please, the best boot-blacks. You talk of the dignity of labor; and I agree with you. Robert Burns, the poet of labor and laborious life, agreed with both of us, when in the pride of genius, he told the grandees of his native land, "I want not your charity; I was bred to the plough, and am independent." But labor, to be dignified, is not the mere exertion of strength or dexterity; it must be the labor of a *man*; of one who can do something more than labor. In whatsoever state I find a human being, whenever I have to deal with a human being, I wish to find in him a *man*. I tell you that this world's interests and influences, this world's passions and perversities, come soon enough to bear upon the sinful heart. Like the waves around a vessel, or the air around our dwellings, they are pressing for admittance on all sides; and not a chink or crevice can be opened, but in they rush! Even into our halls of science and seminaries of learning they perpetually intrude themselves unbidden, unauthorized, as Satan entered Paradise. And shall we then, in the very season

when the young heart is full of life and generous feeling; when, if at any time, the love of truth for its own sake, may be successfully instilled into it, and which season is expressly set apart for pointing out the way to truth; shall we, even then, introduce, on very purpose, the narrow, partial projects of a mere profession, to distort the intellectual vision of boyhood, and shut out all but a pitiful fraction, an isolated fragment, of truth universal and eternal! Shall our youth continue to be taught practically if not theoretically, that truth is traffic, and resides, not as of old in a well, but in an office or a store? Shall the undying mind be goggled in its early days, so that through all this life, it may never see with certainty in any but one direction, and behold truth only as a mere strip of light, instead of a celestial radiance that illumines the universe? We have already arrived at something like the right view of this great matter in the education of our daughters. Young ladies are taught not simply to read, write, sew, and make sometimes music and sometimes noise on the piano-forte; they are also taught science, and philosophy, and language. No one dreams that a thousandth part of them are ever to make money by these accomplishments; neither is it understood that botany will aid them in the purchase of vegetables, or zoology in the selection of turkeys, or dynamics in the rocking of the cradle. On the contrary, our sole design is to make them intellectual beings, discerners and doers of the truth; and verily, in these days of high-pressure, and material activity, and hastening to be rich, we hail it as a mercy and a safe-guard, a special interposition of a benignant Providence, that so many of our families possess at home some one or more high-minded and intelligent women, whose pure hearts, and clear understandings, and warm love of truth in all its noblest forms, may rebuke and restrain the world-tainted judgments of their brothers and their lords!

But after all that has been said, our practical friends may still harp upon their favorite theme, *utility*. And what do they mean by utility? Is it to procure what we can eat, and what we may drink, and wherewithal we may be clothed? No doubt, these things are useful, extremely useful. They are, in fact, absolutely necessary. Two of them are as useful to

man as they are to the horse ; and the third is a utility proper to himself and the—tailor ! Nevertheless, to have a well-trained mind, a soul I mean, that can apprehend truth in whatever shape or dress she comes ; is not that, I demand, the most useful of all possessions ? To stretch far ahead of any attainments that we have yet made ; and to know that the people generally will follow in our wake, until the discernment and the love of truth shall become so universal among us that the demagogue and the charlatan shall quail before them, even as a libertine is overawed by the majesty of virtue ; and this republic shall have grown a model to the nations, not only in its freedom and its energy, but also in its purity, in its justice, and in its spotless patriotism ; oh ! that were a consummation second only to the full triumph of the Gospel, as doubtless it shall form part of that triumph ! Utility ! What, pray, is the use of knowledge ? Is it merely to add to our creature-comforts and augment our wealth ? Why, these are but the crumbs that fall from her table. *Truth herself*, and not her dollars, is the object of the true man's love ; the reward of the noble thinker's toil ! What is the use of astronomy ? By astronomy, you will answer, we find our longitude at sea, and regulate our clocks on land. But who would study astronomy for that ? What is the use of geology ? Why, by it, too, we can find something ; we can find where coal and iron are stored ; most precious commodities we allow ; but yet who would study geology for nothing more than these ? How much mathematics is necessary for the surveying of a field, or the running of a line, or the levelling of a canal ? Why, only the poorest elementary fraction of the science ; just about the first step of that lofty elevation to which the accomplished geometer and analyst has climbed. The fact is, that generous science from her exalted path does drop many great temporal blessings on mankind ; but her richest and her rarest blessings are reserved for her own chosen people, the truth-lovers, the lovers of what is eternal more than of that which is temporal. The vast bulk of her discoveries are made to them alone ; and the most exquisite of her pleasures are theirs—above all are they theirs, when they know and own that God is truth.

And now, young gentlemen by whose kind partiality to a

stranger I occupy my present honorable position, a few words more to you especially, and I release this audience.

God is truth; the adversary of all falsehood, whether in thought or action. It is impossible that He or his truth can be baffled. The eternal and immutable laws of his creation will have themselves obeyed. Truth is like a star; clear, calm, steady, majestic in its progress. Clouds may seem sometimes to blot it out, and storms to make it reel in the sky; but on it marches in its own everlasting serenity, and will complete its cycle undisturbed by the vapors and vanities of this nether sphere. Therefore, as it is your duty, so it is your interest, yea, your most gainful utility, to be on the side of truth. Wherever you see error in any form, rebuke it; yet not so loudly by your words, as silently and emphatically by your deeds. Live the truth as well as speak it. Be discerners and doers of the truth. Be *men*, whom the Most High will own as his; not fellow-workers with pretense and falsity, with self-seekers and time-servers, with partialities and delusions, unrealities and shams, the devil and his angels! Bring men and things to the test of pure truth. Whenever you find a man slothful and indolent, recollect that God's law is, that man must labor; that this is the *truth* of man's estate; the unalterable condition of his well-being; and that if the sluggard amend not, the law has its penalty, and sooner or later vengeance will come and will not tarry! Whenever, on the other hand, you encounter the busy man, look well to what his business is, and learn from him a lesson of warning or of zeal. Zeal, if his business be the doing of truth; warning, if his occupation be a lie. If, for instance, his employment be that of a political schemer, who uses his abilities to aggrandize himself; if with loud professions of patriotism and public virtue on his lips, his heart's desire is the ascendancy of party; if he is tolerant of falsehood in order to win support, and blackens his opponent to brighten a character at least as infamous; if he employs the sacred powers of speech, and truth's mighty engine the press, to propagate slander and prop up a lie, remember that such a man lives in an atmosphere of untruth; remember that unless he seeks a purer air, his days are numbered, his final shift will come at last, the cup of his iniquity will fill up, and the drop will be added which shall

cause it to run over; and then, he too shall know that God is truth, and will not always strive with man. If you meet a man whose idol is gold, and in whom the love of mammon has extinguished the love of fairness and of God; remember that his gold will not follow him beyond the tomb, but that his character will; remember that he can neither trade with death, nor discount with the grave; that he cannot bribe the recording angel; that he cannot hire the Intercessor; that he cannot corrupt the Judge; and that *he*, likewise, shall discover the gold to have been a lie which was his hope, and the fine gold which was his confidence! If, again, your footsteps lead you into the circle of fashion and extravagance, where the treasures of the toiling father are scattered by the foolish son and frivolous daughter; oh! remember that God made men for other purposes; that to use your talents so is to embezzle and squander the property of Heaven; that to use them so is to defraud the true God, to defraud the world, to defraud and disgrace your relations; to cheat and disgrace yourselves; and that, in the end, your sin will find you out. This falsehood, no more than other falsehoods, cannot endure alway. "*Magna est veritas, et praevalebit.*" Truth is great and *will prevail*. Be assured of it: truth must have all the world to itself. This earth of ours shall yet be purged of every thing that agrees not with the laws of the Eternal. Disobedience and disorder must get out of it. Another world has been prepared for those. Tophet is ordained of old for all that is noxious and all that is useless, for all that annoys and all that hurts. There the chaff and the tares shall burn together, and none shall quench them. No where else shall there be room for them hereafter; for when this world is filled with light, and life, and truth; all that is frivolous and all that is false, all that froths and all that festers; the rubbish and the corruption must be got rid of for ever!

It *will* be got rid of! and then mind's noble manhood shall begin. The intellect of man shall have shaken off its tormentors! The long Sabbath of the earth shall have come—a Sabbath not of indolence, but of work—a rest whereof labor itself shall be the pleasure, and in which truth shall disclose her glories evermore! Beneath these glories, the eye which sorrow hath dimmed, shall brighten again as with the lustre of youth; the bowed-down spirit shall rise again, and the old man's

weight of years shall give poise to his wisdom without impairing his powers. I have seen in the green fields of my Scottish home, while the dew yet glistened on the eyelids of the morning, and the flush of dawn gilded the heather on the mountain-tops, making for them a crown of purple and gold—there have I seen the sky-lark rise from her low nest among the unopened wild flowers, and mount to greet the sun ere he emerged above the horizon's rim; and as she soared, her music, like an anthem-solo, filled the the ærial temple, and waked the yet silent choristers of the grove; and still she soared and sang, till the king of day walked in brightness from his pavilion, and the full swell of woodland harmony welcomed his approach. Above it all, her melody yet rose, and as, "far in the downy cloud," she appeared a speck less luminous than itself, or faded away utterly from view, her song still poured down from heaven-gate like an echo of the angels' hymn: and I thought her no unfitting emblem of a soul set free—a truth-lover in his high, unfettered career! With what ease did she float upon the bosom of the air! with what exceeding joy did she seem to exult in the buoyant motion of her untiring wings! How active, and yet how tranquil! How enraptured, and yet how calm! What exertion without pain! What effort without fatigue! What mounting upward to the clear empyrean as to her native home! So also shall it be in the reign of Truth which draweth nigh; for then they that wait her advent shall renew their strength; they shall soar with melody in their hearts; they shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk and not faint.

Miss Jenny Whiting
with affectionate regards,
E. Smalley

The Loss of the Arctic.

A

SERMON,

OCCASIONED BY THE

LOSS OF THE ARCTIC,

PREACHED IN THE

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, TROY,

OCTOBER 15, 1854,

BY E. SMALLEY, D. D.,

MINISTER OF SAID CHURCH.



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1854.

SERMON.

LUKE XII: 38.

AND IF HE SHALL COME IN THE SECOND WATCH, OR COME IN THE THIRD WATCH, AND FIND THEM SO, BLESSED ARE THOSE SERVANTS.

The teachings of Christ were eminently practical to those who heard them, and clothed with authority for all future time. In this passage He taught his disciples that a solemn event was near them, that they knew neither the day nor hour when it would come, and hence, the importance of a constant preparation for it. The event alluded to, was the *coming of the Son of man*. Whether that be understood as representing the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, or the death of each individual, or the great day when every one must be judged according to the deeds done in the body, it must surely be regarded as an event of the deepest significance. It was adapted to awaken concern in every considerate mind; deep solicitude, indeed, was the most fitting state of the spirit in view of its inevitable approach; and truly wise were all who made ready for it.

As, to the primitive followers of our Lord, there was to be the coming of the Son of man, so to us, individually, there is to be an event of equal moment. It may come in the second watch, it may come in the third ; it may come in the morning, it may come in the evening ; it may come at noon, it may come the next hour ; blessed are we if, when it cometh, we are found watching. You all anticipate the remark, that this event is what we call death—the dissolution of the connection between soul and body—the ceasing to act and to have a being on this earth and in this state of probation, and the beginning of that new form of life which will continue eternally. This event *may* come upon us suddenly ; it *will* come upon us all, *soon*, at the longest. No sagacity of ours can accurately predict the hour or the moment of its access ; no effrontery deny, that it is ever coming nearer on time's resistless tide. In the evening, the sun may go down upon us pleasantly ; we may lay ourselves down in peace and in perfect health, to all human appearance, and, before morning, the heart may cease its throbbings and the pulse forget to beat. We may arise in the morning with buoyant spirits, anticipating pleasant hours and various pursuits, and long before the going down of the orb of day, the sun of this brief life of ours may have set forever. With the opening day, parents may rejoice in the children that God

has given them ; at its close, with heart like lead and head bowed down like a bulrush, they may be written childless. In the morning, children may be thankful that they have a father to protect and a mother to bless them ; in the evening, they may be kept from being utterly overwhelmed only by the promise, that God is emphatically the orphan's Father. To-day, the young man may rejoice in the possession of his newly-found bride—the gladness of his heart radiating beauty on all the works of nature ; to-morrow, he may be in despair, his spirit refusing to be comforted, because the bridal robe must be exchanged for a shroud. Young, old and middle-aged ; parents and children ; brothers and sisters ; teachers and taught ; ministers and people ; friends and neighbors ; all are liable at any moment, to be summoned from these earthly scenes, to have their ties to this world broken forever, and to be called to the “home of their eternity.”

So the Scriptures teach us. “Man that is born of a woman, is of few days and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down ; he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.” “We spend our years as a tale that is told.” “For what is your life ? It is ever a vapor that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away.” “In such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh.”

Instructions of similar import are multiplied in the sacred volume ; and what is thus plainly asserted in the Word of God, is affectingly enforced by his Providence. It is scarcely needful to say, that events which have recently occurred are fitted deeply to impress this truth upon our minds. Such events have come upon us with appalling frequency. Like the messengers of evil tidings to the patriarch Job, the account of one great ruin is hardly finished, before another reaches us with a tale of woes to pain the ear and oppress the heart. If one had kept an exact record of all the instances which have occurred during the last eighteen months, in which the public mind has been startled by the intelligence that a terrible accident had taken place, the reading of that list before any audience would indeed be of thrilling interest. The fall of buildings that were thought to be strong, burying scores beneath their ruins ; the crash of engines on our Railways ; large conflagrations in cities attended with a sad destruction of life ; explosions on our great rivers ; wrecks and burstings on our lakes ; burnings and groundings on the Pacific coast ; shipwrecks on the Atlantic ; “hair breadth ’scapes by flood and field ;”—these have been so multiplied, that fear has become only a salutary caution, and the wise man decides that speed has been preferred to safety. We can hardly attempt a journey now, without entering

upon an estimate of the probabilities whether we shall ever return to the embrace of our friends. At such a time as this, then, we must be impressed with the words of the Divine Teacher: "And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants."

Is it not passing strange, that we can for a single day or hour, neglect the great business of preparation for the great change which we know is coming?

"Beneath our feet and o'er our head,
Is equal warning given;
Beneath us lie the countless dead,
Above us is the heaven."

What topic, then, can have a deeper interest for us at this hour, than that which directs our thoughts to the home of our Father and the requisites for dwelling in that glorious home? As we are all liable to pass, even without a moment's warning, into the spirit-land, may we not spend a few minutes profitably and rationally, in considering the question, *How shall we best be prepared to meet a sudden death?*

In replying to this inquiry, let us say

1. *Not by neglecting the ordinary duties of life.* These are appointed for us, as we are appointed for them. Though we may not love the world as our chief good without forfeiting the friendship of God, yet we are to be diligent in business, and use the

world as not abusing it. Though here we have no continuing city, but are to live as strangers and pilgrims seeking a better country, yet the seeking of that better country by no means implies a neglect of the appropriate duties devolving upon us in this. It was not the prayer of our Saviour, that his disciples should be immediately removed from this state of trial, but that they might be kept from being brought under the power of the evil thereof. This, on the whole, is a good world—an excellent world, for the purposes it was intended to answer. It has sights of beauty to cheer the eye, and sounds of melody to charm the ear. There are bowers of pleasure, where the weary and heavy laden can rest and rejoice, and objects of varied interest to call into action the energies of the mind and body, and gratify the susceptibilities of the heart.

"Prepare to die? *Prepare to live!*
 We know not what is living:
 And let us for the world's good give,
 As God is ever giving—
 Give action, thought, love, wealth and time,
 To win the primal age again;
 Believe me, 'tis a truth sublime,
God's world is worthy better men."

It is far from certain that a man is prepared for heaven, because he has become tired of earth. He may have worn out his sensibilities by dissipation, and so, having exhausted his power to procure pleasure from sources which once afforded it,

may now be ready to exclaim in the *words*, but *not* in the *spirit* of one of old, "O that I had wings like a dove; then would I fly away and be at rest." Yet, so far from being ready *to die*, such a man needs to take the first lesson in the school which teaches how *to live*.

Let no one lay the flattering unction to his soul, that a neglect of the duties of ordinary life is any preparation for death. Nothing more clearly evinced the infatuation of those who, a few years ago, professed to be looking for the coming of the Son of man, on a certain day, than the fact that they were so ready to neglect the duties which belonged to their life here. The hermit and the nun; the whole system which recommends retirement from the active duties of life, and a rigid denial of those recreations and pleasures which God benevolently intended for man, is at war with the first principles of common sense, alike with the obvious teachings of Christianity. The study of his true position in life, the effort to know and perform his personal and relative duties in this world;—this is at once the obligation and high privilege of every man. A willingness to live and labor here as long as it shall please God to have us, to suffer and endure what his wisdom shall lay upon us, all the days of our appointed time to wait till our change come;—this is both scriptural and rational. Mournful is the delusion, that prepa-

ration for even a sudden death involves any necessity of overlooking present claims upon the heart and life, or being unmindful of the responsibilities incident to a residence here. Nor,

2. Does such preparation imply, *that we should be constantly shrinking and anxious lest some great evil suddenly overtake us*. When an unexpected danger is present, we instinctively shun it. The law of self-preservation is an exceedingly active and impulsive part of our nature. Wisely has God thus constituted us. Were we left to the slow processes of reason, in many instances life would be extinct before a just conclusion could be reached. But the operations of this law do not require that we shall incessantly be the subjects of a painful solicitude, lest some terrible accident come upon us. They are by no means best prepared for a dying hour, who are "all their lifetime subject to bondage through fear of death." A person agitated by alarm, shrinking from the first suspicion of danger, when none is really present, will often be in real and imminent danger from that very alarm; and, when the emergency arises for a sudden concentration of the energies in order to escape from it, his faculties will be paralyzed, and he may be the first to receive harm. We should indeed fear lest a promise being left us of entering into that rest, any of us should come short of it; but such fear begets not trepidation and dismay.

It excites the mind to a wise caution and holy effort, that the great evil of life may be avoided, and the great end of life gained. It is the opposite of this which is to be guarded against—the fear which is slavish—the anxiety that unfits for effort—the timidity which leads often directly into danger, instead of shunning it. Calmness, resulting from an intelligent submission to the will of God; a manly reliance on the energies and resources which God has given us, pre-supposing that divine Providence is wise and benevolent; a patient waiting for the events of time, and the results of well-considered toil;—these are as rational as they are scriptural. And all these exclude that timidity and fearful apprehension which unfit for duty and expose to danger. Let us say

3. *That the best preparation for a sudden death,*
 IS A CHRISTIAN LIFE. “What doth the Lord thy God require of thee but to love mercy, deal justly and walk humbly with thy God?” Through the riches of divine grace, all who cordially submit to God, affectionately rely on Jesus Christ, and receive the Holy Spirit into their hearts, shall be forgiven and saved. The gospel of Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God unto the salvation of every believer.—Whosoever believeth on Him shall be saved. This faith shows its power in a life of usefulness, taking its aim and range from the glory of the Most High. A Christian life is a life for

Christ—a life imbued with his spirit, dictated by his word, and tending to his glory. He who is living by faith on the Son of God, is ready to live longer, or to die now. His will is habitually in accordance with the will of Heaven. The law of his God, which is the law of life, centred in his heart, “none of his steps shall slide.” He has practically listened to the invitation of Christ, “Come unto me;” and a blessed experience has taught him the import of that “rest” which Christ promised. The “troubled sea” is no longer a fit emblem of his spirit. “Justified by faith, he has peace with God.” Yes, he has found rest—rest from the feverish anxiety which distance from the All-Wise creates—rest from the burden imposed by conscious guilt—rest beautifully typical of the eternal rest in the bosom of God.

To such a one, death, how unexpected soever, may be happy; yea, the happier from the very fact of its suddenness. He could, if the Father’s will should so require, wait and suffer, fully persuaded that all *His* appointments are wise and kind. Without a murmur he could have wearisome days and sleepless nights measured out to him, convinced that “whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth.” Life is sweet to him, and gladly would he be spared to do its work and enjoy its blessings. But so entire is his trust in Him who is mighty to save, so unshaken his assurance that the arm of Jehovah is

stretched forth for his support, and that all the divine promises are “yea and amen in Christ Jesus,” that he is ready, *though* the Son of Man come at an hour when he least anticipates it.

There are far too many, we fear, who “neglect the great salvation,” on the presumption that they will have ample opportunity for reflection when the sickness unto death shall have come. How preposterous! Possibly they may terminate this mortal life under lingering disease: but is that the best time for effort to obtain salvation, when fierce pains rack, or a paralyzing languor seizes upon the body? Shall that which is momentous enough to be the work of a life-time, which demands the action of our best powers—the concentrated efforts of our “best estate,” be crowded into the endeavors of our few last hours, when the light of life is so feeble in its burning? How many have fatally deceived themselves by leaning upon so fallacious a hope! A few, perhaps, have become genuinely penitent, just before being ushered into eternity; but can we doubt that in *many* cases of what is called death-bed repentance, the mind was bewildered, and that what was relied upon as preparing one for heaven, was as a false light, a vain hope? How much more rational to begin *now*, if we have never begun it yet, the life of an humble and earnest Christian, and every day henceforth, to pursue that life. Then even a sudden death, sudden as the lightning’s flash,

would only be a call for this mortal to put on immortality. Then, though He come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, or at *whatsoever* hour the Lord doth come, He will find us ready—ready to meet Him, ready to go with Him, ready for one of those mansions where no accident alarms, no tear dims the eye, no sorrow oppresses the heart.

Such, my Friends, are the instructions of God's word on this momentous subject. Shall we not, under their influence, bid our thoughts "converse a while with death?" And, especially, when these considerations are so solemnly enforced by recent events in divine Providence, shall we not be thoughtful and solemn, and daily walk with God,—by faith and not by sight? What can we gain by striving to wink out of sight the uncertainty of all this life's blessings, and to be oblivious of the fact, that only the True, the Beautiful and the Good are eternal? If the plain teachings of Revelation are insufficient to arrest thought and awaken solicitude, are there not voices in God's afflictive dispensations to reach the ear of the soul, and stir to its very depths the emotional nature? We surely cannot have forgotten the lesson on this subject which was read to us a few months since by the "Norwalk Tragedy." "What hopes, what associations, what schemes, went forth that morning in the crowded train. Upon what a wreck did

that day's noon look down. What bright plans dashed into darkness. What bounding hearts stopped by the sudden flood. What dreams instantly breaking into the great Reality !”

The sorrow that was on the sea when the terrible destruction of the “San Francisco” occurred, cannot have failed to make some impression upon us, which time has not effaced. How the death-throttle on the ocean awakened the death pang of the heart, when reported on the land. Busy and joyous life whelmed in the surges of the deep; hopes bright as if gilded by a sunbeam, suddenly put out in the unwaking night; plans to be carried out with energy and consummated with the bliss of triumph, in a moment stopped with the ceasing to beat of the hearts that cherished them;—ah, what a voice of warning was there ! The soft breezes that rippled the surface of the billow became as the deep sighings of sorrow, the motion of the sea as the heaving of human hearts when swayed by insupportable grief, the roar of the ocean as a wail of despair. Many a time since that period, too, has the sound of a great destruction loaded the breeze and hurtled in the air. Weeks and weeks ago, the strong ship left her moorings with hundreds of human beings, for the chief city of an adjoining state. She had sails to catch every favoring breeze, and the Steam agent within to propel her onward when winds and waves opposed. Long

since, her time was up. Anxiously was she awaited, but she came not. The ear of affection put close to the ocean's brink, could gain no tidings of her coming. The voice of friendship asked the billows what they had done with the goodly vessel; and the hoarse roar of the surge was the only reply that came in return. The eye has become dim with looking; but the dear ones come not, to light it up with joy. The spirit mourns in sadness, because no "City of Glasgow" emerges into our horizon. The heart is crushed beneath the terrible burden of suspense. "Why comes she not? Why sends she no answer to our inquiries? What dread calamity has befallen her? Was she dashed against an iceberg, so that not a soul survives to tell the tale of her destruction? Did she meet some other ship in mid-ocean, each wrestling with the other in that life and death struggle which resulted in the utter wreck of both? Or did the god of storms hurl her into the depths profound, from which no voice shall ever issue to reveal her fate?" Suspense, O Suspense, what anguish is thine!

Turning from ocean to land, the Southern horizon has been wrapped in gloom by the breath of a pestilence, which has walked in darkness and wasted at noon-day. Every battery was charged with grief, and the electric wire flashed as with a lurid glare, purporting a grim war upon life, and the dismal triumph of death. Fever has slain his

thousands, and Cholera his ten thousands. The fond parent, the bridegroom with his bride, the strong young man and the beautiful child, have fallen beneath the tread of these agents of the King of terrors.

Very near us, too, has Death been busy in multiplying his trophies. Not three days have gone by, since eleven of our fellow-men found a grave in the river that glides so gracefully along the border of our city. Full of hope and energy, they left their families and friends to engage in the accustomed labors of the day. No secret misgiving intruded into their hearts, no "portents dire" alarmed their fears. Some of them were in the vigor of youth; nearly all in the strength of manhood. Never did those whom they left behind on that memorable morning, more confidently expect their return when the work of the day should be done. The blood pulsed along their veins with the joyousness of health, every muscle was invigorated for effort, and every nerve of sensation vibrated with pleasure. Had any one cautioned them against imminent danger, doubtless his words would have seemed, if not like an idle tale, yet as strange and meaningless. Rashly they may have burdened the floating vehicle which was to bear them across the stream; sportively may they have attempted the mimic waves made by the passing craft; and yet how little they dreamed

of peril; especially, how little they thought those mimic waves were charged with death to them. A dash of water, a sudden upspringing, a careening of the overladen boat, a fearful plunge, a fierce grasping of whatever came to hand, a brief death-struggle, and all was over. They lay upon the bottom of the stream, unmindful how heavily the waters pressed down upon them. Sad was the work of recovering the dead bodies from their temporary graves; arresting the intelligence circulated about our streets, heart-affecting the cry of grief that soon arose in more dwellings than one. What an enforcement of the words in our text :—
 “And if he shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.”

But there is a wail upon the breeze far outstretching this. The past week will be an epoch in the history of public sorrow, from which men will date for long years to come—from which many a family will reckon its days and months of grief, until the temporal shall give place to the eternal. The pain of suspense has been succeeded by the woe of ascertained disaster; hope has yielded to the bitterness of despair. Some twenty-five days ago, had you been upon the wharf of yon city across the waters, you might have witnessed a scene of busy embarkation, never to be forgotten. There was the floating palace receiving the precious

burden, with promise to bear it bravely and safely over the perils of the deep. The traveller from the Continent, from the Nile, from the Orient; the man of hereditary rank and honors, and he who had achieved a brilliant position by his own genius and struggles; they who had long been absent from country and home, and they who were to tempt an unknown country and essay new society and a strange climate; men of diverse taste, tongue and nationality;—all with eager step and expectant eye were hastening to one spot, to take passage in the same ship. There was manhood in its strength and daring, and woman in her trust and beauty, and youth with its sunny gladness and buoyant expectancy;—there was the professional man with his clustering honors, the governmental messenger entrusted with important document, the scholar whose name was adorned with literary distinction, the artist with his renown, the merchant with his commissions and treasures, and the man of elegant leisure and refined tastes. Many an eye looked gladly seaward, and many a heart throbbed with delight, in anticipation of a re-union with those who were awaiting their return. What a freight was that, which laded the noble ship, and committed itself to her guardianship with such undoubting confidence! Two hundred and thirty-three passengers, with some one hundred and fifty officers and crew—nearly four hundred souls compacted

within that magnificent steamer. Yes, she *was* a noble ship. Measuring more than three thousand tons ; modelled with consummate skill ; putting all the kingdoms of nature under contribution for material of construction ; timbered so thickly as to appear one solid mass of oak ; ribbed and stayed with iron and copper, every resource exhausted to secure strength, as if in contempt of beauty, and yet symmetrical as though beauty were the chief object ; moulded, adjusted, consolidated, completed after the most approved forms of nautical architecture, it would seem that she possessed every advantage for contending with wind and wave, and encountering every ocean peril, which the power of mortal could give her. Safely had she gone and returned before ; proudly had she careened over mountain waves and breasted stern winter's gale, while the storm-king was abroad in his wrath. She was a tried ship, and challenged comparison with any other that ever sat upon the waters. Her noble commander also had been proved ; nor was he found wanting. No wonder, then, that the scores and hundreds of passengers were ready to attempt the great deep in so staunch and sure a vessel. As the hour struck for her departure, and the signal gun boomed out upon the water, she glided gracefully through the mouth of the Mersey, dashed aside the spray of the Irish Sea, bowed adieu to the shores of our father-land,

and then seriously addressed herself to the sublime task of spanning three thousand miles of ocean to discharge her precious burden in the metropolis of this western world. Night shut down upon the waters where day had been before; but steadily the ponderous machinery—one of earth's great workers, sent her on her joyous way. Morning awoke her living freight to the mingled scenes of suffering and grandeur presented by an ocean life, and swiftly she sped toward her destined haven, as though glad hearts with giant power were pulling her onward. Thus day followed day, and night succeeded night, until the greater part of the distance was passed over, and eager minds were anticipating the termination of a successful voyage in three or four days at the longest. How pleasantly were the greetings of that morning exchanged! How eagerly every indication was welcomed, that these western shores would soon greet the longing eye. How the father and husband counted the hours which would intervene, before he should clasp wife and child in a fond embrace. How the returning wife and children exulted in the thought that, a few days over, they would behold the husband and father among the first to catch their eye and note the exultant wave of their hands. Yes, it was a time of warm, social greetings, busy, expectant thought; and how little the happy voyagers suspected the peril just under the bow of

that splendid piece of mechanism, laden with such priceless treasures. In mercy, the form of the angel of death who piloted them, was shrouded from their view. The messenger of destruction that is speeding towards them from the West is to them noiseless and invisible. Nature gives no sign; she is wonderfully calm, as though slumbering in a sublime indifference. The commander is carefully attending to his nautical reckoning, and ascertaining the exact position of the ship. The spirit of the storm is asleep upon the sea. A mile is measured off in less than five minutes. Rapidly the distance between those long parted is diminishing. But no sun appears. It is mid-day; and yet a dense mist shuts out both sea and sky. Suddenly a cry is heard for a change of course. In a moment the crash comes. The inferior vessel is greatly injured; but the nobler ship scarce feels the shock. The tried Captain, humane as brave, would neglect no means requisite to insure the safety of those who must have felt the recoil of the blow, as a prelude to speedy ruin. At his command, the boat is lowered; good men and true are in her; and swiftly she departs on her errand of mercy. Had *these but abode in the Ship!* But no apprehension is entertained of serious injury, much less of yawning destruction, to the mighty Arctic. All that oak and iron and steel could do, under the first skill of the age, to make

her proof against such encounters, had been done. Yet, all too soon, the stoutest hearts are appalled at the danger which reveals itself in the most frightful form. Ribs of iron are broken; the plank that stood between the passenger and eternity is rudely reft asunder. The waters leap in through the ragged orifice, as though the ocean were hungry for his prey. The magnificent vessel is doomed. The pump only shews, it cannot prevent the filling of the ship. The strength of a thousand arms cannot plug that awful leak. Ah! what pen shall write, what tongue utter, what imagination conceive the change which came over that crowd of human beings! What selfish struggles for life by many whose exertions, calmly and wisely directed, might have provided safety for the whole. What courage and self-sacrifice on the part of others. The few were saved; the many, and from all that appears, every woman on board, went down in the sinking ship—their death shriek ringing on the air. The remorseless billows swallowed them up. There they lie in the “dark, unfathomed caves of ocean,” till the sea gives up her dead.

We rejoice that some are saved; we are sorrow-stricken that the great majority of the passengers mingled their voices in that far-resounding screech, as the ship sank like lead in the midst of the waters. We feared that the devoted commander

had gone with that great company, refusing to save his own life, while those under his care must perish; but, after having done what becomes a brave and self-sacrificing man, and been plunged deep into the sea himself, as if to show that he would not desert them to the last, we are grateful to learn that an ever-watchful Providence snatched him from the abyss, and that he still lives to tell the story of the mighty ruin as it was. He is spared to correct false impressions, to magnify the sparing mercy of God, and to appear before the world as a living witness of the reality of heroic daring, the beauty of self-forgetfulness in the hour of peril, and the sublimity of sacrificing personal safety for the greater good of others. Let his name be honored as is meet; and the young learn that there *is* something in this world superior to rank, superior to wealth,—something which, subduing self, likens man to God.

Some days ago, there began to be an inquiry why this Packet did not come. Her time was up; she ought to make her appearance. Twenty-four hours passed, and still she was not signalled. Again the sun went his usual round; but the sharpest eye caught no glimpse of the ship that began to be anxiously looked for. The days went by in regular succession; it was surmised that some derangement of machinery had occurred; no serious fears were expressed that she would not

reach her destined haven. But last week the suspense was ended ; news of the terrible reality agitated the country from centre to extremity ; and to-day we are summoned to mourn the many dead, to sympathize with the heart-stricken relatives of the ocean-buried, and to gather to our own hearts the solemn lessons that this great ruin reads to us. "There is sorrow on the sea." The loved and honored, the strong and beautiful, have found a grave together, the waves their winding sheet, the winds shrieking, the billows resounding their requiem. We mourn over their sad and untimely departure, and offer the heart-felt prayer of sympathy for the hearts that are crushed and bleeding under so heavy a stroke ; while we cannot but feel more deeply than ever the need of a constant preparation for the coming of the Son of man. In view of so awful a calamity, it would seem that men, however absorbed in worldly cares or pleasures, however eager to accumulate earthly treasures or ambitious of renown, must pause and think. The question must arise, Does not our hot passion for haste cost more than it is worth ? Shall not the ingenuity and wealth of men be now more turned to the best means of guarding life and property, and less to the problem of annihilating time and space ? Such an experience as this is a terribly dear teacher. Surely it were better to be twelve days in crossing the Atlantic and do it in

safety, than to force a passage in nine, with such awful hazards as are now braved. And so on Railways; a speed of twenty-five or thirty miles an hour, with comparative immunity from harm, is, on the whole, far more desirable than to fly with the swiftness of an eagle, at the risk of being hurled into eternity, one passage out of three. Shall not the lessons taught us with such an unspeakable sorrow, moderate the passion for haste, and multiply the means of safety? What but the madness of *making haste* to be rich leads to such wholesale destruction of human life as this? It does seem that men are in an awful hurry to get through the world; otherwise, they would have a little more thought for security of life, and a proportionally less eagerness for an ever accelerating velocity. Will not our whole community pause for a season, and reflect? Is it too much to expect that, when God's judgments are so abroad in the earth, the people will learn righteousness?

However this may be, let us at least hope that this awful warning will be to us individually an effectual persuasive to a religious life. Methinks that, if the waves could roll, or the winds waft to us the thoughts and emotions of those ill-fated passengers, while their noble ship was rapidly letting them down into the sea, our hearts would throb with emotion at the earnestness with which the unprepared shrieked for mercy, and we could

not longer delay the great work of making ready to die. The merchant would think less of earthly gains, and more of the treasures that never fade. His thoughts would turn at times from his day-book and ledger, to the great book of God, out of which he is to be judged at last. The mechanic would not cease indeed to labor with his hands, but he would not fail to “work out his own salvation with fear and trembling.” The devotee of worldliness would recognise the reality and worth of ‘friendship with God.’ They who are idle in the great vineyard, would practically regard the admonition, “*Go, work to-day.*” They who are dreaming of a “convenient season,” would awake to the unutterable importance of the “now;” they would see an unsuspected force in the Apostle’s admonition—“Diligent in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.” All classes would begin to realize that it is “not all of life to live, nor all of death to die.” We should hear and heed the words of our compassionate Redeemer, “*Be ye also ready.*” Deep repentings for past sins would be enkindled within us; and we should learn to live by faith in the Son of God. ‘O that ye were wise, all of you, that ye understood this, that ye would consider your latter end.’ To-day, while it is called to-day, hear *His* voice—His voice in the storm and the tempest, tossing proud navies and crushing into ruin the proudest monuments of

human skill—His voice in the wail of sorrow that comes from hundreds of hearts that are waiting for friends in the “City of Glasgow,” who will never come—His voice in the shriek of agony that flies through the air because the hundreds who were coming in the “Arctic” are shrouded in the sea—His voice that speaks in all those providences which tell of the uncertainty of life’s promises—His voice which breaks upon your ear in the stillness of night, and repeats the solemn message by day, “And if He shall come in the second watch, or come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants.”

Rev. Dr. J. J. Zuck - author of the
following "Discourse", said June
1897. at Dorchester, and was
buried in Holliston, June 1897.
He officiated at our first marriage -

W.E.C.

Young Men.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH IN HOLLISTON, MASS.

Sabbath, September 25th, 1853,

BY

J. T. TUCKER,

MINISTER OF THE PARISH.

WITH NOTES APPENDED.

HOLLISTON:
PARKER & PLIMPTON,
1853.

These Pages,

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF A PART OF THEIR NUMBER,

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

TO THE

Young Men of Holliston,

BY THEIR

SINCERE WELL-WISHER AND FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

Short is the course of every lawless pleasure—
Grief, like a shade, on all its footsteps waits,
Scarce visible in joy's meridian height ;
But, downwards as its blaze declining speeds,
The dwarfish shadow to a giant spreads.

Milton.

DISCOURSE.

PROVERBS 20: 29.

"THE GLORY OF YOUNG MEN IS THEIR STRENGTH."

Professor Stuart proposes a slightly different rendering—"the ornament of youth is their strength." But our version embraces this shade of thought, and also another—that this adornment is something in which its possessors take a pleasurable pride or satisfaction; in which they themselves are disposed to glory. Whether the text will strictly bear this construction, or not, the fact, in actual life, is conspicuous.

Youth has its advantages, its personal attractions. The full and bounding vigor of its fresh life is not the least of these. It ought to know its peculiar endowments; it ought to value them. It should not be vain of their gracefulness or efficiency. But it should hold them in just regard, as gifts to be prized, as talents not to be wasted, but to be employed for human good.

I wish to expand these suggestions, to point out concisely the chief qualities, which give the young man a desirable position, and to caution him against the misuse, the loss of his characteristic powers.

The glory of young men is, first—Their physical strength. We naturally associate this with the period of early manhood. It is the spring-time of existence, full of expansive forces. The frame has attained its grown-up stature. The

system is consolidated firmly ; it acts with elastic precision. Disease, we imagine, should not yet have assailed and sapped the centres of vitality. The sinewy limb, the well-knit joint will not turn back, we think, from severe tasks, from stern endurance, from extreme demands upon nerve and muscle. It is well. Few things are goodlier to look upon than a sound human organization,—a form tinted with the hues of unbroken health, strong in its youthful, unimpaired energies. Instinctively we thus picture to ourselves the opening years of active life ; and we join, as spontaneously, the image of debility, languor, and habitual sickness with the whitening locks of old age.

Young men consider this as one of their proudest boasts, that they can do and endure almost anything. They fear no exposure, they shrink from no exertion, which others have ventured. There is absolutely nothing, of a material nature, for which he, who has it, should be more continually and devoutly grateful to God, than such physical vigor. There is nothing which should be guarded more carefully and conscientiously from damage. It is a source of the purest temporal happiness. It is indispensable to our best activity in any pursuit. Illness enfeebles the mind, prostrates ambition, beclouds hope, cripples labor. It puts a drag on every undertaking, throws a friction into the wheels of industry, which makes a miserable task-work of our every day duties.

But who estimates rightly the value of a manly strength until he loses it ? And who, that loses it seriously, ever finds it again, in its first joyous perfection ? Negligence and recklessness are both doing here a sadly destructive work. Many constitutions are undermined by an overdoing of their abilities, in laudable effort and for well intentioned purposes ; but this affords no escape from the penalties of violated natural laws. The young adventurer has forgot-

ten that he has a body which must be cared for; that its soundness depends on right habits of rest, nourishment, protection from disease. He has not wisely measured his endurance. He did not mean to be a hard master to himself; but he has been; and we sigh over the early blighting of his prospects, though it excites in us no surprise. Some, again, cripple themselves for life, by a foolish trial of their strength with their comrades, piqued by idle challenges to contest the boasting claims of a rival. Mere thoughtlessness pales many a cheek, planting deeply the seeds of debility and death, from insufficient defence against inclement seasons of the year. Far more melancholy still are cases of premature decrepitude resulting from habits of wrong indulgence and dissipation. A morbid appetite for animal excitements, solitary and social, unhinges the vigor of thousands. Night after night revealed away in the hot chase of gay and giddy pleasure, is paid for not seldom in confirmed disease and an untimely grave. What a ruinous price for a season or two of the empty vanities of the ball room! Intoxicating stimulants are helping on the work of emaciating and emasculating those, whose glory should be the possession of a strong, a robust frame; for, what alcoholic drinks may not now be doing so disastrously as once, is done to a pitiable extent by other directly noxious, strength-impairing agents, close kindred of the fiery old king. I speak plainly, young men, for I speak understandingly. I know your perils, for I have travelled your road. I speak benovolently; for the pale images of a great company of your age float before my eye, whom I have seen passing from the ranks of their associates to the tomb, of whom charity could not say less than that they ignorantly or wantonly cut the sinews of their own manhood, enfeebled and shortened their own days; and I would not that you should repeat this mis-

take,—a *mistake* which sometimes is a *crime*. You have no right to injure your physical stamina thus. Others besides yourselves, and others still, indefinitely, may have a vital, a lifelong interest in this matter.¹

The glory of young men is, secondly—The strength of their social influence. Their position in the community is one of expected rather than accomplished results. But this very hope which centres in them is an element in their hands of great power. They, at any rate, have not made a defeated trial of their abilities. Their own sanguine anticipations of success, which laugh at all obstacles, communicates itself to others. They are recognized as standing in the next rank of claimants for the honors and the trusts of the body politic; and this invests them, as a class, with a pleasing and flattering consideration. Every one is disposed to look kindly upon the young men of a town; and their occasional mis-steps find commonly a much more lenient and apologizing construction than is granted to others. Even those, whose antecedents are not favorable to a fair social position, easily may win it, if so disposed. In our land, at least, no one is excepted from the benefit of this rule, save by his own delinquencies.

Here is the vantage-ground of a most valuable influence. And he who thus carries, in his youthful promise and prospects, a certificate of commendation to the public, is under very serious obligations not to abuse it to unworthy purposes. To be admitted thus into the general kindness and confidence, is a valid reason why any young man should show himself deserving of this regard.

Young men, in these days, surely cannot complain of any want of opportunity to gain for themselves a conspicuous place in the community. The tendency is decidedly to put upon their shoulders burdens which might some-

¹ Note at the end.

times perhaps better be entrusted to riper years. Early manhood is crowding hard upon the more advanced stages of life. We have little use for the maxim of the fathers—‘old men for counsel, young men for action.’ Modern progress has very much blunted the point of this antithesis. I have nothing to say here concerning the desirableness or undesirableness of this change. But as the fact is thus, those who fill this expanding space in the general eye should show themselves to be men. When Napoleon, at the age of twenty-seven, found himself in command of the army of Italy, in array against the veteran generals of Europe, the thought was like a ‘fire in his bones’ that the whole world was looking on to see what Young France, in his person, could achieve of glory. So the boy-king of Macedon, Alexander, threw himself into the struggles of his times, and won the name of “Great.” We could find better, if not more noted, illustrations than these, of the motives and objects which should inspire the ambition of opening manhood. The arts of a peaceful civilization, the perfecting of human intercourse in its educational, industrial, and philanthropic interests generally—these are the vital and the weighty affairs, to conserve which our young men must hold themselves in training.

They must do this by the steady culture of habits of personal industry; aiming at a constantly growing information on topics especially of practical and surrounding moment. To this must be added the discipline of self-restraint; a nice moral conscientiousness, also, in the lesser as well as the larger virtues. A young man, who means to be all that he may be, socially, will see the expediency of keeping at a marked remove from a variety of practices, which easily run into, as they too clearly indicate, a coarse vulgarity, a gross and sensual turn of feeling. He will get rid, as soon as possible, of the idea, if he ever had it, that to

do things that are rude and of questionable decency is a sign of courage, of a manly, independent spirit. Ill manners are almost as bad as ill morals; and either secure a most unenviable notoriety. Rowdyism is the pride of a sadly perverted understanding and heart. He who makes it his boast is sincerely to be pitied.

In nothing should young men be more cautious, than not to abuse their strength of influence in the domestic relations of life. If possessed of ordinary worth, they enjoy large privileges here. They are readily admitted as guests of our families. They use this liberty under circumstances, which often give them an exceeding interest in the eyes of parents and daughters. They have it in their power to make or to mar the happiness of many hearts. There should be no unmeaning trifling where issues are involved which touch the affections, and through them, the whole current of a life. To seek to enlist the love of a confiding heart, just to sport with it as a plaything, and when it becomes somewhat stale, to throw it aside for a new adventure, is selfish, is dishonorable. To do this in order to rob it of its purity, to blight its innocency, is a crime, whose wickedness is only equalled by its indescribable unmanliness. If human law has found no penalty suited for such breaches of faith, it is fair to say that there is no punishment which can adequately meet such an unmitigable compound of villainy and meanness.

The causes which undermine the social strength of young men are numerous and very insidious. The process is like the gulying of heavy rains in a yielding soil. An unexpected shower has left a slight trace upon the surface. The next sends its quick flood along the same channel; and now it has some depth. Now, go look at it when a few summers and winters have poured their storms down this worn pathway. It has become a yawning chasm, wide and

unsightly, where the pleasant, verdant field used to spread out its smooth acres. Thus, with the hopes and character of many a youth. A restless feeling, fostered perhaps by unwholesome reading¹, has begun to make his habits of industry unsteady. He thirsts for excitement; for a different life than this plodding, every-day existence; and he seeks it, in leisure hours, and possibly in hours that should not be leisure, by looking up scenes and associates of stimulating, vitiating pleasure. The blood grows hot, and dashes through the swollen veins like a fiery torrent. Passion glows. The whole grosser nature is up in insurrection. Then the eye flashes out, like lurid flames, the pent-up heat within, and glares around in search of victims to satiate its base desires. Quickly that youth has learned the road to the deep, the innermost recesses of iniquity.

And still, as loud the revel swells,
The fever'd pulse beats higher,
Till the seared taste, from foulest wells,
Is fain to slake its fire.²

How short, too, is the progress, often, from personal depravation like this to criminal invasion of the rights of others, we have proof startlingly near. When vicious idleness demands the replenishing of its means of dissipation, how much is life worth which stands between it and tempting gold? Answer the white locks of that old man, dabbled in his own blood, who, a few nights since, in one of our next adjoining towns, fell the victim of a murderer's axe, which had made this a three-fold butchery, had all the guilt been executed which was intended and attempted.³

I learn, from reliable sources, that the author of this insanely atrocious plot, not yet arrived at legal manhood, was, some three years ago, a youth of fair character and expectations. A drinking-shop near his place of employ-

1 and 3. Notes at the end.

2 Keble.

ment laid its snare across his path. Gambling followed on soon in its train of kindred vices. Peculations on his employers were detected. Then we find him steeping his maddened soul in the memoirs of highwaymen and the gallows. The mild and harmless lad has grown already into a reckless desperado. The pleasant eminence which rose, in gentle slopes, covered with spring-like verdure, has suddenly blazed out in a volcano of burning lava, and now it lies a ghastly crater, ebbing and swelling with the very fires of hell. He knows where a helpless, aged acquaintance has laid up money which his lusts demand for their indulgence. The rest you have seen.—Young man, you are strong to day, and you glory in it, in the consciousness of freedom from a tyranny of passion like this. “Be not high-minded, but fear.” Not one of you can tell, of what you may not be capable, in less than three years from to-day, under the training of unresisted temptation. Oh! what a miserable failure, what an unblessed abortion, is such a life, if its temporal obligations be alone regarded,—its beauty withered, its strength squandered and gone, its mortal and its immortal powers, crushed, buried, sunk, beneath a hideous avalanche of shame, infamy, foul treason to itself, humanity and God.

Our subject is investing itself with some dark and distressful features which I would willingly have spared. It is sad to remind ourselves thus, that the path of youth is beset with such dangers. I hasten, for relief from these sombre aspects of our theme, to my last position, that the glory of young men, in its highest sense, is, thirdly—The strength of a decided, thorough, unaffected piety.

I know that I here encounter a very adverse, general sentiment, and I wish to meet it fairly, and in a manly way. I am free to say that I do not wonder at the currency of this sentiment, that there is much which seems to justify it;

while I know, and unhesitatingly pronounce it to be false in theory and experience. Doubts have floated in to many minds concerning this matter, from observing that religion with some is a mere affair of external forms, a decorous ritualism, with scarce the pretension of an operative power upon the life; and that with others it is an off-and-on sort of badge or apparel,—an over-robe of correct hue and style, but with a full suit of worldly habiliments underneath. Now, it is unfortunate and unjust, that when religion is thought of by its neglectors, it is almost invariably under some such mis-shapen form. Then again the tremendous tides of selfishness, craving the liberty of loosely-principled operations in trade; and of example, throwing its mighty weight in favor of Mammon against God—bear away on their broad, deep currents, our young men, especially, who do not wish to put themselves under any disadvantage in the rivalry and race of an earthly prosperity.¹ A secret fear, moreover, lurks in the heart of doing a weak act, of showing a want of spirit, nerve, manhood, by becoming a christian. Young men, who are afraid of nothing else, do not like to incur the suspicion of being afraid to sin, until they get ready, very leisurely and of their own accord, to give it up.

But these calculations are wrong, and this courage is misplaced. As to the latter, let me say that the highest style of courage is to do right, in the face of opposition, and most of all, of ridicule. In a world like this, and in the very best parts of it, I affirm that the bravest hero is the most conscientious Christ-like christian. As to the question of expediency, if such a word must be coupled with a concern like this, it is certain that every motive-agent, material or spiritual, ought to be provided with a sufficient self-regulator. A train of cars needs a brake to

¹ Note at the end.

stop, as much as a steam-generator to impel, its velocity. A ship needs a rudder and an anchor as well as a suit of sails and cordage. Either may dash along beautifully on a clear track or open sea, without these protectives; but when the time comes to use them and nothing else, steam or sails will not make good their absence.

The value of religion, aside from policy or expediency, is, that it is absolutely right to occupy the point in which it alone places us towards God and man. Hence, its necessity to every human spirit. Truth and right are changeless and eternal things. Their contraries are falsehoods and shams,—the sandy foundation of the house which should have stood on the rock. It is so now, and the urgency of this subject comes from the demands of the present as well as of the future world. What every young man needs for a companion and portion through life, more than he needs any thing or all things else, is an humble and hearty love to God and faith in Christ,—a consecration of sympathy and devotion to the kingdom of holiness and heaven. This is a familiar topic; I do not wish to weary you with its common-places. But light and heat are common, most familiar things; yet none the less indispensable. Bear then to be told once more, my young friends, that the genuine grace of salvation in your hearts is the best comforter for trouble, the safest guide in perplexities, the surest check on a wandering will, on struggling passions, the truest regulator of the affections;—it is what every temperament wants to control its exuberance, or to supply its defects,—the strongly sensuous, to curb its tendency towards a life of physical gratification mainly; the over-sanguine, to chasten its ardors into a reasonable sobriety; the melancholic, morbidly distrustful, to stimulate its hopes and energies to a healthful activity; the delicate, too sensitive organization of genius, the intellects of high imagination and eager am-

bition, to equalize their working, to tranquilize their perturbations, to save them from the mental and spiritual wreck of a Byron, a Rousseau, a Burns,—to save them not seldom from insanity.

It must be that there is nothing so adequate to these exigencies as the purity of spirit, the calmness of conscience, the realized security, the elevated anticipations, the benevolent motives, which the religion of Christ supplies. Taken honestly into the centre of your moral life, this grace of God will be your sun and shield; it will do all for your exemption from social and personal evil, which can be done in a world of probation and discipline like this. It is God's remedy for sin,—you cannot find a better, you cannot find an equal, a substitute.¹ I would to God that you could realize this, to-day, as you may feel it yet in some hour of temptation, overmastering as a giant your will, enfeebled for resistance by a long impenitency;—or as you may feel it, when floods of trouble shall come surging in upon you, tearing your bark from its quiet moorings, and driving it whither you know not, on dark and angry waters.

For to you, also, young men, little as now you fear it, the days will come, when, without a true hold on God and immortality, you will say—‘I have no pleasure in them;’—‘when the sun and the light, the moon and the stars shall be darkened, and the clouds return after the rain; in the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low.’ The strength and the music, the glory and the beauty of these years of youthful manhood, will not last forever. I see, in coming vision, a form, once erect and buoyant, stooping wearily beneath oppressive burdens; care, and sorrow, and disap-

¹ Note at the end.

pointment have traced deep lines upon its countenance. The history of another foiled, dissatisfied, but struggling heart, is there. I see a curtained chamber, where amid anxious glances, sickness is wrestling with its panting victim. A short time before, he was a man of a thousand busy purposes and works; but he has gone to his counting-room, his shop, his fields, for the last visit. What needs he now, with the shadows of death's valley around him, and the opening gates of immortality before him?—Say you, we know all this; but trouble us not with these things yet; we cannot part so soon with the pleasures of worldliness and sin. Go, then, and say that word on the fresh, the ungrassed graves of DEWING and CUTLER.¹ Stand there and think what gave them all the strength which sustained their dying hours;—think how soon your soulless dust may lie as low as theirs;—then where shall be your eternity?

One further thought—but I have no fit words in which to clothe its importance,—it is the immense accession of power, which the general devotion of young men to piety, would bring to the aid of society's regeneration to virtue and to God. The elements of that power may easily be gathered from what has preceded. What stimulus to christian benevolence, what protection to morals, what new vigor to the work of saving men for this and the life everlasting, would come to any people, if these active, enterprising, emulous hearts and hands were only knit in the close fellowship of Christ's church and kingdom. And God calls you thither, young men. He summons you to his side in advancing the victories of his grace. You may decline the call, and as others do, may seek for some crown of perishable honor, for some portion of perishable good.

¹ Note at the end.

But if you live to old age and answer honestly, you will say, that this has not satisfied your soul. It cannot, it will not. God's service alone can do this,—a true sympathy with Christ's benevolence. This will give you genuine contentment, in the retrospect, if four-score winters shall whiten your locks, for it is the only thing worth the main purpose of your life;—this will give you a heartfelt contentment forevermore. “Those that honor me (says God) I will honor.” He that winneth souls is wise, rich, blessed for immortality. He sits with Christ on His throne.



NOTES.

PAGE 8. A volume would not exhaust this topic, which I am compelled to dismiss with these general suggestions. We have a few survivors among us, of a hardier generation, who, by habits of temperance, industry, and general prudence, are verifying the remaining part of the proverb of the text—that “the beauty of old men is the grey head.” The enfeebling of our youth commences often at a very early period, and by practices which parents should know and repress. Statistics of modern idiocy and insanity have facts here deserving of most serious thought.—*Tobacco* helps on the work with fearful speed. It is alarming to see the multitudes of juvenile smokers, when the fact is positive that not one constitution in twenty can bear this excitement without direct and serious injury; and not one in a hundred, without remoter harm. Unless a speedy and radical reformation can be secured in this matter of physical self-culture, scrofula and consumption bid fair to destroy a most formidably numerous part of our population before middle-life is reached. That reformation must rectify a large catalogue of false notions and hurtful indulgences.—Shall we altogether despair of its accomplishment?

PAGE 11. 1.—Another fruitful theme.—Not a little of our rail-road and circulating library literature is as intoxicating and poisonous to the mind and heart, as brandy or opium is to the nervous system. These coarse, cheap, licentious novels, memoirs, adventures, vilely illustrated not seldom in more senses than one, are an abomination and a pest, in comparison with which an occasional case of small-pox or yellow fever in a parish were a trifle. Why cannot we ever get up a panic against infections and contagions which are killing men’s moral health and life, as well as against those which put our bodies in jeopardy? But if the *physical* argument alone can move us, *this* may perhaps after a while begin to operate, when “Dick Turpin,” “Jack Shepherd,” and the “Satanic Literature” generally, shall have made life, and property, and chastity, insecure at mid-day as well as at twilight, in quiet New-England villages.

PAGE 11. 3.—The Sherborn Tragedy, Sept. 14th, 1853, perpetrated about 8 o'clock, P. M. The circumstances are sufficiently alluded to in the text of this discourse, and in the foregoing note.

PAGE 14. Such expressions as these—The tricks of trade,' 'cheating in every business except ours,' and the like, disclose a general consciousness of this wide-spread depravation, the *commonness* of which is lamely pleaded by many as an evidence of its *necessity*. One day's true history of the deceptions practiced in many respectable business-houses, upon unwary customers, would tell a story of selfishness and heartlessness which could scarcely command belief. There is as much need of the "Bible in the Counting-Room" in Christian America, as in India or China.

PAGE 15. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving my reader the following eloquent passage, confirmatory of these views, from President Hopkins' Baccalaureate, for 1852, to the Graduating Class at Williams College. "This is the true sphere of man. He was not made to be merely a passive receiver of pleasure, a bundle of sensibilities, to be madly wasted or artistically and prudently exhausted, beginning with a fountain full and sparkling, and ending, as all mere pleasure must, with the vapid and bitter dregs of decay and exhaustion. He was made to be an agent, with powers having the spring of their activity within themselves, and having it for their law that they shall increase their strength by their own legitimate activity. This it is that allies man to the angels, and makes him of inappreciable worth, and fits him to become increasingly a giver, and to walk with waxing strength in an upward path, even the path of the just, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. This it is in man that lays the foundation for that most magnificent of all figures, used by our Savior concerning the righteous, that they shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their father."

PAGE 16. WILLIAM E. DEWING, and ADDISON CUTLER, young men of much worth and promise, deceased from this congregation within the last few weeks.

THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY:

A

DISCOURSE

PREACHED IN THE

FEDERAL STREET MEETINGHOUSE IN BOSTON,

ON

SUNDAY, JUNE 8, 1856.

BY EZRA S. GANNETT.

Published by Request.

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DISCOURSE.

ISAIAH, LIX. 1, 2.

THE LORD'S HAND IS NOT SHORTENED, THAT IT CANNOT SAVE; NEITHER HIS
EAR HEAVY, THAT IT CANNOT HEAR: BUT YOUR INIQUITIES HAVE SEPARATED
BETWEEN YOU AND YOUR GOD.

THERE are times when speech is a duty, and times when silence is a virtue. There are times when, if one gives expression to the feeling with which his heart is burthened, he will be moved to say what his cooler judgment might not approve; and times when the calmest judgment forbids a suppression of the indignant or sorrowful feeling with which the breast labors. When we met here a fortnight ago, I was glad that the solemnities of the approaching week suggested a topic which drew our thoughts away from the painful facts of which it might then have been difficult to speak without transgressing the boundaries of Christian discussion. And, on the last Sunday, the associations to which we are accustomed to yield ourselves kept our view fixed on the great

Sufferer. Through these two weeks, the facts to which I allude have lost none of their mournful significance, although the intense feeling which they at first excited may have settled into a more deliberate estimation of their character. It seems to me, that at this moment a voice should come from the sanctuaries of religion, addressing itself to the exigencies of the period. If only political interests were imperilled or involved, the sanctuaries of religion should not be disturbed by the intrusion of themes foreign from the purpose to which they are devoted. But, in the present state of our country, every interest dear to man, — the progress of civilization, the well-being of society, the fundamental principles of righteousness, the vital elements of character, the reality of moral distinctions, the meaning of life; all that the pulpit is erected to explain or enforce; the value of the gospel as a law, and its efficacy as an influence, — all these are brought within the scope of the inquiry now on every one's lips, What shall be done? That question does not simply ask, What shall patriots do? or what shall republicans do? or what shall Americans do? using these, not as party names, but in their better and broader sense. It compels us to consider what Christians should do. And to this inquiry, drawing its proper answer from the Bible and the gospel, I reply, Repent and pray. This is the time to think of God; the time to humble ourselves before Him, for we all need his forgiveness; the time to

seek from Him the wisdom and the help which He alone can give, and without which I see in the future only a history that it makes one sick at heart to regard as even possible.

It ought not, perhaps, to surprise us, that, under the exasperation of feeling which no one is ashamed to confess, so little has been said of our dependence on God; a dependence which, as we look backward, must remind us of obligation that no neglect of ours can annul, and, as we look onward, opens to us the only trust to which we can retreat from our fears. Yet is not our perilous condition a result which we have induced? The present is but the maturity of the past; and, if shame and anxiety fill our hearts, while the cloud of the Divine displeasure hangs over our country, it is "our iniquities that have separated between us and our God." When the apprehension of imminent evils drives us to consider what methods of relief or security we can adopt, shall we rely on human strength, and forget that "the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save, neither his ear heavy that it cannot hear"? In all which has proceeded from the tongues or pens of the North within this fortnight, that has come under my eye, I have seen nothing in which I have felt a more hearty concurrence than in what was said by the minister of the Mount Vernon church, on the last Sunday afternoon. If one or another sentence in that discourse might be amended, its purpose and tone claim more than com-

mendation, — they invite imitation ; and if I can lead you, my friends, to the same exercises of penitence and prayer to which it was his desire to conduct his hearers, I shall speak as I ought at this time.

I anticipate the admonition, not to trespass on party ground. The preacher should not lead his congregation through the turbid waters of political strife, it is said : and I both accept and approve the restriction. But is it not one of the most lamentable errors into which a people can fall, that they refuse to take such subjects as demand our present consideration out of the warfare of temporary interests ? What ! questions that lay hold on the first principles of personal duty and social order ; questions that relate to the very existence of liberty, and the preservation of government, — those mutually suggestive ideas and mutually dependent facts ; questions that embrace great moral issues ; — to be treated as mere portions of party policy, and be dragged from their majestic importance to become the materials out of which ambition shall construct the steps by which it may climb to eminence ! No, no ! Upon such questions, the people should disown all ties but those which bind them to justice and honor. There should be no consent of a party to the commission of crime, or the perpetration of outrage. Any party should be ashamed of complicity with brutal violence ; every man should hasten to disclaim sympathy with an assault on the safeguards of freedom and the rights of

humanity. We go behind the divisions which preference for this or that man, or this or that measure, creates, to the truths on which the institutions that we all value rest as their only support, when we call upon our hearers to discountenance the substitution of injury for argument, or of brute force for legal restraint.

The party spirit which is so rife in this country, and which falls like a mildew on every generous impulse, while it puts fetters on all independent action, stands in the double relation of effect and cause to a yet greater evil under which we suffer; far greater, because it is the most disastrous of all evils, whether for an individual or for a community to cherish. I mean the banishment of moral and religious convictions from practical life. We are not practically a Christian nation, nor even a nation of theists. Though not guilty of an open denial of God, yet, in the primitive sense of the word, as "without God in the world," we are atheists. While avoiding a direct avowal of infidelity, we treat both Christian rules and Christian sentiments with a neglect that is equivalent to unbelief. Especially does this disregard of the considerations by which the mind should be governed appear in our political action. How few bring their decision upon the support they shall give or refuse to a measure of the government, or to a candidate for office, under the light which faith in any thing above or beyond this world would throw upon it!

Because the Church neither receives the patronage of the State nor attempts to control the State by any direct action, it seems to be thought that the Church and the State have nothing in common; as if the truths which have built up the one were not the basis of the other. Every question that enters into the history of civil government has a moral and religious side. Does a war with England, or with any country, cast its gigantic shadow over our future prosperity? The statesman or the private citizen, who, in forming his opinion upon the propriety of such a conflict of national forces, leaves out of view the antagonism between war and the spirit of the gospel, omits the most important element of a correct judgment. Is the extension of Slavery beyond the bounds within which its noxious influence is now felt, attempted? That any one may determine upon the right course for him to pursue in reference to this subject, he must take into account the effects of such an institution upon the character alike of the master and of the slave. Are the use of deadly weapons, and a resort to dastardly violence, encouraged by the example of men holding seats in the national Legislature? The morality of the land, surely, is not bound to keep silence, lest it should meddle with matters that do not lie within its province; for what amidst all the forms of human wickedness may be exposed by the religious teacher, if such conduct must pass without his rebuke? Even if it were true that the ordi-

nary business of government has no religious connections, whenever selfishness and passion become dominant influences, when the sanctity of law is contemned and the essential rights of freemen are invaded, when rapine and murder are the methods used to adjust political differences, the Christian who does not speak in behalf of righteousness is disloyal to his Master. There are some offences which, as they do not admit of palliation, forbid silence. We may lament the introduction into Congressional debate of a style of personal recrimination as ill suited to any good end, as it is inconsistent with Senatorial dignity; but no discourtesy of the tongue can excuse the arm lifted with a deliberate purpose of vengeance. The want of moral and religious principle in those who are the chosen guardians of the public interests should humble us to the dust; for they represent either the sentiment or the negligence of the people, without whose active or passive consent such men could not have the opportunity of abusing high trusts. The political profligacy of the times falls back upon the people, as the authors of the downward course which we are treading. There is too little fear of God in their hearts, and too little love of righteousness. A nation cannot prosper which denies to moral considerations their proper influence over public affairs.

The tendencies which are manifesting themselves among us cannot but be unfavorable to the conti-

nuance of our free institutions. These institutions are not in themselves immortal, nor inaccessible to harm. They are not made of adamant or granite; their strength lies in the character of the people. Nothing can endanger their stability more than the indulgence, on the one hand, of ambitious, selfish, and violent tempers within the present boundaries of the republic; or, on the other hand, an enlargement of our territory without regard to the justice of the acquisition or to the previous condition of those whom such enlargement may bring into the Union. An insane passion for unlimited growth is tempting us to place both our external and our internal relations in jeopardy. We are greedy of success, and, if not unscrupulous, are impatient in regard to the means. We thirst for dominion, and covet the exercise of an influence that may bring us into collision with the Powers of the Old World; instead of enjoying the immunity from European jealousies and conflicts which our situation might afford us. We abound in self-conceit, and claim an admiration to which we show ourselves but poorly entitled. We are growing passionate, turbulent, savage, profane. With all the expense that is lavished on education, and all the benevolent agencies that are established, we are losing refinement of manners, disparaging intellectual culture, fostering habits of extravagance, countenancing luxury and display, and precipitating ourselves upon a change in our moral condition which

must materially affect our political state. . Virtue and piety are the defences of popular government. Let them be broken down, and the best constructed system of organized liberty will be precarious. It can last but a little time without justice towards man and faith towards God.

One effect of the example which we are now presenting is, to discredit the theory of our institutions abroad. In the Divine providence, the experiment of intrusting a people with the task and risk and glory of self-government was committed to us for the instruction of the world. Never was such a responsible position held by a people before; never such an opportunity enjoyed of benefiting mankind. Through the years of our weakness and youth, while we fell into some mistakes, we on the whole sustained the burthen, which it was an honor to bear, with dignity and success. Gradually the contempt of the old despotisms was turned into respect or fear, the hopes of those who sighed for emancipation from tyranny in Europe were inflamed by admiration of our career, the infant republic took its place among the great Powers of the earth; and moderation and discretion alone were needed to have made our history a light that would have guided the Eastern continent into the enjoyment of constitutional liberty, if not of republican government. But with our prosperity we became self-sufficient, immoral, and reckless. In the spectacle which our public affairs have offered to

the nations, they have beheld a retrograde civilization. Our boasted superiority is sinking into a fierce lawlessness; our legislation has become unprincipled, our policy grown rapacious; our prominent men distinguish themselves by acts that would be disreputable in private life; the institution which, at the commencement of our Union, though a palpable contradiction of the fundamental principle of our political order, was permitted to remain because its decay was thought to be sure and to be safer than its immediate eradication, has increased in visible magnitude, and still more in secret influence, till it overshadows the whole land; violence stalks through the chambers of the capitol, and civil war is already enkindled on the borders of the republic; — and what must now be the effect of our example abroad, but to fill the hearts of good men with disappointment, and to animate the supporters of monarchical and aristocratical institutions with proud exultation? Why should they not exult? They see enough to dispel the fears that were once inspired as they looked across the Atlantic, and are waiting for our downfall to read a lesson on the inefficiency of popular government, which centuries may not erase from the memories of men. O my country! how unwise, how unfaithful, hast thou been!

The effect upon ourselves of our misuse of the position in which we were placed, as a people with whom liberty and law should have been co-ordinate

terms, is seen in the loosened morality which pervades the land. Look into our cities, and you find a luxuriance of vice such as indicates a rich soil left without the care that might have made it productive of the most substantial harvest. From the villages which were once the seats of Puritanic propriety we receive painful intelligence of crime, besides many a tale that marks a want of religious restraint. The great West heaves with its excess of life, suspended as it were between a magnificent destiny and an ignoble materialism. Polygamy has planted its homes in the fertile plains that were an unknown region a few years ago, and Paganism has erected its altars of idolatrous worship on the shores of the Pacific. Honest and able men prefer the retirement of private life, to an exposure of character and person amidst the vulgar passions that infest the scenes of public duty; and, worse than all, the people are losing their faith in freedom, in goodness, and in God. Life is becoming a scramble for outward success; politics are given over to unworthy management; and, unless some check be provided, the future pages of our history will describe the decadence and fall of the noblest structure ever raised by human hands.

In this picture of national disaster, one circumstance is especially suited to create gloomy apprehension. The country is divided on a question of sectional interest. In former times, the division has been kept more or less clear of this fearful issue. Now it is

brought to a direct struggle between the North and the South. One or the other must yield. Each says it has made all the concession it will make; each speaks of the injustice it has received in the past, and spreads its angry menace over the future. I am not now considering which of these antagonists has right or strength on its side. Each believes it has both strength and right. What, to human view, must follow but open contention, — the arbitrament of the battle-field? I know that it is common at the North to deride the threats of the South, as an attempt at intimidation, which will be relinquished the moment it shall fail of its purpose. But they who reason in this manner forget that pride and passion do not take counsel of sound judgment. The South will not pause to calculate consequences. When what it calls its honor is assailed, and what it holds to be its chief interest is endangered, it will prefer defeat to submission. The history of the world has been written in vain, if it do not teach us that men will fight rather than yield, though the chances of success be all against them. The temper of the South is desperate, as well as arrogant. The leaders of opinion there may be few, but determination does not wait to count numbers.

What, then, is before us? Perhaps a civil war, the first spark of which, struck in a territory but yesterday unsettled, may wrap the whole country in its fiery surges. Are we prepared for this? Some there

are who answer, Yes, let it come; and others who say, It never will come. To the latter I reply, Your confidence may be misplaced; and to the former, Your decision betrays more of impetuosity than of thoughtfulness. Have you remembered how much war always causes of suffering and sin? Have you considered that no war is so internecine, because no hatred is so intense, as that in which former friends are arrayed as enemies? Have you anticipated the miseries that must ensue, for years and years, when fraternal relations shall have been converted, by an enforced peace, into smothered but burning desires for revenge? Have you brought before your imagination the world's discouragement, when this fair heritage of constitutional freedom shall have been drenched in fratricidal blood? "Bombastic extravagance," may be the only reply that some persons will give. Not so, my friends. Not a word in the sentences I have just spoken goes beyond the inevitable truth. I ask the Christian to ponder well his meaning, when he talks of bloodshed as if it were but a display of military lines on our Common. War is the last resort of civilized man, if it should ever be the means adopted by a Christian people for the maintenance of their rights. I do not say, that, in the final extremity, whether for an individual, or a nation, or the oppressed part of a nation, self-defence, though through blood, is not a duty; but it then derives its justification from the irresistible instincts of our nature. The bold talk

about fighting before the awful necessity comes, and thousands of miles from the scene of peril, has a very different sound from that voice which speaks only in the last emergency. I read with sadness the language of Christian men and Christian ministers, whose brave words, if they be well considered, are bloody words. To me, the musket and the Bible do not seem twin implements of civilization.

With or without war, the tempers which now present their hostile fronts to each other may, and if not in some way or other appeased must, sunder the Union. Well, say many who a few years ago would not even listen to a suggestion so painful, that is not the greatest of evils. I admit it is not. I admit that we may be driven to this as the part of the alternative, which alone we can take and keep clear consciences before God and man. But I do affirm, — and every one who thinks soberly will agree with me, — that this will be a lamentable conclusion of a history, the first chapter of which is bright with the names of Washington and his compeers. The dissolution of this Union of States may not be the greatest of evils, but is it not next to the greatest? Is it not an evil which we should deprecate, and to prevent which we should be ready to sacrifice every thing but truth and right? I cannot think of such a termination of American freedom without tears that the heart weeps, if they do not flow down the cheeks. It is easy to flout at such emotion, and easier still, but not

more kind nor more honorable, to represent such feeling as sympathy with the slaveholder; but no wish to avoid misrepresentation so gratuitous and unjust shall deter me from confessing, that I can contemplate the overthrow of this Union only with fear and grief. Let the alternative involved in the relations of Slavery to the Union be brought before me under circumstances which compel me, if I cling to the one, to encourage the other, and I shall know that God has called me to the sad duty of helping to destroy the citadel of the world's hope. But, till I see that duty too plain to be mistaken, I will pray that it may not be made the test of my submission to a solemn and dark Providence.

Shall we, then, give way to despair, or indolently wait for the Divine will to be unfolded in events whose purpose we cannot misapprehend? No. That is not the counsel of a believing or a patriotic heart, of one who loves freedom, or whose "hope is in the Lord." Never may we despair, when the great interests of humanity are at stake; never doubt that a way will be opened for the success of just principles and the preservation of good institutions. Be watchful to detect the first sign of duty, and ready to obey the first call to action that shall come from a higher wisdom than that of man. Be patient till the hour comes; be prompt when it comes; be firm while it lasts.

It has come, I am told. I know not but it has. I

do believe that we are in a more critical situation than ever before since our present form of government was inaugurated. But I think, that if the hour of final decision had come, we should see, more clearly than we now see, what we must do. The country is agitated, perplexed, distressed. At such a time, our trust must be, not in man, but in God; the light that shall illuminate our path must be sent from Above. This is the time for humble and penitent thought, for deep searching of the spirit within us rather than for passionate declamation, for earnest calmness rather than for superficial vehemence. Never was there a time when self-control was more important, difficult though it be; never a time, when one should be more studious that his speech be just as well as frank. This is no time for fraudulent words, and no time for rash acts. If in a single sentence now uttered I have departed from the gravity of a most momentous theme, I have been false to my purpose. I have wished, my friends, to show you the urgency of the requisition, which, in view of the fearful possibilities with which we are encompassed, enjoins upon us serious and deliberate preparation for whatever a day or a year may bring forth. Let every one be in earnest, and let every one feel the solemnity of the period. God grant that when our injured Senator shall return to the seat whence he was stricken down by a cowardly blow, and the country shall wait in eager solicitude for his vindication of the rights of free speech

and the privileges of Congressional debate, while by his manly eloquence he shall awaken shame and remorse in hearts that need to feel such pangs, he may say nothing which the severest wisdom shall not approve! God grant that the persecuted citizens of Kansas may not forget, that, if self-defence be a law of nature, retaliation is a breach of the gospel! God give us all, the discernment and the determination which the exigency demands!

God give them to us, I say; for from Him alone can we receive the light or the support which we need. To Him must we look. His "arm is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear." Human counsel at a time like this is insufficient. It is poor and impotent. To God must we turn, in sorrow and in faith; to the God of our fathers, to Him who has been our God through all the past, to Him who will never leave us without assistance if we ask for it. He may have permitted us to be surrounded by these anxieties, that we might feel our helplessness and turn to Him. This is the time for lowly and importunate prayer. Better than the crowded hall is the closet of secret supplication; wiser than the noisy assembly, the devout congregation. There need not be less of bravery because there is more of piety, less of righteous indignation because there is more of humble confession, nor less love of freedom because there is more reliance on God. Prayer should be on all our lips, and in all our

hearts. There should be personal intercession and united petition. We should pray for our rulers, for our legislators, for our fellow-citizens, for ourselves. We should cast our country upon the Divine care, which will not refuse to accept the burthen. O my God! guide us, help us, save us, for the sake of that loving-kindness which Thou didst show to our fathers, and for the sake of that compassion which Thou hast for all thy creatures. Forgive the sins which we have committed, and grant us true repentance. Dispel the darkness that overhangs, and remove the fears that beset us. Allay the jealousies and subdue the animosities that separate us from Thee, as well as from one another. Let freedom and peace and union be the watchwords of the whole land, while the people shall walk together in the obedience of thy commandments and under the protection of thy holy name. Hear this our prayer, for thy great mercy's sake! Amen.

Life the Test of Learning.

A

DISCOURSE

BEFORE THE

GRADUATING CLASS OF HARVARD COLLEGE,

Delivered June 15, 1856.

BY

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DISCOURSE.

WHO IS A WISE MAN AND ENDUED WITH KNOWLEDGE AMONG YOU ?
LET HIM SHOW OUT OF A GOOD CONVERSATION HIS WORKS WITH
MEEKNESS OF WISDOM. — James iii. 13.

IF we remember that the term that is here rendered “ conversation ” bears a larger signification than we commonly attach to that English word, — meaning the whole action of life, the development of character, the way a man works, turns, or behaves himself in the world, — *ἀναστροφή*, — and if we remember that on that term falls the main emphasis of the sentence, we shall get from the whole passage a general declaration of remarkable point, and quite appropriate to the special bearing of this service.

The scope of the writer’s thought, paraphrasing the statement a little, will be something like this : — You speak of knowledge. You value intellectual attainments. You honor wise or learned men. But why do you value those attainments ? Who are your wise men ? Let Christian truth tell you. The use of knowledge is to guide and elevate conduct. Wise men, or well-educated men, are those that make what they know illuminate and enrich what they do. The

proper termination of study is a strong, simple, consistent character. The best attainments always produce a certain humility, or reverence, — a sense of dependence on the great Source of Light, God, — what is called “the meekness of wisdom.” This feeling is an inspiration to religious actions. The more learning a true man gets, the more widely, the more accurately, the more profoundly, he will see and think ; and so, by consequence, the more he will *see* what earnest labors there are to be done ; the more he will *think* of the claims of God and man upon him to turn all his resources and energies into the channel of a beneficent activity. His attainments will be worth having, just in proportion as they are assimilated with the vital forces of his manhood ; and, by entering into the currents of spiritual purpose and affection, they will inspire and nourish his soul. If you would find out who among you is endued with knowledge, and who is not, you can apply this proof. Inquire who puts his knowledge into a “good conversation,” — a noble or beautiful manner of living, — *καλὴ ἀναστροφή*. In a word, Character is the final cause of study. Life is the test of learning.

I cannot help asking you to notice, in passing, how exactly this idea fits in with the peculiar characteristic of James, the Apostle that wrote this letter to the churches. There is always a moral interest in a coincidence between a man and his speech. It makes the man more valid, and the speech more credible, besides confirming and comforting our faith in human sincerity generally. The New Testament is full of these marks of genuineness. And they are nowhere seen in a more striking and unconscious appearance

than in James. Pre-eminently, he was the Apostle of practical service. The first question about everything with him was, What will it render of living, human goodness? Or, in our common phrase, How will it work? Let it be opinion, or faith, or preaching, or charity. What are its fruits? What does it come to? So, here, of knowledge. Conduct is the criterion of knowledge. Unless it yields a goodly harvest here, much study is only a weariness to the flesh, and a vanity of the mind.

A moment has come when you, my friends, whom it is my privilege to address especially to-day, can hardly help putting to yourselves the question, whether your education, thus far, is worth what you have given for it. The providence of God, who interests himself so paternally and solemnly in every new step we take, and who puts a voice of his own into every event, though it seems the most regular, or natural, or incidental, is urging that question home upon you. The interruption of a routine that has lasted several years, casts us back upon individual choice and absolute principle. It is divinely intended to. And so the closing up of one long and important term of intellectual training, so costly of time and means and faculty and strength, presses in the Christian inquiry, whether what has been gained is equal to such pains expended.

An unprofitable and possibly a dismal question, if the answer were not still in your own power! But it is. The great test of Life is yet to be applied. And the time is coming. Whether what you have gathered here is to lie a crude and unproductive mass, in sluggish brains; or whether it is to be per-

verted to the baleful purposes of a selfish and headstrong will, — all the elaborate apparatus of education turned into an engine of more effectual mischief; or whether it shall be given to the noblest objects of human hope, and thus consecrated to Christ; — this is the threefold choice that awaits your determination, not to be evaded by any ingenuity, not to be forfeited by any neglect. It is certainly a fit time, then, to meditate the true and righteous uses of a Christian scholarship. Three easy and tempting mistakes seem to me to lie directly before you, — I might say before us all, — exposing all our past industry to failure.

I. The first danger is indifference. False objects in life are positive destroyers; but the absence of any clear object is a waster almost equally consuming, and with one order of minds even more seductive. It would seem as if the natural effect of a comprehensive system of discipline must be to rouse the will and direct its aim. Why translate the tongues of so many tribes of men, if not to collect from them some completer interpretation of the riddle of our destiny? Why explore the mysterious geography of the mind itself, and interrogate the wondrous faculty by which all knowledge comes, if not to gain new data towards the solution of the oldest and deepest problem, — Why was I born? Why do I breathe? Whither do I tend? How is it possible to trace the moving processions of the ages, through paths seeming so trivial while they were trod, but so solemn in the echoes of their desertion, and not be sent back to watch with a wiser eye which way our own steps lead? The whole contemplation of history is an incitement to live purposely and earnestly. It is the very dig-

nity of science, that it reads off to us, not only the thoughts, but the plan of God, — a plan whose unity and method demand some reflection and some copy, even in natures so fantastic and wayward as ours. Every lesson from creation proposes a task to be done. Every disclosure of the Creator presents an end to be achieved.

Yet I need hardly remind you how often we miss this practical and personal issue of the most intelligent study, — ever learning, but never coming to the knowledge of that simple truth ! The lives of scholars, so peculiarly solicited and stimulated to the straitest determination, are given over, as often perhaps as others, sometimes it appears oftener than any others, — and certainly with a more palpable and melancholy abortiveness, — to aimless, nerveless, desultory chance. How the treasures rust in our hands ! The smooth stones out of the brook drop unused from our grasp. The sling hangs loose at our side. Giant Error walks defiant and unchallenged at the head of his Philistine troops. The years run on, and no resolute helm guides the rocking keel toward a land of distinct and sacred promise. We are idly busy with living, careless of life. Two causes encourage this apathy.

One is, that the structure and habits of our industrial commonwealth expose the recent graduate from college to a period of uncertainty in his employment. It cannot be denied, I think, that at present there is some want of happy adjustment between the academic career and the public stations it precedes. The places of the higher and more intellectual labor are not organized in proportion to the mechanical

and trafficking vocations. The developments of modern civilization have much widened the range of selection, and almost bewilder the judgment. Two or three clean-cut professions, technically learned, do not, as formerly, distribute and absorb the whole educated force. The same professions, meantime, for better or for worse, cease to be technically, if not in any other sense, *learned*, and are occupied by candidates who have rushed up to their gates by a shorter road. The fact, however it comes about, seems to stand, that an increasing number of college-bred men wait, with an awkward pause, after their graduation, undecided yet of what their "commencement" shall be the beginning. Unless some positive predilection or early bias has happened to settle their choice for them, an interval of doubt disturbs and enfeebles the steady drift and tenacity of their resolves. It is a crisis of trial and peril. Some men are hurried by it into a choice that is foolish, and profanes the after-existence. Others are diluted by it into a spongy softness, and fall off into habits of literary generality, or sentimental imbecility. What is wanted is a Christian efficiency of purpose, — a Christian decision not to let haste spoil the material, — a Christian decision not to be content with vacillation. Delay too long, and there creeps upon the soul a fatally satisfied unconcern. The descent is easier, because the goads and exactions of a systematic discipline have just been taken off; the indolent free-will often finds the charming liberty to do what it pleases a wretched liberty to do nothing. Be guarded against this dull catastrophe. Let not the bright beginning slouch into a stupid sequel. What thy

hand or thy brain findeth to do, do it with thy might. For he only is the wise man, and endued with knowledge among you, who keeps his life lively, and shows fruits of his study in a goodly conversation.

Another cause of indifference to any lofty and religious uses of education is a subservience to the routine of professional tasks. When the profession has been chosen and entered, it may still put on a yoke. Recurring drudgeries deaden enthusiasm. The first ardor fades off. Monotony sings its drowsy tune. Commonplace efforts will do for commonplace business; why stretch the powers beyond their wonted mood? Mediocrity is safe and practicable; why spur the aspirations by a swifter measure? Because, answers Christianity, they are the glory of your being. Because unbounded powers are insulted by arbitrary limits. Because the conquest of the possible into the actual is the keenest fascination of true courage. Because God never made us, and his institutions never nurtured us, to be sluggish grinders in the mill of repetition, but fellow-wrestlers with the heroes and apostles,—striving for the great mastery, pressing toward the mark. And there is but one victory, but one mark. However sloth may sleep, or cowardice despair, or infidelity deny, there is nothing less than a practical and progressive ripening of the whole man for the glory of God, that can fill out the passion of the really “wise man endued with knowledge among you.” The first sentence of Milton’s tract on the reforming of education is an exposition of my text: “I am long since persuaded that, to do or say aught worth memory or imitation, no purpose

should sooner move us than simply the love of God and of mankind. The end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by learning to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to be like him,—as we may the nearest be by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection.” And how well he insists on this definite and living purpose of the scholar, when he speaks of “that methodical course wherein our gentle and noble youth must proceed, by the steady pace of learning onward, till they have confirmed and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattling of a Roman legion”!

II. But beyond indifference whether learning has any grand object, — and sometimes, indeed, this side of it, — lies the hinderance of a poor self-seeking. Undoubtedly it is one of the most appalling proofs of the vigor of the selfish passions, that they survive as they do through all the liberalizing influence of a catholic culture, and resist the generous impressions of science, and even triumph over the charities of good-fellowship, in the base hunger for luxury or comfort. The Apostle does not say it is in a lucrative conversation, or a famous conversation, or a comfortable conversation, that the works of the real wisdom are shown forth, but in a “*good* conversation.” Nor is it in the pride, the distinction, the notoriety, or the emoluments of wisdom, — the office, the salary, the applause, the furniture, — but in “the meekness of wisdom.” It is Wisdom for her own pure and precious sake, — or rather for His

sake who possessed her of old, in the beginning, when he laid the foundations of the earth, — that he loves and pursues. If scholarship holds itself affronted by being degraded into the low wrangle of appetites, for precedence or gold, religion calls it sacrilege. The right question, when you are laying your plans for the future, is not, Which will yield me the best living? but, Which will yield me the best life? It cannot be that you have been out in the fields of learning seeking jewels, to bring them in and lay them down as purchase-money for equipage or compliments. The legitimate children of Mammon, schooled, not, as you have been, in the ample and serene atmosphere of unselfish thought, but in the closer chambers of mercenary calculation, — trained, not, as you have been, in the royal company of great persons from antiquity downward, but in the scramble and devices of gain, — will beat you in that rivalry; and they ought to. How your educated strength shall be devoted, should be settled by another reference than the stock-list or the tax-bill. All honest callings are honorable. If you carry your acquirements into commerce, you may enter into a worthy and magnanimous competition. There is scope there for your largest faculty, and there is need there of the broadest philosophy. But you cannot decently go to turn your talents *into* merchandise, to forget the communion with high examples, to square your notions of civil affairs by the self-interest of the market, to sell the nobility of art and letters for some rich bargain, to barter conscience for tariff or dividends, — to let your independent duty as citizens and as patriots be appointed

for you by the narrow gossip of the exchange or the contracts of brokers' boards. Bear into whatever mercantile engagements or profitable alliances you encounter, a spirit that is genial with the sympathies of all the peoples you have conversed with, — self-denying with old sacrifices, fragrant with the mountain air of meditation, sacred with the veneration of holy traditions. Breathe the spirit of your studies into the haunts of Trade. Touch the rough customs of shops with the grace of a genuine refinement. And do all that modesty will allow to raise the strifes of property into a statelier degree, by asserting everywhere the supremacy of thinking man over his possessions, and of simple justice over all the policies and expediencies of the hour. Maintain everywhere the absolute dignity of Truth, who has chosen you once as her disciples and heralds, — and never forget, however affluence bids for your souls, that you were here set apart and dedicated as priests in the unsordid Temple of Learning.

Consider, too, that there is a greediness of praise just as radically selfish, if not quite so carnal, as the lust for money. And precisely because it wears a more intellectual look, it is a sin that offers a more acceptable bait to cultivated men. But there is nothing in it of "the meekness of wisdom." The selfishness of vanity is at its root, and the selfishness of ostentation is in its branches, — and green jealousies are canker-worms on all its leaves. He is not half-educated, not the wise man, nor endued with knowledge among you, who suborns the common largesses of the past into a stepping-stone to personal renown, and prizes the light that is sent to

warm the whole race into a brotherhood, only for the distinctions it reveals between himself and his kind. Not that is the genuine scholar's temper, nor the goodly conversation.

III. Thirdly, it is no business of the liberal and Christian scholar to become the hired servant of party prejudice or sectarian interests. Science is given and got for no such contemptible uses. Students are congregated in a still and separate spot, on neutral ground, remote as may be from all political and ecclesiastical chicanery, on purpose that they may grow and expand, aloof from the warping forces of controversy. But, in a social state like ours, it would take more than a Chinese wall, or the rules of monastic seclusion, to shut out even from academic groves the intruding conflicts of the forum and the convention. Before you have passed out of the hearing of the College bell, the recruiting officers of state and church will besiege you for your pledge. Consider carefully, I pray you, before you give it to any of them, how much you give with it, — whether your manhood, whether your individuality, whether your liberty of speech, whether the sanctity of a fearless conviction. Here again scholarship and Christianity both unite to put you on your guard. There are little coteries enough, in art, in letters, in social opinion, in public policy, in theologic speculation, that will be delighted to enroll a new name on their lists. Their captains will electioneer for you while you are free, — flatter you when you consent, — patronize and cajole you when you are caught, — use and pay you while you succumb, — abuse and torment you when you rebel. Can you afford that servitude?

Can learning afford it in your persons? And who, in all these truckling and hard-drilled times, shall be honest and free, if not they whose minds have been balanced and poised by contemplating the reasons of things?

It is not against the more *open* and *offensive* aggressions of such combined interests that these warnings are directed, so much as against devices that are more specious and plausible. We have committed ourselves, in our social experiment, to the government of public opinion, even more than of public law. Unless the original fountains of it are kept healthy and pure, we are in the most complicated and disastrous of anarchies. Already thoughtful men cannot look far about them, without seeing what beginnings of ruinous and despotic power, of misjudgment, of defamation, of vituperation, are craftily growing up in these bigotries of our democracy. Truth is scarcely seen for what it is, but only for the image and superscription it bears, nor prized for its beauty, but for its currency. The few that venture on a practical assertion of the boasted liberality, have to be catechized, and menaced, and ostracized, so far as the puny persecutions of wordy batteries can ostracize. Oppose to these degrading dictations all the massive resistance of your knowledge, the muscle of your manhood, and the sincerity of your faith.

Faith, I say. For it is not the independence of self-will, not the vain ambition of peculiarity, not the insolent contempt of the past, or of other men, or of righteous authority, that I exhort you to. It is the honest loyalty to the one only Authority, instead of mortal counterfeits. It is the appeal from

custom to Christ, — from party and sect to the Holy Spirit, — from mortal majorities to God. There is no right religious reverence which does not fear the one only Master more than unpopularity or reproach. What we want is that humility, growing ever deeper with all growing heights of attainment, — that penitential confession of sins, that meekness of wisdom, which bends with unutterable awe before the secret voice of the Most High, before the open command of the Bible, and which, being turned “into a native and heroic valor,” makes men “hate the cowardice of doing wrong.”

Let us ponder, then, the great claims that are laid on our educated men. The country has claims, — never more than now. We need more of that sort of education which stirs and fosters, from beginning to end, a loyal zeal for the central and dominant ideas that lie at the foundation of the Republic. The scholar is not well trained that has not been formed day by day into a Christian patriot. Our universities ought all to be nurseries, not of national exclusiveness, or national vanity, but of a just national honor, virtue, and devotion. They should rear and send forth prophets for the American Israel, — prophets brave and blameless, and speaking ever with a “Thus saith the Lord,” — prophets that no sophistry can bewilder, no tyrant silence, no bludgeon terrify, no flattery blind. Out of libraries, and out of laboratories, and out of the forearm contests of debate, let them send forth, for each impending struggle of Right with Wrong, thinkers and speakers “fraught with a universal insight, ingen-

uous and matchless men." For as said that stanch old English republican of two centuries ago, in language suiting us to-day, There is a study of politics worthy of Christian scholars, "that they may not, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state."

Universal humanity has claims. That "good conversation" of the Christian scholar condescends to converse with the lowest offshoot of the human stock. That "meekness of wisdom" stoops gladly to help the weakest wayfarer; to hear the story of wrong or weakness from the faintest or most unlettered lips; to sympathize with the wants of the vagrant, or the sorrows of the slave; to bring all the sublime resources of culture, the magic of invention, and the facilities of genius, to ease the burdens of penury, to open the path to the helpless, to pay respect and wages to unpaid toil, to inspire brute force with intelligence, to marshal idle men and women and children into ranks of self-sustaining labor. This is a worthy end for the best scholarship of the age, —

"How best to help the slender store,
How mend the dwellings, of the poor, —
How gain in life, as life advances,
Valor and charity more and more."

Above all, Christ has claims. And his claims are supreme. They transcend, they underlie, they encompass, all beside. The Lord of souls is Lord of the sciences as well. Common gratitude challenges

obedience and love for Him, in whose name every hope of civilization moves to its fulfilment, and every affection of mankind realizes itself in peace. It must be a personal obedience,—a personal love. No general and cold confession, no vague and rhetorical loyalty, no heartless and high-sounding praises, can satisfy that Gospel of regeneration on which salvation depends. Penitence, trust, consecration, prayer, righteousness,—these will; for God is Love, and his forgiveness waits. Every thought and imagination must be brought into captivity to the holy obedience of the Son of God. All knowledge that is not rooted and centred there vanishes away. “Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you?” He is the believing student, the studious disciple.

Gentlemen of the Graduating Class, our doctrine culminates here.

Every considerable change in the *form* of our life is meant to suggest to us something original as to its spirit. The dissolving of one set of relations moves the question by what law new sets shall be organized. When farewells and distance threaten manly friendships, what is more unavoidable than to think what arm shall keep the friend that is parted from, and whether there is not One Friendship in whose Eternal and Almighty clasp every human affection finds its safety? The separation of classmates opens spaces about each one's personality which let in light from above on all your plans and habits. A change of residence puts us to asking why we live at all; how long we shall need any earthly dwelling; whether we deserve any. How shall your tuition

justify these years, and your future be adequate to the past?

That question, like every other that an earnest experience asks, God's Book of Life answers.

Life *is* the test of Learning. Character *is* the criterion of knowledge. Not what a man has, but what he is, is the question, after all. The quality of soul is more than the quantity of information. Personal, spiritual substance is the final resultant. Have *that*, and your intellectual furnishings and attainments will turn, with no violent contortion, but with a natural tendency and harmony, — a working together, conversation, *ἀναστροφή*, — to the loftiest uses. Add faith to knowledge, and your education will be worth what it has cost. Your lives will honor and justify your preparation. Say, every morning, with the simple confidence of the holy child in the Temple, "Lord, here am I!" and he will send you to noble and effectual victories. Your wisdom will tell to issues that are divine, and that wisdom the Eternal Providence will watch, because it is matured in the spiritual school of Him who knows all that is in man.

"Lift up your eyes to the fields; they are white already to harvest." With the blessing of that Providence, go to the field of your slow, patient work. That slowness of the result may be the bitterest element in the discipline.

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time."

Be content to wait for Him with whom ages are days.

“ If but this tedious battle could be fought,
 With Sparta’s heroes, at one rocky pass,
 One day be spent in dying, men had sought
 The spot, and been cut down like mower’s grass.
 If in the heart of nature we might strive,
 Challenge to single combat the great power,
 Welcome the conflict ! But no ; half alive,
 We skirmish with our foe long hour by hour.”

Nevertheless, — nevertheless, — in due season ye
 shall reap, if ye faint not. Go out with faith, with
 supplication. Ye shall come again in the Jubilee
 and Sabbath of the Resurrection rejoicing. And
 then, be content if it shall be with you as with the
 solemn pictured figures of the returning warriors, in
 the historical galleries of the Italian city, where the
 reverent and pious victors are seen, not in chariots,
 nor with sceptres, nor on thrones, nor with crowns
 on their heads, but kneeling, the crowns lifted in
 their hands, looking upward, and giving thanks to
 God.

REVOLUTIONS TO BE ACCOMPLISHED.

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN HOLLISTON, MASS., ON SABBATH AFTERNOON,

July 4th, 1858,

BEING THE EIGHTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY

J. T. TUCKER,

MINISTER OF THE FIRST PARISH.



HOLLISTON:

EDWARD G. PLIMPTON,
1858.

NOTE.

THE readers of this Discourse who listened to its delivery will notice that several pages of it then omitted for want of time are here supplied. If other appropriate topics are not discussed, the necessary limitations of such a service must account for their absence.

DISCOURSE.

EZERIEL 21; 27.

“I WILL OVERTURN, OVERTURN, OVERTURN IT; AND IT SHALL BE NO MORE UNTIL HE COME WHOSE RIGHT IT IS; AND I WILL GIVE IT HIM.”

THE context is primarily occupied with the coming downfall of the Hebrew monarchy. The prophet announces the fact that soon the sceptre should pass from the weak grasp of the last of Judah's monarchs, whose authority should never, by any after struggles, be re-established. Zedekiah, the predestined victim of the wrath of Babylon, in whose reign the secular throne of David was to perish, was the individual thus addressed by the man of God:—

“AND thou profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come, when iniquity shall have an end:

“THUS saith the Lord God, Remove the diadem, and take off the crown; this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high.

“I WILL overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him.

The Prince, to whom the restoration of this lost crown of Judah is here promised, was not to be a human potentate. No such political sovereign has ever appeared to re-enthroned royalty on Mount Zion. Yet is that sacred spot to be the centre of a kingdom far more glorious than David's heirs surveyed from the hills of Jerusalem. That dominion filled the prophet's

vision as he penned the remarkable language before us. His eye ranged onward till it fastened on Him—the Son, the Lord of David, “whose right it is” to rule all nations. When next the trampled crown of Israel should be lifted from the dust, it would be by no mortal hand; to garnish the brow of no civil monarchy; the symbol of no temporal empire. But gathering by his grace the regenerated children of Abraham into the universal domain of his loyal subjects, the Messiah shall rule in righteousness over a world in which every knee shall bow in homage to his magistracy.

This prediction is passing by gradual advances, yet not without many retrogressions, to its accomplishment. Divine Providence is guiding the world’s affairs onward and yet onward to another “golden age” of freedom, purity, peace. It must come, or the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit has strangely misled our faith.

In the light of this fact, we watch with deep interest the progressive history of our race. Subservient greatly to this consummation, every christian patriot must consider the planting of the American church and the American state. When He, who led Israel out of Egypt, conducted to these shores the choicest intellect and virtue of the old world, and when He rescued this land from unnatural vassalage to foreign civil power, giving to humanity another of its mighty, world-wide impulses towards national and religious liberty, then were influences generated to hasten the triumph of Emanuel’s reign, such as no mind save God’s can measure.

If the birth of an individual human soul into this world be an event full of a sacredness almost amounting to awe, the birth of a whole nation of such souls to civil liberty is an event which magnifies itself

to the grandest moral sublimity. However this anniversary may be appropriated to other uses, (and we object not to many of these, its civic and festive celebrations,) still does religion lay the highest and most fitting claim upon it; for God was nigh to this people at that birth-hour of our independence, and that we safely passed its perils we owe perpetual thanks to his kind and mighty hand. There is, then, a very close harmony between the spirit of this occasion and that of the Christian Sabbath upon which it occurs the present year. To us, enjoying the blessings of American citizenship, this day comes like a two-fold Sabbath, doubling our ordinary causes of gratitude to the Author of all good. We should be recreant both to the promptings of piety and patriotism did we fail to recognize this coincidence in our service, and employ it to some profitable end. Its historical retrospections I will leave to the secular orators; while I shall use this anniversary as suggesting what other revolutions are still needed to complete the just independence of our race—to give to man that liberty after which all true hearts breathe forth an earnest aspiration.

Much has been done, but much remains to be done, to consummate the renovation of the social state. The rightful Lord has gone up, indeed, on high, to a throne of majesty; but as yet we see not “all things put under him.” Christianity is still in the mid career of her campaign of centuries against the fortresses of Satan. As the outer walls are battered down, not seldom others are hastily built within, and the flag of defiance flings its dark folds against the heavens. But in many a place the very centre of the citadel has been reached and held against all assailants. These strongholds of wrong and error, whether solid yet upon their

broad bases, or tottering fearfully, must come down. Our text contains their doom. Omnipotence is its executor. "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; and it shall be no more until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him.

I. The progress of this reconstruction of things is destined to set aside the sway of irresponsible civil power.

I assume it as an impregnable position that arbitrary, absolute rule, on a wider or narrower political scale, is hostile to the spirit of christianity. The opposition springs, not from accidental circumstances, as the abuse of such authority, but it is a direct collision of diverse and contending principles. Nor can it confute this statement, that, in apostolic times, as the less of two evils, christians were counselled to submit to existing governments. The day has been when "the divine right" of despots was argued from the text "Honor the king." But if this doctrine be legitimate from that or similar exhortations, then the first inference is, undeniably, that all the foul tyranny of a Tiberius and a Nero must have been covered by the same sanction. Not so. The gospel regards men, all men, as intelligent, rational, exalted beings. It never enslaved one of God's free offspring. Despotic, irresponsible power, in all its manifestations, regards them as degraded in mind and feeling, and aims to debase them still more deeply. This is its elementary nature, with exceptions in the working when in the hands of those whom its possession has not wholly spoiled. It gives to one person the spiritual as well as physical being of others, few or many, and on his will suspends their voluntary life. It removes from them the sense of a direct

responsibility to God, while between their consciences and His authority it puts an earthly master, from whose commands there is no appeal.

The influence of unlimited control like this must be, as a general rule, disastrous in the extreme. It subverts the direct intentions of revealed religion, the clearest demands of natural right. These aim at the elevation of society towards all that is noble and worthy of a spiritual existence—to develop and refine intellectual faculties; to chasten and purify human passions; to regulate, by the most perfect exemplars, moral sentiments; to cultivate, on the broadest and truest groundwork, science and art, virtue and universal knowledge. And to secure these ends, Christ has re-enacted a law, the only law that can secure them in their widest diffusion and complete excellence, earth's only charter of social fraternity and equality, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This alone can guarantee to communities and individuals, the security, the equity, the stimulating hope, necessary to great general improvement. And this is the anti-polar antagonist of government by mere force. Earth's thorough regeneration demands earth's liberation from bondage to man.

I know full well that civil liberty by no means ensures the triumph of christian principles. Man may be intoxicated with freedom, and run madly into the depths of atheistic licentiousness. Yet, I am equally certain that, if men are to become intelligent servants of God, their rational powers must, as the prevailing rule, be placed in circumstances favorable for untrammelled, conscientious exertion. Truth must have a clear field, mind must be free to investigate it, the will to decide on and follow its claims. In this view, civil

liberty is an ally of the gospel. I find in it a demonstration that, as the domain of Jesus is widened, every yoke will be broken, every throne be upheaved, which has been framed by iniquity.

Nor is the survey of the last half century's history of political progress on the whole discouraging. Ten years ago, we should have painted this picture in very much more glowing colors than we can truthfully to-day. But if the sombre tints now prevail, it is only the prophet's vision repeated, "The morning cometh and also the night." A few years since, a leading foreign journal put the tide-marks thus—'sixty-five years ago, besides the United States Republic, there were but nine constitutional governments in existence: now of the sixty-six governments of Europe, all but two have obtained constitutions.' These have since perished, it is most criminally certain. But the causes which gave them birth, though for so infantile a continuance, are prophetic of their not distant second-birth to a long age of vigor and renown. Very different from the present iron thralldom of the older states on the world's political map, was that lethargic slumber which enwrapped the same countries, when the alarm-bell of our Revolution rung out its summons to the gathering of the strife. The difference is this—then mankind slept in their fetters, unconscious of a desire for release; now they are held bound by the grasp of a power which dares not trust them unguarded for a moment. That was the torpor of a drunken man, needing no keeper; lying quietly enough by the curbstone, without a sentinel. This is the caged restlessness of a spirit, wild with a thirst for another draught of that cup of blessed freedom which was snatched from its lips in the feverish pleasure of its first luxurious taste.

The past one hundred years have put this world far, far in advance of the arrogant, unchallenged domination of a Louis XIV. and that school of kings. The hands on the dial of the progress of human enfranchisement have been moving onward. They may now measure their going but by the faintest click; yet is the whole machinery wound up for another alarm which will assuredly startle before long the four quarters of this globe with the tidings of a glorious day-dawn bursting the horrid barriers of this night of oppression. There is no *finality* in the settlement of power upon unrighteous foundations, whether its guardian be a Nicolas, or a Napoleon, or the compromises of a slaveholding republic. God is for the free. And God will overturn the counsels of emperors, and presidents, and statesmen, until, on every shore of earth's oceans, and on all her continents, liberty shall expel slavery.

When, therefore, we read a piece of legislation like the following, to be succeeded, very likely, by much of a similar kind—"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana in General Assembly convened, that from and after the passage of this act, no slave shall be emancipated in this state. Approved March 6, 1857"—we can think of no more appropriate comment than the terrible words of the Psalmist:—"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision." *

II. The spirit of this renovation is equally subversive of the reign of religious intolerance.

* This statute is given in the "Colonization Journal" for May 1858, from the New Orleans "Picayune," under its title, "An Act to prohibit the Emancipation of Slaves."

Political and religious despotisms have ever been found in close alliance. They are noxious plants that grow in the shade of ignorance. The sunshine of truth kills them. Test this position by any statistics or veracious testimony within your reach. These two tyrannies draw in couples always. Look at the absolutism of Russia and her Greek church; of Austria, Italy, Spain, and the Papal church. The power which binds the body and that which binds the soul, are necessary to one another. How feebly, distractedly, civil liberty works without religious disenthralment, you may see in the abortive issues of Mexican and South American revolutions, as well as on the European continent. Try to make a corpse stand upright and step firmly, then experiment on the self-governing abilities of communities whose moral life has perished by the hands of ecclesiastical usurpation. Your results will not greatly differ. With all this violation of the rights of intelligent, immortal men, christianity is pledged to an uncompromising war, a war of most certain victory.

The main engine of intolerant bigotry in every age has been the suppression of the truths of revealed religion. With unadulterated evangelism the whole system of spiritual tyranny has ever had a most bitter feud, and for the most obvious of reasons. Hence its quarrel against the Bible. In the height of the reign of Papal oppression, it was no uncommon thing to commit this volume in malicious spite to the flames. And even now, where communities entrust the whole keeping of their salvation to an usurping priesthood, this act of sacrilege is yet perpetrated, while the oracles of heaven are stigmatized and destroyed as the offspring of the devil.

But the Bible lives, and in this century of most active mental exertion is becoming increasingly the book for the millions, the masses; the most popular book (as it is the cheapest) in its influences on the general mind of our race. Strange that this old, time worn record should have so enduring a life, so impelling and moulding a power, in this world of busy wickedness; strange, impossible, were it not of God. It is working in the deep places of thought and feeling where spring the forces which give tone to the sentiments, which give shape to the history of nations. By the silent energy of its soul-arresting and absorbing facts and precepts, it has taught untold multitudes of this age how to estimate their own being and worth as God's offspring. Through christendom and beyond it, it has spread widely this principle, so hard to be eradicated where once it has fastened its root, that every man is accountable to his own conscience and to his Maker, for his religious faith and practice. The Protestant Reformation left many things undone to the full completion of its task; but this one thing it did—it asserted man's right to an open Bible, to a free conscience, to a citizenship and a sonship in God's kingdom, with all its covenanted privileges, without the need of priestly interference or permission. The men of that age found the charter of this freedom in this volume, found its sanction in their own bosoms. They gave it to their generation and to all after time, in words which men could read who had not been bred in cloistered cells. For a dark thousand years since the days of the early church which was a church free in Christ and in fraternal fellowship, the Bible had been buried beneath the mysteries of untranslated tongues. It was brought from this oblivion at the peril of life,

and common men left their hard-handed toil, slaves as they were to lordly masters, to turn its pages and see what a human being was and what made for. It was a slow process when in England a single copy of this now less than a half-dollar book cost \$175.00; when often one Bible, chained for safe keeping in the church, had to supply the wants of a considerable population. It was a slow process. So is the growth of a forest tree, a coral-island. But it was a sure, a productive one. It is proceeding still, and the world is the school which is learning the science of time and eternity from this great educator. Popes, patriarchs, Cæsars cannot stop the movement. Churchly arrogance must quail before it. This is one of the chief questions of the age—shall ecclesiastical government, like civil, be in the charge of the people or the potentate? Shall Christ have on earth an unbound, self-ruling church, under his sole headship; or shall mitred lords, prelate or unprelate, give law to those whom the gospel has called unto liberty? Before this question is actually decided, there may be rendings, and convulsions, and purifying trials, which shall more than equal the severest passages of the by-gone annals of spiritual religion struggling out of the impure embrace of worldly ambition, of corrupt human nature. But the end is certain. “I will overturn, overturn it, . . . until he come whose right it is.”

These great systems of churchly domination are breaking up like a huge raft lying out too widely upon a sea stirred into fury by the tempest. They were not made to ride securely on stormy waters like these. In the restlessness of the laity of the Papal sect in our own country, we have a marked illustration of this tendency. It is a suggestive fact to see Rom-

ish parishes maintaining their right to hold and control their own property against grasping bishops, before our civil courts. The imperial toleration of Protestant worship in Turkey and China points in the same direction, concessions as they are to the demands of this age of growing light. It will yet be known, the world over, that the true end of spiritual power is to elevate and bless, not to crush and curse the masses of mankind.

III. The onward movement of the christian reconstruction will put on a pacific basis the relations and intercourse of nations.

Where selfishness and all bad passions have so tempting a field for action as in the management of political affairs, it must demand long periods to abolish wrong methods of adjusting difficulties between rival powers. Hence, the facility still with which contending states fall into war like attitudes, and attempt to settle differences by an appeal to arms. But, a survey of history from the date of our era will show that in successive ages the successful provocations of war have been steadily diminishing, under the ameliorating influences of christian civilization.

Thus, under the early paganism, *conquest*, *fame*, or the *want of occupation*, were the avowed occasions of bloody campaigns, defended by Roman and Grecian writers as just. Christian rulers have never attempted this justification. They may indeed have acted on no better motives; but they have always felt the necessity of finding some other ostensible grounds on which to justify their aggressions. Mankind's improved sense of equity has demanded this.

Religion, both before and since the gospel age, has been the cause of much blood-shed. In the middle centuries, when its right influence was scarcely known, these wars were most distressful. The "thirty years" conflict between the Catholic and Protestant states of Europe, which terminated more than two hundred years ago, is the last important affair of this description. Whether the antagonist forces, now gathering to a head in christendom, will assume again the form of a direct religious war or not, we are not competent to predict. Some so conjecture. But, we would hope that this mighty struggle of opinion and faith shall be fought to its conclusion with weapons not carnal but spiritual.

The contests for *succession to hereditary thrones*, a prominent cause of war in former times, have now very small space in history. By a silent but growing consent, European powers are permitting each other to select rulers even to the exclusion of the claims of legitimacy. Russia may still recognize the Bourbon as the king of France, but Russia will not attempt to put him on that blood-bespattered throne by armed intervention. "Sixty years ago, Europe would have been infallibly plunged into flames from the Arctic ocean to the Mediterranean, under one tenth the temptation which sovereigns and people have of late resisted." * Crownless kings are now regarded rather as subjects of neighborly hospitality than of war like vindication.

Self-defence, a valid and righteous cause of hostilities, is becoming less and less needful, as nations are learning more fully their true interests, and that these demand a maintenance of pacific relations. It is becoming very difficult to break these asunder. Every com-

* Edinburg Review, 1848.

mercial, agricultural, manufacturing, financial claim forbids it. The welfare of millions holds back ambitious or enraged rulers from this gratification of passion. Every new facility of travel, but more than all others, the navigation of the ocean by steam, every magnetic telegraph, and congress of industry, are so many bands of strength to preserve concord between nations. Instead of a war to fix our empire-boundaries with Great Britain, or to settle our ledger-accounts with France, lo! the thousands have been swarming to the world's chief centres from the West and the East, to vie with one another in the noble rivalry of art and skill, as fellow-workmen in the vast laboratory of earth's usefulness and beauty and wealth.

The only imminent provocation of war at present, aside from the vindication of great questions of right and humanity, is the *protection of public honor*. But rulers are cautious to risk this upon the chances of an open collision with their rivals. "Arbitration supersedes war; and such a community of accord and tractability of dispositions have been observable among governments of all descriptions as appears to promise well for future tranquillity." *

These notices indicate the main currents of judgment and action in this matter. Of course, there will be counter currents in every great stream—eddies running backwards along its shore. So, in quite recent years, bitter wars have sprung up in connection with the policy of our own republic, and also of some of the European states. It may be thus again under the irritation of special forces. The Eastern horizon still wears a stormier look than is pleasant; and what the military activity of France just now signifies, her silent emperor

*Edinburg Review, 1848.

seems not disposed to explain to his much disquieted neighbors. But war is no longer the plaything of kings and of their favorites. It is a serious, earnest business, all the more so because more seldom and more hardly provoked, and more summarily carried on. Christianity is speaking peace to the nations; and this no less authoritatively and effectually, even though amid the mysterious things of Providence it may yet turn out that a more terrible campaign must be fought for truth, and right, and human progress and regeneration, against the despots of the world, than has ever before rung its trumpet-peal on the ears of man. When that conflict comes, God will lead on the forces of good and valiant hearts mustering from many lands; and again shall be heard the shout which heaven shall not condemn — “The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!”

IV. The progress of human emancipation will overturn the reign of vice and infidelity.

These are society's most active and numerous foes. By all the combined influences of moral impurity and of seductive error, they array themselves against that cause whose triumph is their defeat and destruction. Not that the outposts of this allied force and its very citadels have not been carried again and again by Christ's friends; but because, by a wonderful forgetfulness of former defeats, the first moment of a cessation of the attack has ever been seized upon by the discomfited army of unbelief, to re-man their battered breaches, to resume their broken weapons, and as loudly to shout the war-note of defiance, as though they had never been put to rout. This is the spirit of a rebellious scepticism which is nourished by vile affections and clamorous appetites; and of it the world is full.

With this antagonist, especially as entrenched behind the hardened hearts and seared consciences of gospel lands, christianity must count upon having a severe, a desperate struggle. Infidelity and vice are old leaguers in this conspiracy against their common foe, the religion of Jesus Christ; and the compact but consolidates with advancing time. Men, thus abandoned to a vicious will, are rapidly reaching the fearful resolve to deny, to disobey the revelation of God at all hazards. And to aid in this suicidal work, passion and impure indulgence are called in to blind, to stupify, to render reckless of consequences, the infatuated transgressor.

The victories of the cross are provoking to a more decided and defiant exhibition the elements of human depravity. In the language of Daniel respecting this very era of the world, *the wicked are doing wickedly*. And this emphasis of sinning will go on gathering strength, while the church comes up more and more manfully to the battle of the great day of the Lord. Very likely we shall see more of it than we have seen as the reaction of our recent revivals. Pulpits and presses whose liberalism is rather a spiritual libertinism are already giving no obscure intimations of this determination to fight it out against the Spirit of the Lord. Satan, ere he is bound, will come down with great wrath on the earth. He will lead out his forces against the citadel of the faith and leave no effort untried to take it either by violence or treachery. Infidelity will assume new forms and put on new disguises; will enter into new combinations with political, scientific, literary, and speculative opinion. The Bible will be the centre around which this last, tremendous conflict will rally; the Bible, as the supreme, authoritative record of religious doctrine and duty; the Bible, as God's inspired

message to man—as the spiritual educator of our race. With all manner of weapons it will be assailed. Learning will proclaim from her seats of authority that its historic claims are a fiction. Ignorance will echo the libel and exult in the fancied death-blow thus inflicted. Wit will ridicule, and profanity will blaspheme, and coarse impiety will cast forth its ribaldry, and wallowing sensualism will belch out its foul curses against the sacred page. Every ungodly disposition and desire will join in this warfare upon that which condemns without measure all sin. “They shall make war upon the Lamb.” New projects of developing society on essentially atheistic principles will court the philosophic taste; new theories of God, and man, and of everything temporal and spiritual, present and future, will spring to life, unbaptized in the reverence of these oracles of heaven. This operation is going forward under our daily notice, while pantheists and positivists are engaged in writing down the christian Scriptures by writing up to their level quite a catalogue of human Bibles. And here we also have the extremes of bigotry and free-thinking—popery and infidelity—joining in a common alliance of hatred and proscription against that “Word” which is “spirit and life”; the archbishop of New York moving every engine to drive it from the schools of his diocese, and the “extreme left” leader of the “naturalistic” faith in our own metropolis boasting his competency to manufacture out of his own inspirations a better Bible than ours—so I am credibly informed. But impotent shall be all this conspiracy to turn backward the wheels of Christ’s advancing chariot. They may take counsel together to break his bands asunder, but God’s truth of eternal obligation and stability shall prevail, while the systems and defences of error and irreligion,

now so boastful, shall be "dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel."

With an intelligent view of the progress of human affairs, and with a firm confidence in the pledges of God, we may not doubt the accomplishment of all these revolutions in behalf of a sound christian civilization. Not only is this earthly kingdom of heaven like a grain of mustard-seed which is indeed the least of all seeds, but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof; but it is the "stone" which shall smite every image and become a great mountain and shall fill the whole earth. In the last days "shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever." This process of the revolutionizing and readjusting of human relations is moving onward with sure and obvious steps. "The stone cut out of the mountain without hands" is demolishing the "iron," the "brass," the "miry clay." The vision is certain, and ere long there shall be heard "great voices in heaven saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever.

Thus gloriously does the destiny of true religion unroll its coming scenes to "the eye which faith hath opened." But let not this vital truth be lost sight of, my brethren, that in this sublime movement God is to bring to pass his counsels through the sanctified energies of his church. "The judgments which are to shake down anti-christian empires, and cast down high

imagination, and lay open the world to the entrance of truth and the power of the Spirit, are to be closely associated with a new and unparalleled vigor of christian enterprise. Until now the church will have been the assailed party, and stood upon the defensive; but henceforth the word of command will not be *stand* but *march*.* By all the power of an unwavering trust, a quenchless love, an invincible resolve to conquer or die in the breach; with all the resources of a burning zeal, a constant devotion, a cheerful self-denial, a noble liberality, must the people of God take hold of his mighty arm whose strength is Omnipotence. Then will the church once more "subdue kingdoms, work righteousness, obtain promises, stop the mouths of lions, quench the violence of fire, out of weakness become strong, wax valiant in fight, put to flight the army of the aliens."

Oh! if the friends of the Redeemer, rising in the power of a piety enlightened, purified, and kindled to intense ardor by near communings with God and his truth, would but make such a firm and concentrated onset upon the strong-holds of Satan; if the energies of a living holiness could but be brought to bear on the empire of universal depravity, as Christ, and apostles, and primitive saints employed them, soon, how soon would the tabernacle of God be set up among men; how soon would every high look and deed of defiance be brought to the dust before the glories of Christ's victorious reign. When shall the followers of Jesus thus come to the fulfilment of their covenant-oaths!

I put this question to you, fellow christians, in view of *your* personal responsibility to the cause of Christ. Attempt not to evade its point, under an indefinite admission of the general duty of the church to assume its

* Dr. Lyman Beecher.

decision. The church will never assemble in one vast convocation to take up this matter and determine when, so far as it is concerned, the thousand years of gladness and of jubilee shall commence on earth. But the universal church shall one day be awake to duty ; and this will be when individual churches arouse from slumber and put on the whole armor of God. The general revival of the church will be the revival of the members of individual churches. The flame will begin and kindle onward and onward, until the whole earth is illumined by the refulgent light. *Here* must be one point of its commencing. Before the "end" shall come, the religious community of this place and region shall be inspired so fully with this quickened grace that, through it, this people shall be practically christianized. This work may begin *with us*. We may be the generation honored in conquering this part of the kingdom for Emanuel. Why should we not ; why should the blessed work be delayed till we moulder in the grave, and our friends die accursed, and another more faithful company of God's servants be raised up from among our children to eradicate the remnants of sin and folly from this neighborhood ? I commend this question to your study, in the light of God's commands and promises, and of the coming settlements of eternity.

The recent awakening of a more earnest religious spirit in our churches must not fail of putting a mightier impulse into this whole movement of society's regeneration. The world expects it. Why else has the Divine Spirit so breathed upon "the valley of vision," calling to their feet the bones that were "exceeding dry," but that this army of old campaigners and of new recruits should go right onward, in Christ's great name, to complete the conquests of justice, of benevolence,

of christian salvation in the land? Brethren, let not our part of the work falter.

A parting word to a different class of my hearers. Are you as yet not in sympathy with this great movement of holiness? You may admire its historic developments, its heroic story; may find gratification in the general civilizing and humanizing results of christianity among men. But nevertheless are you conscious that your heart is not with Christ in the deep, spiritual elements and purposes of his cross and kingdom? Are you attempting to be a neutral in this war? Indifference is treason, is hostility, in such a strife. Do you try to persuade yourself that you are helping on the cause of heaven, although not a christian? You are only thus just working a little at the surface, when you ought to be doing a thorough, reformatory labor for humanity; moving the hands on the dial-plate to make them go rightly, instead of cleaning and oiling and regulating the clogged and damaged wheels and springs within. Does your soul rise up rebelliously against this grand enterprise of Christ's sin-subduing and expelling reign? Every attribute of God and goodness is against your side. "Let the potsherd strive with the potsherds of the earth, but woe to that man that striveth with his Maker!" Listen again to that Maker's solemn words — "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him." His is "the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever." If you persist in occupying any position save that of cheerful submission and love, no help can save you from this irrevocable doom of everything on earth which opposeth itself to the kingdom of Christ. Bow, then,

in penitence, in faith, in love, to Him whom heaven will through eternity honor as “King of kings and Lord of lords.”

THE TWO POLITIES.

AN

ADDRESS

Delivered, May 11, 1858, in the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, N. Y.,

AT THE

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

American Congregational Union,

BY

REV. H. D. KITCHEL, D.D.,

OF

DETROIT, MICH.

New York:

N. A. CALKINS, 348 BROADWAY.

BOSTON:—M. H. SARGENT, 13 CORNHILL.

DETROIT, MICH:—FRANCIS RAYMOND.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—E. DARROW & BROTHER.

1859.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

BRETHREN OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION :

In complying with your invitation to address you at this Anniversary, I have sought for a theme which should have breadth of interest corresponding to the breadth of this Union, and at the same time, one on which I might possibly have some fitness to speak. Such a theme seems prepared for me : Our work in the West—its providential unfolding, and the lessons of experience it has taught us for our guidance in the future.

It was God's wisdom, in ordering the early settlement of this country, to assign separate fields to two distinct Christian elements, that were to enter largely into its formation and future history. New England was given to Puritan independency, while Presbyterianism received in trust the more Central and Southwestern field. With only slight and temporary exceptions, each held the field assigned to it unshared by the other. Each wrought in its own sphere, in its own way, developing and working after its kind. For the problem was twofold with each, what it should itself become as an ecclesiastical system, and what it should accomplish as an evangelizing power. It was eminently true of the New England Church order, that it was yet unformed, existing only ideally and in principles that were yet to come into system. Something more pure and free in the economy of God's house ; something more popular and fraternal, had dawned on the Puritan mind, and was feeling its way into shape. But this Way of the Churches walking in brotherly coördination was yet to be organized. The other element entered its field with its polity better established ; yet, practically, amid the novelties of its position in an untried field, American Presbyterianism had yet, in large measure, to define and organize itself. And so, apart, each took form, and crystallized by a law of its own into an ecclesiastical system, around certain central and essential ideas, very distinct from each other, yet each charged with a production of organic power. Thus they ripened into what we see them.

Work also was given them, to leaven their respective fields with

their influence, to found, to construct, to organize—in a word, to wield the Christian forces in their diverse ways, in building up the kingdom of Christ in a new world. And each was on trial in its work ; for in due time it should come to be seen what force and worth were in each, from its product, from the fruits it should yield, and the history it should prepare for the field entrusted to its tutelage. Whatever other ecclesiastical elements have entered into this problem, they have been secondary, and the results respectively are to be accepted, with considerate candor in the estimate, as an exponent of the polity under which they have been realized.

And now, after two centuries, both they and their work are before the world. Congregationalism, now approaching the years of discretion, presents her New England as the style of work it is in her to do ; her juvenile experiment, her form at the age of sixteen ; she is now ripe for other work, and craves an ampler field. And Presbyterianism, too, comes to judgment on what she has made of her Middle and South. It is not my purpose to characterize or compare these results. Neither can boast a perfect work ; but what they have wrought is a study of great significance. Each has been the influential ecclesiastical element that has penetrated and leavened its field, and decisively made it what it is ; and each is to be considerably judged from the fruit it has borne in the social, moral, and religious condition of the region it has done so much to form.

During all this process, while they wrought thus apart in their own spheres, there was little occasion or opportunity for more than a cordial recognition of each other, and the general acquaintanceship of bodies thoroughly occupied with their own separate work. They loved each other, and in all fit ways testified their sympathy and honorable regard. But it resulted from their separateness in position and work, that no very intimate knowledge was had of each other as systems—no such critical comparison of politics as would have been inevitable, had the two been thrown together to form and labor side by side in the same field. They apprehended each other in general ; but within its own sphere, neither had occasion to define and justify itself as against the other. And so there came to be among them in time, eminently in New England, an easy and unintelligent acceptance of the current system. They felt no call to know clearly their own unchallenged system. Self-confidence bred self-disregard. It was little

considered, and still less taught in a popular way, what these polities distinctively are, and what are the principles and tendencies which commend them respectively to a vigorous and intelligent holding. Each held its own unquestioned and unrivaled.

But a great change was preparing in the relations of these two systems. In the ripeness of time, the new outlying world of the Northwest was discovered, and thrown open before them; and these two denominations found themselves projected together into this new realm. It was a new problem, and far deeper than was then comprehended, how these hitherto separate polities should meet and take up in coöperation the vast evangelizing enterprise which now opened before them. Little knowing themselves, and each other less, and least of all, the almost continental greatness of their work, they went forth together to do and learn what might be given them. The spirit in which they accepted this problem was eminently amiable and confiding. They would coalesce—they would blend by a planned union into something intermediate, into some indefinite indifference—neither this nor that. We may believe that both craved and sought a common ground on which to meet and labor as one; that in those first stages of the enterprise, a generous self-forgetfulness ruled the procedure; and that it was owing chiefly to the fact that one of these systems was first in its organization in chief places there, that the plan came to inure so largely to the benefit of that system. But the scheme evinced only the wisdom and self-knowledge to which they had then attained. Experience had yet her lessons to give.

The discovery of the West, and the pouring forth of these hitherto separate denominations into it, to try the new problem of partnership in occupancy and responsibility, has been full of great practical lessons. It held hidden within it a breadth of meaning, a development of issues and results, which could not then be foreseen. Before the problem shall be fully solved, we shall all of us, both in the East and in the West, be instructed into a larger wisdom, and our children after us will still have something to learn from it. For through all the temporary entanglements of the present, beyond this experimental era in which we are sounding our way into unknown seas, and spelling out God's meaning as we go; beyond all this, there are better relations of mutual understanding and Christian unity to which we shall attain. God speed the day! Meantime, while the stress of the trial is upon us, and while we strive together in the dim dawn of the better time, let

us order our way firmly and lovingly, in courage and in hope. And the more docile we are to Providential unfoldings, and to the instructions of a history that is rapidly evolving under our hand, the better we shall be prepared to stand forward at each moment on all the results of the past, and fall in with the line of God's leadings. Let us discern, then, how far we have come, and whither now God's finger is pointing, and turn our faces thitherward. What, then, up to this present, are the import and drift of this Western development?

The inquiry deserves thought on all sides. Results of practical wisdom and necessity have been cleared for us, which now demand to be accepted and heeded by all concerned.

1. It was among the first results of their commingling in the West, to reveal to these two coöperative denominations, as a practical conviction, their essential distinctness—that, as ecclesiastical polities, they are based on radical ideas and organic principles that are vital and distinctive, and that they can depart from these only by ceasing to be. Neither of them had been called till now to search itself, and know what radical ideas wrought in it, and with what forces it was charged. They had hitherto had it all their own way, unchallenged in their respective fields. But now each as a polity met a competitor, and was summoned to consider and explore itself, and either find a right and a necessity for its distinct continued existence, or yield and cease to be. This self-scrutiny and self-assertion were not intended. At first it was waived altogether. They strove to forget themselves as polities, and coalesce. But in process of time it was discovered, first by those in the immediate press of the experiment, and accepted later by those who watched the revelation from their distant posts, that these two systems, now meeting intimately in a common field, were fundamentally diverse, stood each on principles of its own, and could neither of them pass over into the other, nor to some neutral polity, compiled from the two. No alchemy could change either into the other, or to an indifference between. This fell as a surprise and a pain on many a charitable heart. It was resented most, and long resisted by those who swarmed to that new field from the New England hive. Intent on Christian ends, and little instructed in politics, the children of the East counted it a first duty to ignore differences, and pour themselves into the mold which they found prepared to receive them.

This result, however unforeseen and unwelcome, now compels

assent. There is in the two systems a radical diversity of principle, deeper than forms. As polities they stand irreconcilably apart, and refuse to blend. They knew not this at first. It could be known, as of practical knowledge, only from the experiment. But the trial cleared for us this absolute fact, stronger than all our wishes, that capable as these two denominations are of all honorable recognition and Christian coöperation, as distinct and separate bodies, their polities are in their very nature immiscible, and that all attempts to merge them in one, or to yoke them by compromise in the harness of a stipulated union, must result in worse than separation.

The radical antagonism of these systems is found in the structural ideas which underlie and mold the Church. Congregationalism stands on the completeness of the local Church, holding each covenanted community of believers an ultimate organization, charged with divine authority to be whole in itself, to supply all its needs, order all its procedure, and work all its ends, independently of any earthly control. Each local fraternity has in itself the integrity of a complete and independent denomination. Other such, far or near, move in orbits of their own, sympathetic and helpful, but adding nothing to the integrity of any one. Christ its Head—itsself a brotherhood—God's word its Law—the company of believers stands a perfected organism, free to sweep from its center the whole circle of rights and duties, subject to none, responsible to God only.

An opposite idea constructs the Presbyterian Church as provincial, and in aspiration national—a confederacy of all the local Christian assemblies centralized as one, governed as a unit, every part subjected to the whole, and under control of authority flowing down from the judicatories to the constituent parts.

It needs no comparison here of these plastic principles, and the tendencies they carry in them. There are elements of great power in each. They mold the Christian character, and order the Christian host, each after a manner of its own. They differ in inmost drift and results. There may well be, as there are, strenuous convictions of the relative value of these polities in the culture of Christian life and force, and in applying the Christian power to the achievement of its ends. It is not, therefore, an unjustifiable partisanship which leads to the earnest holding of these polities.

2. In process of time this antagonism developed. However liberally disposed, and willing to be planned into any form of

Christian union, neither of these elements could forget and disown itself. The fusion that had been attempted, was found impracticable. To the New England element, especially, on whom the burden of self-assertion fell, the freedom of Christ's house, and the rights and franchises of Christian brethren were too precious to be surrendered. For a time, Congregationalists had readily fallen in with Churches of the other polity, already organized, and craving to receive them. Presbyterianism also from its side went far in its concessions, in order to comprehend them. It was these concessions, indeed, on the part of Presbyterianism, pushed even to the verge of self-abandonment, and threatening, in the estimation of its distant, and more vigilant champions, the subversion of that system,—it was these concessions, softening down the rigid features of that polity till it should become acceptable to New Englanders, that fostered and exasperated those suspicions which finally precipitated the great Excision of 1837, and gave birth to the new Northwestern school. It was guilty of much New England theology, but guiltier of departures from the ideal of Presbyterianism, for the purpose of winning to itself the flow of migration from the East. That great division was one result of the comingling of the two, and the attempt to blend them in one. Both stretched their consistency, the one to comprehend, the other to be comprehended. And both suffered loss. Presbyterianism represented the mixture, and violently threw it off at the cost of national integrity. And now, too, the excinded body, as it seeks penitently to recover the purity of its system, finds year by year that it is weak in that which it gained, and that it has taken into its bosom alien elements that perplex its return. It won only an apparent strength in that era of facile liberality, when the New England element, metamorphosed but not assimilated, flowed so freely into its communion all over the West.

Then came the era of distinct and independent organizations. Each reverted now to their principles. Each came to know itself, and feel the compulsion of its underlying ideas. There came a reaction now from the desperate attempt to fuse themselves in one, and both saw and owned the impracticability. Reasserting themselves on their fundamental principles, they fell apart. Presbyterianism recollected itself, and hastened to return to its integrity as a system. Congregationalists claimed, and acted upon the right to form and enjoy Churches after their own heart, in the way of their fathers.

It was a period of sore trial to the charity and to the discretion of all concerned. Neither party has occasion for simple complacency in the history of that time. Not always wisely in the manner did our brethren assert and realize their right to an independent being ; not always was that right honorably conceded. Beautiful as our system was, and never enough to be lauded, while it kept its home among the hills of the East, it was a sore grievance that it should forget its longitude, and claim to be a Western Congregationalism. Perhaps no human Christians would have better endured that great trial, or conducted the difficult process with less friction. Separation was inevitable. It was the second stage of development in that great Providential movement which threw these two denominations simultaneously into the common field of the Northwest. They met, and strove to blend, and at one stage believed themselves actually blending. But the necessities of vital and organic peculiarities forbade. And when the amiable experiment had revealed to them their inextinguishable diversity, they accepted the fact, and braving the tribulations that beset them, they set themselves to work out the higher problem which God was opening before them.

The conduct of that retreat from the planned unionism which was now proved impracticable—a retreat more critical and delicate than that of the Ten Thousand—fell mainly upon Congregationalists. It was for them to inaugurate this era of independent organizations, to incur the perils, and bear the odium of secession, and to rally with many losses around their recovered standard. They dared the certainty of misconstruction and reproach. New England, more remote from the West in condition than in space, poorly understood the trial of her distant children. An evil report of them arrested her sympathy. Results were overpassing her plans, and setting at naught her wisdom. She had been content that Congregationalism should fill its New England limits. She had consigned her children to another ecclesiastical order, so soon as they should pass those bounds. And lo ! another issue was appearing. Her own Way of the Churches was emerging by the force of its principles in that distant field. It had come to know itself, and the work that awaited it, too well, to consent to die. It was ordained to live and enter largely as an indispensable force in the Christian civilization of the West.

This has been gradually forced on the convictions of our eastern brethren. As a legitimate result, they have discerned the vital

force and worth of their system. Through all our Churches, the essential principles of our polity are now more intelligently and heartily held. And so it is not now held for us the first dictate of charity, to hasten away from our distinctiveness into some conformity. But the sympathy is not yet entire. There remains yet a conservative reluctance, in some quarters, to recognize the propriety or the necessity of this resolute assertion of our polity on the debatable ground of the West. An inconsiderate charity, that holds by prejudice rather than by wisdom, still utters rebuke in its doubt, as if we had invaded others' rights, trespassed on another's domain, and stood with unwarranted pertinacity on inconsiderable distinctions. Floating indifferentists still hover about the lines, and marvel that politics should be supposed to differ. Why should people hold fast to preferences? They find no need of an anchor in the shallows they navigate. But this, too, will find correction. The virtue of indifferency has but a negative quality, and is less and less esteemed a commendation on either side of this question.

3. The higher significance of this western problem began now to appear. Its true solution evidently lay in no amalgam of polities, but in a spiritual unity transcending diversities. These two, which could not be one in form, must realize a deeper oneness, triumphant over forms. Not at once could that haven of rest be entered. Not at first could it even be conceived and anticipated as the issue that awaited them. A stormy passage lay between. But it was wise to discern in season whither God was calling them; wiser to cut loose, and bear away in that direction, than to ride on together, dashing in that disjunctive conjunction which had been planned for them, and which painful experience had taught them was a compact that, in the name of union, bred all the realities of strife.

These two denominations, on which jointly God has devolved so largely the Christian culture of all that outlying world of the West, have only this, yet all this, between them, that approaching nearest to each other of all the Christian tribes, they still have essential and indomitable differences in polity. They must ever be nearer to each other than either to any other, and yet in form never one. The mystery is, that hearty acceptance and true fraternity should be only the more difficult between such, that their abundant likeness should resent every defect of circumstantial identity. So it is that the slight diversity that is near,

proves more divisive than a far greater, in those more remote. We accept other denominations with easy charity, resigned to differ. We swing clear of collisions with them. But these two more kindred bodies, so like, yet so peremptorily two, ride so within each other's spheres, as often to provoke demands for conformity that cannot be met. But once let these two coördinate bodies thoroughly recognize their inevitable distinctness ; once let them concede to each other the perfect right to exist and act independently on their own organic basis, and learn to love each other in that systematic separateness which is ordained for them, and we achieve a triumph over what is apparently the least, but is really the greatest obstacle to Christian unity. Nothing can be clearer from the history of these two denominations, as they have mingled for the last thirty years in the West, than that the issue of every experiment at uniformity must be, as it has been, a failure. They can be one in a better sense than that. They can love and coöperate as several and independent ; but they cannot abandon or disesteem the structural principles which they hold so firmly by the intelligence, and so warmly in the heart. They must rise from their unions in form, into a unity in spirit. Union is beautiful and blessed only, when fruitful of love and strength ; but, as a contrivance, held as an end in itself, and to the damage of charity, it is a burden and an impertinence. Like a leaning tree, it may root itself fairly enough on the side of charity, while it drops its fruits over the line on the side of strife.

Let us, then, East and West, Middle and South, accept this prepared issue of union in separateness. It is not the end which once was hoped. It might even yet please us to wish, if the appeal yet lay to our wisdom, that one homogeneous body, one in name and form, either of these, or something between, might occupy the West. But all further attempt at this is foreclosed, as involving waste of grace and strength, with certainty of ultimate failure. Principles are stronger than we. It remains that these two denominations, in the full integrity of their systems, are to share the West, to coëxist, and work there side by side. After long dwelling apart, and maturing at a distance from each other, and from their future sphere, they are brought forth now in the wisdom of God into the same great field, and called to labor together there in closest proximity. Each true to its formative ideas, unfolding and working after its kind, each with its own methods and elements of power, they are to have trial together

now, as before they had trial apart, as different means to Christian ends. It is to be seen now on a scale that promises instruction to the world, as they go forth together from the river to the ends of the earth, how these systems bear on the heart and life of man, how they mold the spirit and character of society, how each in its way wields influences, fosters growth, and contributes by forces peculiar to itself, to the beauty and strength of Christ's kingdom. We need not characterize them here, or speculate on their tendencies and probable contributions to the great results of the future. The design is doubtless higher and broader, than to pronounce either unworthy.

This wisdom of God, rising on our defeated plans and baffled endeavors at uniformity, should inspire us with patience and hope. He is providing, let us be confident, some better social and Christian issues for that great Northwest, and possibly for the world, than could be secured by giving it over to the sole culture and training of any one denomination. Under the free action of them both, correcting, complementing, and inciting each other, Christian life and character, individual and social, will be fashioned to something broader and more complete than either could alone produce. Penetrating society everywhere with their peculiar influences, bringing each what it has to bring to the quickening and edification of character, and the molding and incitement of the social mass, they will work out a product that will amply vindicate the wisdom of God, and bless the world.

If it be in the weakness of any heart to wish it, let us know once for all that God indicates no design to remove either of these denominations from the field, and give it over, now or ever, wholly to one of them. Let us have no sympathy in the wish to displace or weaken either in that common field. Each has been beautiful in its time and place apart; it is now time for their beautiful co-existence. And patiently, chastened by failures into more of discretion and love, let us endure the day of fictions and temporary misunderstanding. We are feeling our way out from our defeated uniformities to the consummation of a true coöperative unity.

If there be a different issue prepared of God, some yet unknown way of union in the future, it lies as yet beneath our horizon, and we strive in vain to conceive its possible method or form. It scarcely seems among the promises of the present, or the possibilities of the future. Yet, if that shall ever be, we will welcome it with a glad heart.

4. The practical question remains now, how most speedily these two shall heartily consent to this ordinance of separateness in proximity, and taking up each their own work in their own way, learn the cordial comity and generous good neighborhood which become them. This, indeed, has already begun and is going forward. It has made good progress. Among the tangled threads, the pattern begins to appear.

But there are points at which the process still labors and suffers trial. Clearly enough it is seen that coalescence is no longer to be hoped. But the lines of separation are not, and for a time cannot be definitely settled. Compositions and compromises cannot at once be resolved. Many a Church feels itself misplaced and organized under forms that are untrue to the convictions and sympathies of the great body of the membership. It came so during that former struggle for uniformity, or from influences that have warped them into compliance with an uncongenial polity. Church material has here and there been prematurely organized, and placed where it cannot feel at home.

Now, it is no hasty sifting apart of the commingled elements which is to be desired. There is a better way. It lies in a generous and catholic recognition, in all such cases, of the right on the one hand, of a clear and decided majority in every Christian Church, to determine their polity and ecclesiastical connection; and the duty of the minority, on the other hand, to yield magnanimous acquiescence and cordial harmony and coöperation, retaining their convictions and preference, but holding them in abeyance; till such time as the general Christian interest shall call them out into a separate Church of their chosen form. It promises ill for the peace of such Churches, so long as the many are held to the choice of the few. Let it be all over the West, all over the world, if you choose, and the more speedily the better, that every Christian organization stand on the intelligent and deliberate choice of its constituency. That law of settlement would carry quiet widely among the tremulous and unsettled Churches. It would remove, in many instances, a deep sense of injustice and forced misalliance. Till this be done, such Churches can be of little worth to themselves, and still less to the connection in which they only nominally stand.

The ground already occupied being thus settled on the proper basis, let the same law control in all future organizations in the regions where new Churches are pressing into existence. In

every such community, when a Christian constituency is ripe for organization, let the question of polity be fairly submitted to themselves, to be determined by the intelligent preference of the majority, sacredly shielded from all foreign shaping. There will seldom fail to be an obvious preponderance of choice—and what should decide the question if not that? Neither should it be a sore question on which side a Church should choose its place. Once that it is thoroughly accepted as a conclusion that these two tribes are to dwell together in the land, and that, in every instance, the choice of the local body is to determine its form and connection, it will come to be no longer an eager race to seize upon the waifs of outlying Church material, and give them shape “in advance of all others.” It will soon cease to be an object to persuade a forming Church off from its proper basis, and mold and name it other than its own free choice would make it. No permanent and substantial strength can accrue to either side from efforts of that kind.

Gradually, each coming to know and enjoy its own, and respect that which is of the other, the largest liberty will be conceded to both, to exhaust their utmost strength in building up the common Christian interest, in perfect fellowship and strenuous coöperation.

And, each from its own ground, these two denominations will act and react upon each other, working themselves into all happy relations of mutual understanding and helpfulness, into attitudes of respect and loving fellowship. Doubtless, they will receive from each other a salutary corrective pressure, each so coming to be not other but better. Not a little of this effect already begins to be witnessed, and the hope is good of attaining, at no distant day, to a condition of harmony on the grounds of a Christian unity.

A greavevil everywhere, that especially perplexes and obstructs the Christian work in our new regions, is the number and tenacious spirit of various denominations. Communities that could well sustain among them full Christian privileges if united, are split into feeble fragments, and doomed to scanty fare, or thrown upon foreign aid; and the Christian work is perplexed and scandalized. The evil has had enormous development in the West. In respect to many of these denominations, there seems absolutely no help for it. We may bewail the fact, but we submit to it as hopeless of present remedy, that with some of these we can come

into no other relations than those which now prevail. But as between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, there is a relation, not possible only, but attainable and quite hopeful, which shall secure them from collision, and from this unhappy division of the Christian force in feeble communities. They can and must rest in the choice of the majority, and cordially coöperate on that basis, till the growing population shall warrant the minority in in forming a Church after their own desire.

5. We have been taught new reasons for prizing our Puritan Way of the Churches, in the qualities it has developed under the peculiar tuition it has had in the West. There is found in it an adaptation to the conditions of a new country, to the various and mixed material that gathers there—a fitness to harmonize and organize the widest varieties of Christian culture, the largest diversities of experience and education—a power to comprehend and unite for all Christian purposes under its free and flexible scheme, more of circumstantial difference, with less concession of principle, than any other polity can do. It was not known, and could not be, among the homogeneous communities of the East, what virtue lay hidden within it as a solvent of varieties ; but it has developed its aptitudes in this respect in a field that cried aloud for some such element of attraction among its infinite repulsions. Christians holding the vital faith, but endlessly diverging in details of taste, culture, and custom, have found it practicable to enter into a Church which saved all his essentials to each, while it required only concession in forms to the choice of the majority. Something is to be dared in such communities for the great gain of associating true Christians in one religious enterprise ; and if for this end creeds have been here and there less ample, and our theological pentagon has been less sharply defined, we consent to endure the criticisms of those watchmen on distant towers, who descry danger in every defect of identity in terms. The concessions in this sort have indeed been far less than is supposed. It is not so much any accommodation in articles of faith that is needed among true Christians, as it is an exemption from foreign control, and the truly catholic spirit of toleration for harmless varities in taste and mode. And it is a distinction of our Church polity, which has been revealed to us in the exigencies of trial, that it presents a platform more simply Christian, more tenable by Christians of divers preferences, more remote from the spirit of sect than any other. It had a mission of grace, to knit

up the raveled web of Christian unity, and harmonize discordant elements in the simplicity of Christ, and the liberty of a Christian catholicity. In fulfilling that mission, it has no call to bestir itself in controversial agitations, or to push about it with sectarian zeal. It has no occasion to make haste. In quietness and confidence it has strength. God has crowned it with His high approval, and given it already an ample field, with abundant work and open doors on every hand.

6. Out of this Western experience another practical question has arisen: Does the work of Western evangelization, in its present conditions, with considerate regard for the harmony and highest efficiency of the two denominations associated in that work, warrant their further union in the American Home Missionary Society?

We have not courted this question, nor do we fear to meet it, now that it is thrust upon us by others. As Congregationalists, we feel no pressure upon us to hasten its solution. We have no wish to disturb whatever remains of really harmonious and fruitful coöperation between these two denominations. But this, at least, is now evident, that the conditions of the evangelizing work have materially changed since that compact was devised. Whatever may be true of the other party, Congregationalism was then little aware of its own vital force and productive energy. It knew not then the necessity that was in it to go forth and continue to be. They who committed our system to the Unions of that day, seem to have conceded that it should never assert itself beyond the Hudson. It was New England's act of self-denial, a marvel of ecclesiastical self-abnegation, to which there is no parallel in history. And from that day to this, New England has lavished her sons and her funds, with a liberality of hand and heart that has never questioned on which side they fell. Only as raised by others now does that question, and the expediency of further union, receive our consideration. Now that the inevitable separateness of these denominations is determined, and that each is to stand henceforth in all other respects on its own platform, and do its own work with such grace and wisdom as it may, the aspect of this union is materially changed.

The inquiry is legitimate, then, and is fast becoming imperative, whether the harmonious and rapid accomplishment of their work warrants any longer their present conjunction in Home Missionary labor. The plan which wrought well while the two mingled,

or yet hoped to mingle as one, and which would still meet the want of a homogeneous field, finds now increasing friction and perplexity. Its administration is beset with critical and delicate questions of relative justice and impartiality. The alliance breeds entanglement. No even-handed impartiality, no concessions that stop short of injustice, now avail. The day of harmonious coöperation seems past. These twain have in vain essayed to be one. Let them, then, forecast a peaceful future, by arranging in season an honorable sundering of all bonds that bind them to toss in disastrous connection, and strain all the joints of charity on the roughening seas before them.

It may be urged that the terms of this partnership in the Home Missionary Society impose a salutary restraint on the ardor of denominational zeal, and enforce mutual respect when otherwise the two systems would interfere. But after all the spirit of rivalry is not wont to be quelled by laying a union upon it. It is well to inquire whether it do not exasperate what it seeks to heal. If God has called these two systems to labor distinctively in a common field, the sooner every bond is taken off, except those of their common Christianity, the sooner they are put upon their grace and discretion to learn reciprocal respect and good fellowship, the better for themselves, and for the cause. Here and there, for a time, indiscreet preëccupancies may yet be attempted; but all such indiscretions will be at heavy charges, to be sustained from no common treasury as now, and they will soon cease. Once put upon their own responsibility, they will soon tire of these unfruitful rivalries, and come to a Christian discretion. Since this trial is upon them, let them at once apply themselves to learn to dwell together on terms of concord and mutual respect. It is more than questionable whether any relief can be afforded them by devices for evading or postponing the trial. Let them learn, as soon as possible, the things that are comely, and peaceful, and edifying; and this will soonest be, we may feel sure, if, relieved from all contrivances of artificial union, they are left to work out a unity that is better than all unions.

It deserves inquiry, too, whether their joint conduct of this Home Missionary work has ever brought out the full evangelizing power of these denominations. There is in each of these great constituencies an intelligent and hearty preference of their distinctive principles, which might well ensure their more prompt and generous liberality to advance Christianity under the forms

of their own cherished system, than under another, or any combination of systems. This conscious lack of sympathy in a compromised work doubtless had its effect while yet the plan met with no open criticism. But now that the discontent pronounces itself in every synod and assembly, we may be confident the withholding will be more and more apparent. A policy is now inaugurated on that side, which will divert their interest and effort to a distinctive plan for setting forward their own system. And the injustice of this, while they claim full benefit of partnery, yet bend their energies to their own peculiar interest, will soon tell in abating the liberality of the other member of the firm.

At least the links of this union must be welded anew, or they will soon part under the strain they now suffer. Tendencies to disruption have already wrought so far, that the sentiment of sacredness and veneration for the compact is abated, and union, for mere union's sake, will not long be retained. It must be shown soon, and well, that the evangelizing work of these two denominations, under its present changed conditions, still demands for its most rapid accomplishment this artificial alliance. The compact must be defined and cemented anew, or prepare to be disused or abrogated at no distant day.

It remains for us, then, on all sides, to heed these teachings, and shape our way by the lights of experience. The yoke of artificial union, and a stipulated harmony, chafes now on the neck of each. Questions of right and propriety, which would find easy solution if left to the Christian discretion of these denominations, acting untrammelled on their separate responsibility, become sore and complicated under the *régime* of an ill-defined compromise. Each is restrained of its full evangelizing power. We are drifting into worse disunion, by force of an inharmonious union. Lamentations are no cure for this, nor homilies on the blessedness of peace whether or no. These parties cannot be tied up to agreement. They will agree when left to do so on the higher and only ground of unity in separateness. Take off the bonds of cunningly devised restraints, which, under the name, forbid the fact of harmonious coöperation. Leave each to care for its own. What is afloat will find its place. Indecorous rivalries will soon be seen to be as unprofitable as they are unseemly. Planting Churches in eager advance of all others will come under check of fitness and economy. And so an honorable harmony will presently be attained.

The danger is that Christian men will lack intrepidity to deal with this unwelcome question in season, and that instead of an harmonious separation deliberately arranged, it will be left to solve itself. It may soon do so with disastrous accompaniments. Some rock will not be wanting on which the wreck may occur, and we know not with what incidents of mischief and scandal. Cannot this be ordered with deliberative wisdom? Is no providence possible in Christian men? Cannot harmonious relations be prepared for these two systems in the future, in that separateness which cannot long be deferred, by a peaceful parting which shall save them from the exasperations of disruption?

It is no part of our policy, and it is no wish of our heart, to disturb the harmony and efficiency of this most precious and noble of all our Christian agencies. But we say distinctly there must be an honorable justice observed between the parties—there must be a hearty and harmonious prosecution of the common Christian purpose, or it ceases to be a compact of peace, or a power for good. We abide by its terms. We cherish its spirit of noble liberality. And we have no wish to hasten the day when this form of coöperation shall be swept away.

Brethren, I have thus endeavored to interpret our work in the West, its development and present condition, its lessons already yielded, and the drift it now presents. I have mistaken both the spirit and the terms in which I have spoken, if I have failed to do honorable justice to the denomination with which we are so intimately associated. These teachings of experience are for them no less than for us. The policy of denominational separateness, in order to the speediest attainment of a true Christian unity, is one which, I doubt not, they will accept as readily as we. It is the dictate of sound wisdom, and even a necessity, which, whatever we may wish, is going forward to execute itself.

I have spoken in this assurance, and with the freedom inspired by the terms of your invitation; in the confidence, too, that these views attach no responsibility to you, while they will yet receive from you whatever consideration they deserve. Ten years a pastor in New England, and carrying with me a New England heart, I have now for ten years watched with deep interest, from within, the development of this Western problem. We have reached certain definite results, certain imperative conclusions, which seem to me not sufficiently recognized as the basis of future action. These conclusions will rule the future, whether we

stand promptly forward upon them, or still attempt to cleave to the aims and methods of the past. Our wisdom clearly is to consent to what God has determined ; to accept what He has revealed to us in the unfolding of our work ; and to guide our course henceforth by the lights that have risen on our way. These are simply the unanticipated contents hidden in this problem from the first, brought forth into light now in the progress of the experiment. They concern alike East and West, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. And they show us the only path to that happy consummation desired by all Christian hearts—the harmonious coöperation of these Christian forces, under forms of separateness, in the spirit and methods of a Christian unity.

THE GREAT PREACHER.

A

S E R M O N

DELIVERED IN THE

FIRST TRINITARIAN CHURCH,

M E D F O R D, M A S S.

JANUARY 29, 1860.

BY REV. ELIHU P. MARVIN,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS ST.

1860.

MEDFORD, FEBRUARY 1, 1860.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

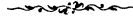
HAVING listened with much interest to your Discourse last Sabbath afternoon, and believing the same in print would edify many who were not hearers, as well as afford to those who were, an opportunity to peruse and thoughtfully consider the interesting views and valuable instructions presented; we respectfully solicit your compliance with the wish expressed by many of your people, that it might be published, and request that a copy may be furnished for publication.

With sentiments of sincere regard and affection,

Very cordially yours,

LUKE K. BOWERS,
GEO. S. WHEELWRIGHT,
ROLAND JACOBS,
ALEXANDER GREGG,
REUBEN PRATT,
HENRY L. BARNES,
FRANCIS H. KIDDER.

TO REV. E. P. MARVIN.



MEDFORD, FEBRUARY 2, 1860.

Gentlemen, and Dear Friends:

YOUR kind letter of yesterday affords me great pleasure. Aside from the approbation of my Master, nothing can gratify me more than to know that my efforts are acceptable and profitable to the people whom I have the happiness to serve and love.

Since your object will be gained as well, I know from many past experiences of your generosity, you will cheerfully allow *me* to publish this sermon, and inscribe it to one who had already expressed a special desire for its publication, and who, though far away, daily remembers my people in his supplications.

While I do this, however, it is my desire, *none the less*, to express my high esteem for you each and all, dear brethren, and my increasing interest in, and obligation to, both yourselves, and all those for whom you speak in your very kind letter.

With great respect, I remain, yours obediently,

E. P. MARVIN.

TO MY REVERED FATHER,

DR. MATHER MARVIN,

TO WHOM I AM SO MUCH INDEBTED FOR WHAT I KNOW OF THE DOCTRINES

OF THE GLORIOUS GOSPEL SYSTEM, I RESPECTFULLY AND

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATE THESE PAGES.

THE AUTHOR.

S E R M O N .

ISAIAH XI. 1, 2, 3, 4.

AND there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots ; and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord ; and shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord ; and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears ; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth ; and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

HERE it is distinctly prophesied that our Saviour, when he should come into the world, would be peculiarly endowed, by the Holy Spirit, with wisdom, discernment, and might in speech, such as should make him a remarkable preacher.

Many other passages of the word of God show that his great work was to make atonement for sinners. But while he was to be both a great Priest, to offer acceptable sacrifice, and a glorious King on the spiritual throne of David, he was also to be a mighty Prophet, to enlighten the minds of men, and to unfold and enforce the counsels of God.

It was thus that he himself recognized his mission : “ And he said unto them, let us go into the

next towns, that I may preach there also: *for therefore came I forth*. And he preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee." "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

It was very proper that He who came to honor the law by obedience and suffering, should show himself to be its mightiest expounder; that He who should redeem the souls of men from the curse of the law, should show himself master of all knowledge of the human heart, its secret, deep depravity, its darkness, its unbelief; and that he be evidently able to apply the Gospel in its clearest manifestations. In short, that he should be the *mighty master-teacher* of the world.

Manifestly, the prophet, in the text, is taking this view of the coming Redeemer.

As upon no apostle, as upon no other prophet, no other minister, "the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon *Him*, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge" and of piety. Neither the plausible appearances of the self-righteous, nor the crafty designs and flattering bribes of the wicked, shall deceive or turn him aside; "but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove (argue) with equity for the meek of the earth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked."

To turn now to the life of the Son of God, and see how wonderfully these predictions were accomplished, is our very simple object ; yet, we trust, not without its attractive interest, and its rich lessons of instruction.

Let Jesus himself be our preacher to-day ; let us open our ears to the words of his lips ; let us see *what* he taught, and watch the *manner* by which he penetrated to the inmost hearts of men ; foiling their objections, taking cavilers in the snares they had laid for him ; bringing forth, in the exact time, his strong reasons with omnipotent ease and grace ; here, encouraging and comforting the humble and obedient, like a loving friend, an elder brother ; there, rebuking and scourging the bold and impious with a divine majesty ; and, on all hands, opening the narrow way of life with the clearness, beauty, and power of radiant light from the world of glory.

First. Notice what a consummate master Jesus was of real eloquence. Of course I do not refer to the petty arts and studied rules of the professional orator and actor. He needed none of these to aid him ; he was infinitely above them all. His whole demeanor was perfectly simple and natural, though earnest, discriminating, and impressive, as the pure love and complete appreciation of truth could make one.

Truth, of itself, has a grand persuasive power, as is beautifully illustrated in the success of Lycinus, persuading the proud and wealthy Spartans to

give up their lands to be equally divided among all the citizens, that, by banishing poverty and excessive wealth, and with them envy, fraud, and luxury, the inhabitants might dwell together in equality and harmony, and no pre-eminence or honors be given but to virtue and merit alone.

Jonathan Edwards was a mighty man in his pulpit, by the clearness of his views and statements of truth—truth in its fundamental principles, traced to their wide and harmonious relations.

Our Saviour, being omniscient, might well surpass in power all the speakers and orators of the world. He “knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man.” Aside from earnestness and naturalness, his great power of eloquence consisted, first, in the clearness and completeness of his views; and secondly, in his perfect command through language of all the powers and passions of the human soul.

Say what unbelievers will, of the poetic vagueness and fragmentariness of the teachings of Jesus,* we affirm with certainty, no man was ever so simple and concise in statement, so clear in logic, so exact in quoting proof-texts. It was only when he wished to illustrate and impress his plain state-

* T. Starr King says, in his reply to Dr. Nehemiah Adams, p. 13: “It was very rarely that Jesus uttered any spiritual truth in cool and abstract phraseology, in sentences that are literally true. He loved indefinite language, vast expressions, paradoxes, gorgeous imagery, vivid parables. Hardly the simplest idea passed from his mind into speech, without the ample robe and lustrous turban of Eastern imagination.”

Again, p. 9, “See how fragmentary the New Testament is! How little is preserved to us of the instruction of Jesus!—very rarely any consecutive talk or conversation,” &c.

ments, that he drew upon poetic imagery; and then, indeed, no man could paint to the life so truly and impressively. He knew too well the dependence of thought upon language, to be careless in the use of a single word or syllable. Witness his wonderful summary of the decalogue! So short and simple, that a child can carry it in the memory, and apply it to every occasion in life; and yet so complete and comprehensive, as to include and provide for all possible cases. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

Witness, also, his talk with Nicodemus. This cautious ruler was anxious to learn about the wonderful, the heavenly things. But Jesus brings him back, and holds his mind upon the first great truth which it was so essential for him to understand.

On the supposition that the new birth is a great and fundamental reality, which every sinner must experience in order to salvation, how was it possible for the Saviour to teach it, and insist upon it more coolly and abstractly? It is a deep, mysterious, and spiritual doctrine; as a fact, however, it is plain enough. And so the Saviour employs a bold figure, and a literal and natural fact, to make the spiritual truth more definite and plain. Though Nicodemus does not, at first, comprehend it, the Great Teacher insists upon the fact which underlies

the figure: “ *Verily*, VERILY I say unto thee, except a man be born of water, and of the *Spirit*, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh ; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again.”

Nicodemus, in his manifest amazement, would know how it is *by the SPIRIT* ? He can neither see, hear, nor handle the Spirit. Yes, says Jesus, but you can tell him by his results. “ The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth ; so is every one that is born of the Spirit.”

I might refer, also, to the Saviour’s expressed and evident desire to fulfill, carefully and to the letter, “ all righteousness,” all the teachings, Jewish ceremonies, and even the most minute prophecies concerning himself. But the clearness of his views and statements are so evident to the candid reader of the Gospels, that I need not dwell farther here.

Nor is the other element of our Lord’s power as a preacher any the less indisputable. He knew just what chord of the human harp to touch, in order to make the soul vibrate with a keen sense of guilt, the pangs of insupportable shame and remorse, the rage of madness and fury, or with the ineffable joys of peaceful pardon, and the ravishing glory of the love of God. He could, with infinite ease, grasp the attention, call forth the fears, stimulate the hopes, and lay bare the thoughts and

motives of any audience. How he could, when he chose, chain the eyes and ears, either of an individual, or of a vast assembly!

At twelve years of age, when his anxious parents, at last, found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both "hearing them, and asking them questions," it is said, "All that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers." And thereafter, it is said of him, that he "increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man." Says the text, "The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, and shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord."

After he entered publicly on his ministry, he often charmed and enraptured his hearers, holding them spell-bound by his true, pure eloquence; multitudes thronged out after him from the cities into the wilderness, for days together, that they might listen with rapt admiration to his wisdom, and hang upon "the breath of his lips." So truly did the Psalmist say, "Grace is poured into thy lips."

Neither Whitefield, nor Peter the Hermit, ever drew such vast and admiring crowds to hear them preach. *They*, like Demosthenes and Cicero, sought the people in the market, the forum, and places of public resort. *He* drew them, by thousands and tens of thousands, into deserts, and upon mountains, so far from markets that they would have perished by hunger, if he had not miraculously fed them.

We read, in history, of the grand, triumphal returns of the Scipios to Rome, and of the proud

pageants of conquerors. But no king, after victorious battle, ever rode into his capital in greater triumph, than did he into Jerusalem, after one of his preaching tours through the villages. And none was ever more admired by the shouting multitudes. "A very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way. And the multitude that went before and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest. And when he was come into Jerusalem," and the great procession moved through its principal streets with every demonstration of joy and adoration, "All the city was moved, saying, Who *is* this? And the multitude replied, This is Jesus, the Prophet, (i. e. Teacher,) of Nazareth of Galilee!"

Entering into the temple, the buyers and sellers and money-changers fled before him, trembling more from his stern voice and majestic air, than from the scourge which he held in his hand. Then he gathered the children around him, and so interested and impressed them that they shouted in the temple, "Hosanna to the Son of David," and thus sorely displeased the chief priests and scribes.

Often his enemies were in secret council to take him, because they saw him drawing and swaying all classes of the people. And as often, when they sought to take him, no man dared to lay hands on him, lest the people should rise up in his defence. On one occasion, they sent officers to take him,

who, coming near, paused a moment to listen. Ah, dangerous hesitation, so far as their mission is concerned. They are in the power of a tongue that can, by glorious revelations, by thoughts that speak and words that burn, charm the dullest ear, and melt the hardest heart. While they stand in the crowd, bending forward to listen, he throws a spell of deep, questioning mystery over them all. He is addressing the people about his speedy return to his Father in Heaven. "Yet a little while am I with you, and then I go unto him that sent me ; ye shall seek me, and shall not find me ; and where I am, thither ye can not come."

A low, colloquial murmur runs through all the assembly, "*Whither* will he go, that we shall not find him ? What manner of saying is this that he said, Ye shall seek me, and shall not find me ?" But, while they reason among themselves, lo, every eye suddenly turns to him ; for the moment is come for him to reveal to them, by a striking emblem, the great object of his coming into the world.

According to the Jewish custom, on the last day of the feast, Jesus now draws pure water from the cask, provided and placed conspicuously, and as he holds it forth, offering it to the multitude, he cries, "If any man thirst, let him come unto *me* and drink." And then doubtless goes on, with a burning eloquence such as the two disciples on the way to Emmaus drank from his lips, to expound the prophecies concerning himself, and to unfold beautifully, and clearly, the glorious plan of salvation. His voice rings out, clear and sweet, on the ear of

the breathless throng; I am this water of life for your souls! Your Redeemer, who shall soon pour out his blood for you, stands before you! By simply believing on *me*, ye may all drink of this fountain, and have eternal life! By penitently receiving me as your Saviour and your righteousness, ye may all be pardoned, freed from the power and dominion of sin and sorrow, and gloriously raised with me to Paradise!

The officers have lost all their courage to take him. Their consciences have been awakened; their hopes and fears have been roused; their souls, trembling with a sense of sin, and of perishing need of just such a Saviour, have been lifted far upwards towards the spiritual world. They return sadly and silently, and when questioned, "Why have ye not brought him?" they can only reply, "O sirs, *never*, NEVER man spake like this man!"

Thus as earth's most eloquent and mighty preacher, we see that the prophecy of the text was fulfilled. 'The Spirit of the Lord did rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.'

"How sweetly flowed the gospel sound
From lips of gentleness and grace,
When listening thousands gathered round,
And joy and reverence filled the place!

"From heaven he came, of heaven he spoke,
To heaven he led his followers' way;
Dark clouds of gloomy night he broke,
Unveiling an immortal day."

Secondly. Consider how plainly and forcibly our Saviour preached the great doctrines, or fundamental facts, of the Gospel system. For, be assured, his eloquence was the farthest possible from the mere hortatory and superficial. He aimed not to astonish and please; but to instruct, impress, and save. All his teachings have their foundation, manifestly, in the few, first principles of the Gospel. His object in every conversation, every sermon, every trope, every figure and parable, was to set forth doctrine, and through it, duty, more and more distinctly and vividly. He always assumed that obligations grow out of relations; and that men are so constituted, that they can only feel the one in proportion as they see, and realize, clearly, the other: i. e. there can really be no practical preaching without doctrinal.

It is a great mistake, to suppose we must look to the writings of the Apostles in order to find the Calvinistic doctrines most clearly stated and taught. Paul has, perhaps, elaborated them more into the forms of logic; giving the processes of his reasoning more abstractly. But he certainly affirmed and taught them not half so distinctly and vividly, as did the Great Teacher. Where do we find the doctrine of universal, ruinous Depravity brought out so distinctly as in his preaching? It underlies and renders necessary all his atoning work. "The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was *lost*." "The whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick." "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree

bring forth good fruit." "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him."

We have seen, in the case of Nicodemus, with what energy he taught the doctrine of Regeneration by the Holy Spirit.

So also the Divine Sovereignty, how clearly it stands out in the parable of the laborers, closing with, "Friend, I do thee no wrong: Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? So the last shall be first, and the first last; for many be called, but few chosen." We find on one occasion, that he brought this much-hated doctrine home so pungently, that the people could not endure it. His friends in Nazareth desired him to honor his own town with his mighty works. "Whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country." He replies, "Many widows were *in Israel*, in the days of Elias, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when great famine was throughout all the land. But unto none of them was Elias sent, save unto Sarepta, a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widow. And many lepers were *in Israel*, in the time of Elisæus the prophet; and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian. And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill, whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong."

And so it was throughout his preaching. It will be found, by digging downward a little, that the

cardinal doctrines of grace, none of them omitted, none of them softened or pared away, constitute the substratum of all his teachings. And, for this reason, we need no further to particularize under this head. Wherever we turned for illustrations of his eloquence, we found the distinguishing doctrines dropping naturally and copiously as the rain in vernal showers, which must so surely precede the bloom of summer and the fruits of autumn. And we shall meet them, on every hand, as we turn now,

Thirdly. To the *peculiar manner*, and *amazing power*, of the Saviour's preaching.

And here, we find the field opening so widely before us, that we can only indicate a few of his various and vast resources. We may begin with mentioning his strange faculty of holding the minds of his hearers steadily to the one simple truth which he was urging, separating it from all others, and causing whatever questions or circumstances came in his way to throw new light, ray after ray, upon it, until it occupied the whole field of vision and thought.

However his hearers, as Nicodemus and the woman of Samaria, sought to change the subject, and wander from the first principles to which he saw it important to hold them, he still found means, often where they least expected it, to bring back their thoughts, or call up the same theme under a different form or dress, until, finally, he fixed all thought and feeling upon it, and secured the desired impression.

When he perceives the Samaritan woman so ready to ask, "Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not," with little or no conviction of sin, he says to her, "Go call thy husband." This opens the dark picture of her guilty life, and she begins to feel her need of the spiritual water of cleansing. Yet the convicting sight of her life is unwelcome and painful to dwell upon, and she seeks to turn from it by starting the mooted question about Mount Gerizim. He allows her no escape, but deepens her convictions by adding God's claim to true, spiritual worship. She, still seeking to excuse herself for the present, replies, "When Messiah cometh, I shall be ready for that. What now is there left for her but to believe, when Jesus, with emphasis, declares, 'I that speak unto thee am he.' It is enough; the conclusion is reached; she leaves her water-pot in her joyous haste, like a true convert, to call her neighbors; "Come, see a man which told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ?"

Again, there seems to be this striking difference between the Lord Jesus and all other preachers. *They* receive the truth by revelation, and seek to demonstrate it by reason and argument. *He* announces it by direct knowledge and authority. It requires no effort on his part to make it real. The spiritual world is all unveiled to him: he sees what he represents. Hence there is a vividness in his delineations which is often startling. He declares the truth plainly, and then feels at liberty to paint it as on canvas; yea, to exhibit and enact it to the

very life, as in a drama. He builds a stage, and calls up his actors, who set it before us in such thrilling scenes that we can neither misunderstand, or ever forget it.

A few examples will make very plain, this peculiar manner, and astonishing power of The Great Preacher.

Every true minister of the gospel meets continually with one great difficulty, that of persuading men that their future, eternal condition, really depends upon the choice of doctrine and life which they make in this world. Until this is gained, commonly, nothing is gained. The sense of right, and the desire for future happiness, are not sufficient to weigh against present impulse. Man's natural indolence, and love of an irreligious life, together with the temptations of pleasure, and the pressing cares of business, will blind his eyes to the great realities of the spiritual world, for which he is on trial in this short, probationary state. Now see how our Saviour sets himself to meet this difficulty, and to teach effectually the momentous doctrine of Hell as a reality, and of the absolute necessity of a right and earnest use of the divinely appointed means of grace, in order to escape that awful state. Not only does he repeatedly announce the existence of the place, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched;" not only does he solemnly declare, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish;" but, for the purpose of enforcing the plain statement, he also presents before his hearers a thrilling, dramatic exhibition of it.

Scene first is laid in this world. The curtain rises, and you behold an elegant, oriental mansion, just such as eastern travelers describe, and as the Jewish mind must have been familiar with. The mansion is provided with all the comfort, and adorned with all the beauty, that wealth and art can afford. Gay birds sing in the tasteful arbors; delicate and fragrant flowers bloom along the gracefully winding walks; in the gardens, luxurious fruits, of every clime and season, tempt the palate and remind you of ancient paradise. The happy and cultivated inhabitants, even to the many servants, are clothed richly, and fare sumptuously every day. And yet God, the giver of all, is not in their thoughts; the Bible is not there read and obeyed; no secret closet of penitence and prayer, no family altar is known; no consecration to God's work, in this great harvest-world, is thought of! The mansion, with its Eden-like appearance, is surrounded by a massive wall, with frowning battlements; and through the iron-trellised gate, the poor passers-by pause to look in with longing envy, and turn away, with a tear and a sigh, at their own sad lot, saying bitterly,

“ Ah! misery stole *me* at my birth,
And cast me helpless on the wild;
I perish! O my mother earth,
Take home thy child!”

As you continue to look and wonder, our Great Teacher heightens the contrast of the scene, by painting, with a few delicate touches, a poor beggar, lying outside the gate, full of sores, and in all the

misery of friendlessness, pining hunger, and loathsome disease. Through the tattered rags that enfold him, the dogs, as they pass, in sheer animal pity, stop a moment to lick his sores. Driven from all hope in this world, (and it is in this way that, while the prosperous make excuse, the poor, the maimed, and the unfortunate, are often "compelled to come in" that heaven may be full,) he penitently acknowledges the guilt of his wayward heart and life, lifts his eyes and his soul to heaven, and prays for the pity and pardon of the Friend of sinners, asking humbly for a home with God, and the riches of a holy, and eternal life.

As the curtain falls on this scene, you are ready to say, Surely, in this world, the ways of God to men are not equal; there must be a day of judgment, with its balancing of accounts, by future rewards and punishments! And this is just the conviction which the Great Preacher wished to fix deeply. But he is not done with the theme; he has other doctrines which he wishes to bring impressively forth.

Again the curtain rises, and the scene is all changed; you are now in a new, and unfamiliar place! Here, in the middle, yawns an impassable gulf! And on its opposite sides, what an infinite contrast! On the right hand, you behold Lazarus, with Abraham, surrounded by the happy throng in God's most glorious home! On the left, you see Dives, his face the picture of woe, lifting up his eyes and his voice from the depth of torment, and pleading for one drop of water to cool his parched

tongue! And when, at last, he despairs of mitigating his own wretched condition, the third scene opens with a view of both this world and the future!

In the distance, on the earth, we can descry the rich man's five brethren, living, with their families, in careless affluence, neglecting religion as though there were no other life but the present. They have the Old Testament Scriptures in their houses; prophets and ministers reason with them and warn and entreat them; but they listen to no good purpose. Now they feign to doubt the evidence of God's Word; then they give to it a milder and less disturbing interpretation. Sometimes they employ a false prophet, some ingenious and plausible man, to aid in allaying the forebodings which will sometimes spring up within them. Sometimes, in sickness, or at a funeral, they admit the truth; but, after forming some good resolutions of future repentance and change of life and aim, they soon fall back again into the cares and pleasures of their former religionless life, and seem bent upon the pursuits of time and sense!

We turn from them to the other world, and O, what a dialogue is going on there! We see, and even hear Dives pleading importunately with Abraham, that, at least, Lazarus may be sent to his brothers, to testify, from his actual knowledge of both worlds, "lest they also come into this place of torment." Abraham replies, "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, father Abraham, but if one went unto them from the dead, they *will* repent." But the

affecting reply of the glorified patriarch closes his eyes, and sinks his soul to utter, indescribable despair. "If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." The ordinary means of grace will never be substituted by others; there is no other help, no other hope!

And now, as the drama closes, and we awake to our reflections, how many of us are constrained to feel that we are purposely represented by the five brethren! that we are enacting, over and over, the same scenes in our lives!

O what a preacher was Jesus! How the several doctrines stand out in his sermons, with a clearness and vividness altogether unparalleled! He states his theme plainly and simply, where there is need of it; then paints it, or enacts it, to the very life; and holding the striking picture or scene up before us, he makes us see, as in a mirror, our characters, our lives, our obligations, our necessities and privileges. Surely "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might," did rest upon him, peculiarly.

What an example of the power of unfolding and enforcing truth is found in the parable of the Prodigal Son! We never weary with hearing it. It loses none of its freshness and weight by repetition; but at each successive reading, it deepens the general impression, and gives us new thoughts and new feelings. Like hundreds of young men, in every age, the son is eager to grasp his inheritance, and escape from the restraints of a religious home.

Little does he realize the longing anxiety of the father's heart, as he receives that farewell kiss at the door. Little does he fear the temptations and dangers which are before him, as he hastens away from the lingering gaze of his loving parent, with a light step and a bounding heart.

Next you see him in a distant land, home long forgotten ; having spent all in riotous living, he is reduced to the extremity of feeding swine. " And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, and no man gave unto him." So it is ever. The young man that has spent all in the dram-shop, or the house of pleasure, is turned into the streets to die ; those who have robbed him will not give a morsel of bread.

In this perishing condition, God sends some benevolent Christian, or society, to find him ; the Holy Spirit quickens in him the remembrance of the religious instructions of his early home. ' He comes to himself.' He starts to his feet with the energy of one who feels that it is the last chance. " My father's servants have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger. I will arise and go to my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son ; make me as one of thy hired servants." See here the humility, the consecration, the gratitude of *every* true penitent. He is willing to *be* anything, *do* anything, that may please his father. " The dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table." " I had rather

be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness."

"But while he was yet a great way off, the father," (who has been always watching and waiting anxiously for his return,) sees him approaching. Through his rags, the father's love recognizes his son. He rushes from the house, saying, *There is my son !* It is, it *is* my son ! He is coming to his home at last ! He runs, and falls upon his neck, and kisses him ! He utters no reproaches, exacts no pledges ; but calls for the robe, the ring and the shoes to put on him, kills the fatted calf, and calls in his neighbors to rejoice and make merry with him, for "this, my son, was dead and is alive, was lost and is found."

Henceforth no poor erring soul need fear lest he be refused or reproved. None need delay to make themselves better. None, however guilty, or however deeply convicted, need to despair. Clothed in rags, bankrupt in character, and nothing to remember but a life of ingratitude and folly, any penitent soul may come, saying :

"Just as I am, without one plea,
But that thy blood was shed for me,
And that thou bid'st me come to thee,
O Lamb of God, I come !

"Just as I am, and waiting not
To rid my soul of one dark blot,
To thee, whose blood can cleanse each spot,
O Lamb of God, I come !

"Just as I am—*thy* LOVE unknown
Hath broken every barrier down ;
Now, to be thine, yea, thine alone,
O Lamb of God, I come !"

We might refer also to that tremendous sermon which the Lord Jesus preached in relation to our responsibility for the right use of money and opportunities. A great prince, after delivering his goods in trust to his servants, commanding them to occupy till he returns, travels into a distant country. So God, having committed great trusts to us, seems to have retired from us, to leave us to our choice. Some, after waiting awhile, begin to say, "Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were." Christians sometimes do not find him. They cry, "O that I knew where I might find him! that I might come even to his seat!" But, "after a long time, the Lord of those servants cometh and reckoneth with them."

How solemn and fearful must the closing scene of this drama have been, when they saw the "unprofitable" servant, not the profane, or the vicious, but the simply *unprofitable* servant, cast into outer darkness! Who, then, could have hoped to be guiltless?

So also the parable of the sower going forth to sow, so large a portion of the ground being utterly unfit to receive the seed! What a blow must it have been to his profitless and carping hearers! And who that reads the parable, can ever be indifferent as to his responsibility in the hearing of sermons?

The Saviour's life also shows that much is meant, in the text, by his being endowed with the spirit of "counsel." How deep and crafty were his enemies,

how dark and treacherous their plots to entangle him, and get some advantage over him. We are told that the chief priests and scribes “watched him, and sent forth spies, who should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor.”

Doubtless his disciples often trembled when they saw the cunning hatred with which he was pursued. But he was never surprised or confused by them, even for a moment. Who ever knew so well how to take the wise in their own craftiness, and by a sentence or two confound them in their studied devices, and send them away abashed, so that “no man durst ask him any more questions.”

With what ease he saw through the casuistry about the tribute money to Cæsar! With what consummate skill did he turn the Old Testament Scriptures with stunning force upon the Sadducees, who denied any existence after death, either of body or spirit. They, however, boasted of their belief in the Old Testament. Says our Saviour, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, cannot be the God of the *dead*, but of the *living*.

Then, when silenced on their own chosen field, they turn to philosophy, and start difficulties growing out of the future adjustment of the family relations. He is equally ready to meet them. “Ye do err, not knowing (either) the Scriptures, or the power of God; for in the resurrection, they neither marry nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels of God.”

O, if we could have witnessed their downcast looks, and heard the jeers and taunts of the multitude, (for the Pharisees, and probably the great majority of the people, believed in a resurrection,) the scene would exalt our ideas of the Saviour's astonishing might in counsel, and his "quick understanding in the fear of the Lord."

Not less astonishing was his withering power of rebuke and denunciation. As we follow along the bright track of the life of the Son of God, we find ample evidence of the fulfillment of the prophecy in the text, in his ability to "smite the earth with the rod of his mouth," and to "slay the wicked with the breath of his lips."

I do not believe there ever was, before or since, such severe exposure, such terrible reproof, as that recorded in the 23d chapter of Matthew. The language was so just and true, i. e., came so fully up to the truth of their hypocrisy and guilt, that, in the presence of the multitudes who had suffered so much from their extortion and robbery, under the guise of religion, it must have fallen like poisoned arrows and hot thunderbolts, upon the defenceless heads of those proud and haughty men of influence and authority, who were so unaccustomed to be told of their crimes to their faces.

They now encountered a preacher who had the calm courage to judge not after the sight of his eyes, nor reprove after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness to judge for the poor, and reprove with equity in favor of the meek of the

earth, and slay the wicked with the breath of his lips. "Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in. Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves. Wo unto you, ye blind guides! ye fools and blind! for whether is greater, the gold, or the temple which sanctifieth the gold? Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel! Wo unto you, whited sepulchres! Ye serpents! ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"

No prophet or apostle ever spake like that. The invective of Demosthenes against Philip is weak as water compared to this. If you could have seen that stern, piercing, majestic look, and heard those terrific sentences, you would have trembled, and thought of the day of judgment, and of the authoritative announcement of eternal doom! Well may John, in Revelation, say of him: "Out of his mouth went a sharp, two-edged sword; and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength."

And if he was indeed a "*son of thunder*" to the

wicked, so was he equally a “*son of consolation*” to the meek and obedient. The broken and agitated spirit was as truly subject to him, as were the stormy waves of the Sea of Galilee. The deep and holy peace of Mary Magdalen’s forgiven soul must have been like the calm, sweet rising of the sun, upon the fields and flowers of spring, after a dark and tempestuous night.

How tender and sympathizing were his words, as he walked with Martha and Mary, and their mourning friends, towards the grave of Lazarus. Tears fall from his eyes, and groans heave his breast, as he points them to the resurrection, and says, “I am the resurrection and the life ; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.” And when, at the grave, the Jews witnessed his deep emotions, they said, “Behold how he loved him !”

His touching farewell address to his disciples, breathes the very balm of healing and consolation to their afflicted hearts. “Let not your heart be troubled : ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father’s house are many mansions : I go to prepare a place for you. I will come again and receive you unto myself ; that where I am, there ye may be also. I will not leave you comfortless : I will come to you. Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you.”

And though he has gone to prepare mansions for his people, thousands of them who are yet on the earth can testify to his great power to “judge

the cause of the poor, to argue with equity for the meek of the earth," and be to them "an elder brother," and a "friend that sticketh closer than a brother." Here him saying, even now, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."

"Always with us, always with us—
Words of cheer and words of love—
Thus the risen Saviour whispers,
From his dwelling-place above.

"With us, when we toil in sadness,
Sowing much, and reaping none ;
Telling us that in the future
Golden harvests shall be won.

"With us, when the storm is sweeping
O'er our pathway dark and drear,
Waking hope within our bosom,
Stilling every anxious fear.

"With us, in the lonely valley,
When we cross the chilling stream,
Lighting up the steps to glory,
With salvation's radiant beam."

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE:

DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION

OF THE

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HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.

MALACHI III: 16. Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another; and the Lord hearkened, and heard it: and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.

A Book of Remembrance with God! Awful, yet “sweetly solemn thought!” It is fearful to think that such a Book is over all life: that in that record the tenuous and phantom Past stands fixed in forms which shall outlast the material universe; that our life perpetually moves between two eternities, the world of shadow and the world of fate; the sky of golden and shifting cloud before us, changing momentarily as we pass, to the adamant of the everlasting mountains. It is the more fearful when we reflect, that God’s Book of Remembrance can be no other than the Eternal Mind itself, grasping, as with a present consciousness, and with infinite sensibility and emotion, every thought and event in the history of Being. It is startling to think that before that Mind our lives live eternally, forever fresh in all their scenery, as if actually forever passing; that each element of that scenery—to us as shadows hurrying across a sunset sky, and fading into night—God will look at, God will think of, when we are in our graves, and when the Heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll. But terrible as such a memory is to our conscious imperfection and guilt, it is full of comfort and delight to feel that it ever turns with especial care and all a Father’s love, to the histories of those “who fear the Lord and think upon His name,” and in it are noted for eternal blessing and honor all associations of true-hearted worshippers that “fear the Lord and speak often one to another;” such as those of whom it is declared through the prophet “they shall be mine saith the Lord of Hosts, in the day when I make up my jewels, and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him.”*

* Malachi iii: 17

Thus, we believe, over each pious bosom and closet, and especially over each hour and place of social prayer and religious communion, a memory looks down that shall guard their memorial till the stars shall fall from their watch-towers in the sky ; and in that “ Book of Remembrance,” all true churches will have their faithful, loving and everlasting Record. But if such histories will ever live before God, it is fitting they should often pass in review before men. Such reviews may often teach us much of ourselves and of God, and of the laws and conditions of success in church enterprises. We may learn much of our own weaknesses, wants and perils ; much of God’s faithfulness and truth ; much to call for humility and penitence ; and much to awaken gratitude and trust, as we recall “ our songs in the night.”

Never was such a review more fitting for us than at this time ; when at the door of this edifice which we to-day enter, we set up our memorial “ Thus far hath the Lord helped us.” The occasion is in a measure a domestic one ; and calls for something of the familiar freedom and frankness of the Home. Its demands will relieve against any appearance of egotism in our self-narrative and public notice of details of perhaps little interest to strangers.

Our church history is brief,—wanting ten days of eight years—and may be regarded as but a “ day of small things.” Yet the beginnings of things enduring and enduringly progressive are never truly small. The infant soul is no small thing before God. Nor is the infant city. Of both, as a directive and formative period, infancy is a most important part of history. So of an infant church, and especially amid an infant city—the one a formative force, itself yet plastic, incorporate with the plastic era of the other—its story stretches its consequence afar. Yet brief as is our church life, it is older than that of half of St. Louis. Of the two hundred thousand now here, not one hundred thousand were resident at our origin.

The church who dedicate this edifice to-day was organized March 14, 1852, under the title of the First Trinitarian Congregational Church, of St. Louis ; a name assumed in no sectarian challenge or arrogation, but simply as truly descriptive of its Faith, Order and History—in Faith, Trinitarian ; in Order, Congregational ; in History, the First of such Faith and Order in the State.

It took origin : 1st, In the manifest need of such an organization as supplemental to the church instrumentalities already here. In a

city where all varieties of religious creed and order, from Mormonism to the Papacy, were asserting themselves in distinctive organisms, it seemed strange that that only should be excluded which came with the May-Flower to the New World.

2nd, It seemed due also to the numerous immigrants from Congregational Churches and sections, that they, as other sects, coming here, should be enabled to find a religious home for themselves and their children.

3d. It seemed due, moreover, to the formative period of our city and our section, that there should be introduced here a church that had shown itself in past history so beneficent an architect of commonwealths and societies; and which seemed to possess peculiar intrinsic adaptations to the social condition and spirit of the West.

And 4th: It was believed also that such a church would be self-sustaining. It has been so. It has had no aid whatever from abroad; and beyond the circle of its own congregation in this city, it has given more than it has received.

It was organized with seventy-seven members, in the house of worship near the corner of Sixth Street and Franklin Avenue, then occupied by the Third Presbyterian Church: of which Church sixty-seven members entered into its organization. The ministers from abroad present with us on that occasion, were Brothers, E. JOHNSON from Jacksonville, Ill., R. MEARS from Quincy, Ill., and J. M. STURTEVANT, D. D., from Illinois College; one of whom is to-day preaching the gospel on the Atlantic border; one cut down in rich and early promise, waits us "on the shining shore" of a mightier deep; the other, by God's kind providence, we are permitted to welcome here, to the sacred gladness of this day.

The house in which we organized, being chiefly owned by those entering our organization—the interests of other stockholders having been bought up—was used by the new church until its removal to its Chapel adjacent to this building, in December, 1855.

It is due to the truth of history to state that this church took origin in a spontaneous movement among laymen; without cognizance or counsel, as far as I know, of any clergyman whatever. It was the offspring of the Brotherhood. Sometime subsequent to the resolution to form such a church, a delegation came to me asking me to become its pastor. The time of the engagement which had brought me to St. Louis had expired. My arrangements and plans for a residence

here had from the first been but temporary. But a call thus coming to me from such an enterprise at such a time, it seemed to me a recusancy to duty and the ordering of Providence, to decline; I accepted, however, only on the express understanding that we should remove our place of worship; and this for reasons I shall presently state.

Our history of eight years naturally divides itself by our places of worship into two periods. One of nearly four years, in which we met in our house on Sixth Street, near Franklin Avenue: and another of a little more than four years, in which we occupied our Chapel and Lecture Room of this Building. These divisions are not only convenient, but significant of marked differences of history. Let us glance summarily at them, and first at

*The First Period, from March 1852 to December 1855—*embracing our church life in our edifice on Sixth Street.

The church had been organized with the announced plan of removal. The reasons that seemed to demand this were—

1st. Our location at that time was not central to our people. For various reasons, not necessary to specify, the quarter of the city in which our church edifice was situated, had been settled by a class of population different from what had been anticipated when its site was selected; and but few of our congregation were living near it. The consequent scantiness of attendance had made it difficult to sustain our religious assemblages, especially in the evening and in unpleasant weather. This had injured us not only by its depressing effects on ourselves and its damaging effect on public impression without, but had generated bad habits of neglect of the sanctuary on slight occasions, and, with some, the habitual desertion of the second service; habits which, as evil habits are ever wont, have clung to us persistently even when its originating cause was removed; and have at times threatened beyond any other single thing, to become the proximate occasion of failure to our enterprise.

2d. It was in a region not adapted to our working; a region for the most part foreign in speech, culture and race; and also in ecclesiastic ideas and affinities, where they had any. By exploration made by one engaged in missionary labor, it appeared, that for several blocks around—from which our church by its situation would expect much of its congregation—to four-fifths of the population our language was

not the native speech. Our church instrumentalities were not suited to them. A Mission Sabbath School would have been more effective. The preaching and the kind of labor required by our people, were not fitted to reach them.

3d. Experience showed the inefficiency of such a church in such a region. Ten years of occupancy of the ground by ourselves, or by a church similar in culture and worship, presented at its close, as connected with us, not a single family on the block on which we were ; and but few for many blocks round about. Nor was the region giving, in its changes, any promise of improvement in our prospects of increase from it, or of efficiency in it ; but rather the reverse.

In the fourth place, we were not central to the city ; as was natural and fitting the only church of our order should have been. Our location did not accomodate the Congregational element in Saint Louis. Those wishing at first to come with us, assured us that they were debarred by the distance and the inconveniency and unpleasantness of access.

All these things made it difficult to establish a religious home for ourselves in the location then occupied ; and to sustain it there permanently, seemed financially impracticable. And while we were not accomodated, and the region itself not benefited, it seemed unwise to embarrass our infant enterprise, having difficulties enough of its own, with these disadvantages of place.

It was therefore determined that we should build elsewhere. A subscription of \$20,000 was promptly raised, by the liberal benefactions of our own members and friends. A lot was purchased, the one on which this edifice is erected.

A loan of \$10,000, sufficient to warrant our beginning to build, was partly negotiated at the East. But it was ultimately defeated by changes in the money market. And this defeat, with other causes, led us to acquiesce in our location as a temporary necessity ; till presently, in some quarters it began to be accepted as a permanent appointment of Providence, and the question to be raised whether we did right to abandon what was so clearly a missionary field. But Providence, if it shut us up to that field, certainly was not relieving us against the difficulties in it.

Still our life on Sixth Street was not without many pleasant and grateful reminiscences. Common difficulties in the inception and feebleness of church enterprises, and those which we experienced in

an especial degree from ignorance, prejudice and misrepresentation, —unconscious or malignant—only drew us closer together. God gave us love and harmony within ourselves ; and with the zeal and impulse, the hope and courage of youth. He gave us also a heart to labor in city missions and sabbath schools ; and to devise and execute liberal things in furtherance of various works of christian beneficence. Our prayer meetings often glowed with a sense of the Divine Presence and sympathy, as we thought upon His name ; and with that life of love, quickened by which, we could not but “speak often one to another ;” and we believe the Lord hearkened and heard it, and a Book of Remembrance was written with Him.

A revival of religion ensuing early in 1853—gratefully remembered by the living, and we believe by some departed—added to us brothers and sisters beloved, between thirty and forty in number. Figuring most effectively amid the christian activities of those times, are some whom our love and memory still cherish as among the most earnest, affectionate and true-hearted of our number ; but whom we have laid, with tears of sorrow and hope, in graves far back in our history. We believe that God’s Book of Remembrance was over those times—else our candle had subsequently gone out ; that had it not been for a measure of the life and love of Christ existent, though feebly, among us, our enterprise would have been wrecked in the evil times that followed.

Sore trials, primarily and principally from our location, awaited us. Our life was one constant struggle with permanent natural forces ; influences which a revival zeal could not permanently overcome, nor even suspend. Even this, when at its height, could seldom half fill our audience room ; and when it subsided, it left us still in wearying conflict with difficulties constantly increasing, of distance, inconveniency of access and uncongenial environment.

Financial burthens, which were borne at first with alacrity, as for a time, not finding the anticipated speedy relief, but rather constant accumalation in sustaining a church at such disadvantages, became in time oppressive, and hardly to be borne. Friends, many of them having their confidence in our enterprise shaken by the abandonment of our pre-announced plan, kept aloof, waiting to see what would become of us. Many, I say ; not all. Some came to us in the hour of our need ; some to whose loyalty, liberality and efficiency, it is in great part due that our church is alive to-day.

But for the time, discouragement, weariness, despondency seemed settling down upon us. Some of the most relied on and most valued of our number had removed from the city. Distrust and lukewarmness were gathering in upon us from many quarters. Our trustees were weary of their burthens and their endeavor to solve the impracticable financial problem before them; and with debt growing with our annual expenditures, bankruptcy seemed staring us in the face, not far in the distance. The aspect of our religious assemblies, especially at our second service, indicated and increased the depression of our church life. Finally, with a decline of our religious interests, danger of distrust among ourselves, as is wont in the adverse and ebbing periods of all social enterprises, impended: though this trial, which added to others already upon us would probably have been fatal, God's mercy has thus far ever spared us.

These, brethren, were dark days; the darkest in our history. Long will my spirit have them in remembrance.

They embraced the latter part of the year 1854. During them, I was advised by a true friend of myself and our enterprise, of the general discouragement and indifferency, and counselled to listen to invitations calling me to other fields. And, though with much pain at abandoning an undertaking which had seemed to open so auspiciously and so fittingly to the wants of the place and time, still I was compelled to feel that Providence was closing the door upon me in this city; that I had done what I could, and it was my duty to submit our well-purposed and prudently considered, but baffled attempt, to the disposal of Him at whose call, I believed, I had been led to engage in it. Sadly I had determined to withdraw from a city and a cause very dear to me, and for which I had declined attractive calls elsewhere; and was in correspondence in regard to a field in an Eastern city to which I had been invited, when—and not without prayer I feel assured—again that Providence, whose Book of Remembrance had been over us all the while, interposed in His own cause.

God had moved on the minds of the brethren to make one effort more. One day, I well remember, after the bitterness of the struggle of surrender was over with me, and my thoughts were directed determinately to other and distant fields, a deputation from the members of the church called on me with the statement that, if I would remain with them, they had determined to build a chapel on Locust Street, between Tenth and Eleventh. This measure I felt might save our

enterprise, and I believe it did save it. I regarded it also as an indication of Providence arresting my personal arrangements in progress.

To some it may appear that the measure was economically a bad one; that it would have saved expense to have built our church edifice immediately, including a lecture room in the structure. But we had not the strength—we certainly had not courage, adequate; nor in the location in which we were, were we likely to get them.

Our chapel was speedily completed, and we entered it December 2, 1855, leaving, with various emotions, our former house of worship, dear to us from many causes; from memories of spiritual joys and sorrows; christian experience, trials and labors; of communion with God and the brotherhood; and the new birth and the departure of souls.

God's spirit had descended upon it, with His consecration and baptism to the life everlasting. There, some among those most dear to us had confessed Christ. There, we had bent in common sorrow under the common stroke that covered from us forever some of the faces most loved on earth. The remembrance of spirits among those most gentle and beautiful, most loyal, generous and true we had ever known—who had been with us there but would not go with us thence—seemed to hallow the place. Still our feeling on removal was on the whole grateful and happy. God's remembrance had been over us in the past, we believed it would gladden and consecrate our new home also. By the cheerful and generous gifts of the brethren, we entered our chapel, virtually free from debt. Its humble accommodations were pleasant. If not gratifying ambitious aspirations, it seemed attractive, as in keeping with a home-like and familiar christian communion. We felt in entering it, as if entering on a new church life, and in a new, convenient and central location. Hope and courage grew anew; and from this time, as a general fact, the tendency of things changed; the tide turned and set mainly in another direction; though trials were still before us, as indeed they are now and ever.

We entered the chapel with one hundred and forty members. Of the original seventy-seven, fifty-three remained; twenty had removed; four had died. The total of our past membership was one hundred and seventy-seven; reduced by twenty-eight dismissals, and nine deaths; among the latter were reckoned some most valued for beauty and efficiency of christian life. Such is a succinct summary

of the first four years of our history. The records of the church, continuous from its origin, were destroyed by fire in the burning of the City Buildings, November, 19, 1856. This must account in part for some meagreness of historic detail and incompleteness of statistical record.

To those whose memory goes over that period, among its teachings obvious and important, is, first, the fact that our enterprise had been surely wrecked, had not God given to us throughout, a fraternal harmony; and that harmony was secured, not by our all thinking alike, but by our submitting our differences of opinion or wish, after fair discussion, to the arbitrament of the fundamental organic principle of Congregationalism—the rule of the majority. The trials of our origin had grounded us deeply in this. With a feeling that it was our life-principle, we entered into the new organization. And so, in truth, it has often proved itself in our history.

In the second place, serious dangers to our enterprise were always associated, as cause or accompaniment, with the dereliction of the sanctuary. From causes local or spiritual, dangers showed themselves primarily, in a failure to sustain our second service.

3d. It is clearly evident that the central forces of rally and restoration, in times of peril, were connected with what there was of genuine spiritual life among us; with that order of religious spirit and action, toward which our text assures us the mind of God ever turns with loving and faithful remembrance. Had not God thus remembered us, it is obvious human sagacity or goodness would not have kept this church alive to this day.

The second division of our church history, extending from December 1855 to the present time, exhibits us worshipping in our chapel adjacent until October last, and the five months since, in the Lecture Room of this building. From our entrance into the chapel, there seemed a re-animation in our enterprise, both fiscal and spiritual; associated for most of the time with constant accessions to our church and congregation. Still our previous pernicious habits in regard to neglect of the second service, which had almost destroyed us before, followed, as evil ever is wont, to our new sanctuary; and soon showed themselves again. From the first, our audience room was too small for the morning, and too large for the evening service. When I now recall the aspect of our Sabbath assemblies for months during times of

health and pleasant weather ; the small portion of our church members—who had solemnly covenanted with God and his church to sustain its ordinances—that were wont to present themselves at part of the appointed services of the sanctuary ; and when I reflect upon the damaging effect such a neglect must have wrought on yourselves, your families, and upon the church and its moral power in the city, I feel that humiliation and penitence should mingle with the grateful gladness of this day. Had not God been more faithful to us than we to ourselves or to Him, and kindly remembered us through Christ for even our little fidelity to Him, we should not enter this sanctuary to-day. Let us then fix it in our hearts now, that fidelity to God in His sanctuary is the law and condition of all true success in this church : and fidelity that costs labor and sacrifice, and endures personal inconveniency and hardship. This sanctuary, unless quickened by your persons, unless warm and living with your presence and sympathy, will be in vain ; will not be accepted of God, or attractive to man ; nor bring to yourselves pleasure or profit hereafter. Remember your church covenant as you enter it to-day. As you honor it, God will honor it and you. Forsake it, and He will forsake it and you.

But while we feel it due to ourselves and the cause this hour, to consider this lesson presented in the past, we are grateful that “ we are persuaded better things of you,” and have also better things to recall. Conversions and additions to the church by profession, ensuing from time to time from our first entrance into the chapel, were followed in the winter of 1857 and 1858 by a revival of religion among us, sympathising with a general movement of the religious mind of the country. This added to our number by profession some thirty or forty, embracing among them some most useful and valued among our present members, and some upon whom death has already set the seal of eternity. One whom the Master called—before she could enter her name among His Church on earth—to join that of the First-born, has left her remembrance not only in our hearts, but in this copy of the Scriptures on the desk before me ; which bearing her name,* will tell to coming years, how her mind turned in the hour of her early death towards this church ; amid whom she had first heard her Saviour whispering forgiveness, and with whose future house of worship, she wished to associate some tribute, though humble, of her love.

***LUCY M. WYMAN.**

This revival gave a stimulus and impulse to this church, in many interests, and in particular to its attendance on the services of the sanctuary, beneficently felt to this day.

But previous to the revival, already in the Spring of 1857,—by one whose many services will be long and gratefully remembered by this people, and especially as incorporate, in their thought, with this structure—the appeal had been raised, “Let us arise and build.” The place is too straight for us. Our sittings are all rented. We cannot increase for want of room. Our Cause cries, onward, Providence imposes the necessity. Let us obey. “Let us arise and build.” Presently a subscription was raised among ourselves; and the foundation of the new structure was laid in the fall of 1857.

The corner-stone was laid in the spring of 1858. We entered the basement of it in 1859, feeling, as we left our chapel, that God’s Book of Remembrance had been over us there. Our church life there will be remembered on earth and in heaven. It has the consecration of the new birth of souls, and of funeral love and sorrow; its scenery is associated with forms borne forth from it to the tomb, but which will fade from us never till we greet them in that sanctuary where the Lord God “wipeth away all tears.”

In the Lecture Room, too, through which we have passed to this sanctuary, we feel in like manner that God’s Book of Remembrance has been over us; that His Spirit has been with us during our brief sojourn there; and has shed on its humble scenery a consecration of more than cathedral richness and awe; and in this feeling, with humble, yet hopeful augury from the past, we enter this place, in trust that here, too, our Father will show forth His glory.

We enter this house to-day with two hundred and thirty-five on our list of members. Of the seventy-seven who organized this church eight years since, thirty-seven—not quite one-half—are still with us. Twenty-nine are removed. Of eleven, the mortal forms sleep in graves about this city, or in distant parts of the land; and two in the “great wide sea.” There have been connected with this church since its origin, three hundred and six members. Of these, forty-five have been dismissed; twenty-one have died; four have been lost from our knowledge and their names have been stricken off from our list; one has been excinded for immorality.

Such are the main facts of our history. I attempt no summation of moral or religious results. These—the varied, complex, subtle,

manifold, infinite products,—affecting interests, social, moral, intellectual and religious,—of the working of such a church life for such a time in a city like ours—lie not within the range of our analysis, inventory or arithmetic. The Book of God is their only ledger. Of the pecuniary contributions of this church—in which it has ever been comparatively liberal; of its labors in various christian enterprises in the city, (schools, charities, missions, &c.,) I attempt no record. I have not time, if I had the knowledge; nor could I do it truly without personal eulogy likely to be most offensive to those to whom it is most due. But in reference to all these departments of labor, it were well for us, thankful if we have been permitted to do aught, to ask to-day, in view of the lapsing years of our history, Have we all done all that we could? and to remember that all this is written, too, in the Book of God.

Nor of your constant, unwearied, delicate kindness to me and mine, ever since I have been with you, may I venture to speak. It can be summed up in no statistics, represented by no estimates. The public ear claims not the record, and I know your own gentle and generous acts would shrink from blazon. They have never courted publicity, and would feel profaned by proclamation. But they are ever with me, and their record shall never perish. They have been to my life in this city as a pleasant hymn, often of courage and of comfort; often calling for especial thanksgiving to Him whose prerogative it is “that He giveth songs in the night.” They have made years of toil pleasant, and transfigured trial to gladness. In the darkest hour, I have ever felt there were true-hearted brethren beside me. Seasons, which to strangers may have seemed gloomy, weary and discouraging, have through the charm of your perpetual kindness and sympathy, been to me far otherwise. Nor have these grown weary with time; but in constant vital outflow, they have made my life with you go by so lightly that I start to-day to think how many years we have walked together; and that the lengthening shadows are visibly stretching toward the coming night. They come up like the loved faces of the past, as we pass to-day, this point of outlook toward the years that are gone. But on these I may not dwell: they belong to that delightful class of debts which never oppress with obligation; which ask no return but to be felt, and which we delight to feel we can never pay. But even could they be forgotten of man, their memory is immortal where it is of most value. “A Book of Remembrance”

is kept with God for kind acts and thoughts between His children. He assumes such as rendered to Himself; and He that sitteth on the throne, shall so acknowledge them when we stand together before the the books that shall be opened.

But before I leave this historic review, there is one fact belonging to the history of our church, and especially of this building, which, for historic truth and for commendable example, it is due to the church and society, and especially to the trustees, the architect and building committee, should be noted here this day, viz: that the labor, care and expense of this structure have been assumed entirely by them. I have raised for it no funds, not one dollar; I have given it no labor, no supervision, and little counsel. The work and the credit are entirely theirs. I have pursued my proper duties in study and in visiting and pastoral care, while this house has been building, as uninterruptedly as though no enterprise of the kind was in progress.

I have felt it was fitting and best that it should be so; that not only would they do the work better, but it was better for them that they should do it. It certainly seems as poor pecuniary as spiritual economy, to take one whose life has been spent in philologic and theologic pursuits, conversing with intellectual and moral interests, and disciplined to the faculty of religious doctrine and the spiritual cure of souls, and transfer him to problems of finance and architecture; nor when this has been done, has it seemed strange that spiritual and material edification did not advance together.

But I am aware that your action, brethren, though fitting is not common; though silent, I have not been insensible to the honor and kindness of your course; and I would, on behalf of myself and the cause, thank you for it this day. I know that labor, care and time which no money could buy, and from the midst of a most busy life, have been cheerfully given by you to this work, simply from a love of it. Nor do I believe you have been losers by this; or that in the course of your life, any expense or care has been bestowed which will bring you a richer income. I believe in nothing have you provided more wisely for the pleasant memories of future years. Even if you may have the less garnished your own homes, I am sure that in the years of age, should God grant them, and which to some of you evidently are not afar, this monument of your sacrifice and effort will have a richer beauty than any domestic ornamentation; and certainly it will be a gladder vision to the eye in that hour when, "not what we have

done for ourselves, but what we have done for others, we think on most pleasantly." May you find rest in it here, and may it be to you all a portal and preparative for the eternal rest above.

And now, brethren, let us all remember to-day, all the way in which the Lord our God hath led us, to try and prove us, and to show us what was in our hearts. Let us faithfully study the lessons thus shown us in the past, and be admonished, if we succeed in the future, it will be because the remembrance of God can be over us for good. While in penitence and gladness we thank him this day, let us implore His Holy Spirit to be with us, ever giving us one heart and one mind ; producing in us fidelity to himself and to each other in this sanctuary ; and thereby sanctifying and sealing us for that above. Let this sanctuary be the life-fountain to our entire system of church activities ; vitalizing individual experience and mutual communion and sympathy ; pulsating through the prayer meeting, the bible class and sabbath school, the home and the closet ; through all channels of evangelical or eleemosynary beneficence in this city and in movements for the kingdom of God abroad ; and overflowing with purifying influence through all the relations of business and society. So shall it be honorable in the sight of God and man ; and so our God shall ever remember it for good.

It stands before us this day as a dumb and empty shrine. It waits the consecration of experience. This shall be to it the true Shekinah. This shall transfigure and vitalise and vocalise it. This shall make it in time a living temple, eloquent and beautiful with the most sweet and glorious of truths that shall quicken it as a spirit and haunt and harp in it as the seraphim.

Here we would enshrine the true God. God, not a Principle, but a Person ; not a mere infinite Power, but a Father ; not veiled in the unapproachable Brightness, but revealed in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; not dwelling in the absolute, but looking out upon us in the form of the finite and the human ; not at the remove of awful distance, but dwelling with us and in us by the Holy Spirit ; not dimly groped after by Philosophy, but declaratively and authoritatively disclosed by His own Word ; approaching us not through mere art, taste, human science, or rhetoric, or through local or temporary passion or interest ; but through the beauty of a Divine Person, the charm blent of infinite justice and infinite love ; emotions that beat as a heart-throb through the universe ; principles incorporate with

the eternal essence and destiny of the soul; and a persuasion whose sweep of logic and of pathos is from the height beside the throne to the depths of an everlasting fall.

Here we would inaugurate a gospel of reconciliation; a gospel kind, candid, faithful, free; that with all the gentleness and all the truthfulness of Jesus, comes to men dead in trespasses and sins, and beseeches them in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God; not commercing with lost souls in smooth things or in rhetorical art and delectation—a commerce in the sight of God and true men, wretched in passing, as it is most wretched in its issue—but which knowing the terror as well as the love of the Lord, and the desperate fall as well as Godlike capacity of the human soul, persuades men. A gospel free in vindicating the eternal rights of the human soul to God's truth and its private judgment thereon; free to declare the whole counsel of God, and utter forth His displeasure against all sin, however thick and shining its glosses or lordly its perch. May the gospel here never be bound. Chain up if you will the senate chamber, the court house, the forum; but may the gospel never come forth in this place wearing manacles. Let the pulpit, the last refuge of humanity, be ever a sanctuary alike against the despotism of the one, or the million. Wretched the preacher, wretched the people that will suffer chains on it. Eternal chains await them both.

Let us install here, also, a gospel of true christian brotherhood; which—while it forbids to call man master and proclaims all as, through the blood of the Redeemer, called to be kings and priests to God, and brothers and joint heirs with Christ—breeds also that affection and genuine humility that leads them in honor to prefer one another; and that delicate and loving sympathy, that makes them conscious of a common suffering or common honor, in the honor or suffering of any individual member; a gospel of such christian brotherhood and equality as seeks fellowship and counsel of christians all around, and rejoices to believe in the communion of all the Saints, and yet guards as sacred, the principle of the independency of the local church, and the sovereignty in it of the brotherhood under Christ alone. As this edifice we consecrate is not an oratory or sacristy in some vast minster, but, humble as it is, stands separate and entire, with as distinct individuality in the light of the sun as St. Peter's; so the disciples associated within it, regard themselves, though few and feeble, as a distinct and complete church; and endowed by their

Lord with all the powers and responsibilities of any church on Earth.

We would also enshrine here a gospel of divine consolation and sanctification; which approaches the stricken and sorrowing with God's sympathy, and the fallen and penitent with Jesus' gentle ministrations of pity and pardon; which irradiates the present darkness by the glory yet to be revealed, and transfigures all griefs and pains to angels of spiritual culture, and a discipline to the beauty and bliss of the children of God.

With such a Divine Presence, and such a gospel, and with associated emotion and experience, this scene before and around us shall hereafter become animate and eloquent. To-day, mute and vacant, time shall touch it, and it shall grow holy and resonant with life; an embodied anthem; an orison perpetual and incorporate, rising morn and even and evermore. To-day we are as Israel, in the court of the new-built temple, waiting the consecrating glory. It shall come—the overshadowing of the Divine Spirit—if our lives are true to the dedication we make this day. Prayer, confession and song shall be wrought into it as a living language. Celestial truth, love and persuasion shall seem quickening through its architectural forms and chastened light, till this house shall become as a perpetual liturgy with evangelic Graces and Affections ministrant. Faith that clings childlike to God's hand, and hides beneath the skirts of His glory; Hope that opens the eternal gates; Adoration that hymns with the seraphim; Love that glows in the beatific vision; Sorrow whose tears change to the gem and pearl of the New Jerusalem, as they fall in the brightness of the face of God. Memories shall walk here like the angels; memories of solemn and happy crises in the soul's history; of grief, gladder than joy; of births to life everlasting, spiritual conflicts and victories, visions of the delectable mountains, walks amid Beulah, and gleams of the sapphire city shining across the river of death. Time shall add to its charms even as to that of the faces we love; where, as in some of those before me, each trace and shade of years has the beauty and eloquence of remembered kindness and truth, such as the smoothness of youth never knows.

Thus, brethren, with time and loyal use, shall this edifice you dedicate, become to you truly, a Christian sanctuary. Here you shall come as to a House of Consolation in the evil day, and find in the bosom of Divine sympathy a refuge from the sharp blast of sudden ill, or the life-long heart-ache that finds no rest but the tomb.

Here the Father shall descend upon His children ; and the Comforter shall visit the contrite ones ; and here the Saviour shall take the little ones in His arms ; or, as in Patmos, lay His kind hand on the hoary head, saying, “ Fear not, I am He that liveth and was dead, and am alive forever more, and have the keys of hell and of death.” Here you shall have a sense of communion with the Saints—the living and the departed ; a communion stretching beyond symbols and climes and ages, and blending in one the church on earth with “ that to glory gone.”

But wondrous as is the transfiguring touch of time and life, there is a consecrator mightier still—death. We commune together here to-day, brethren, and hallow this place with the forecastings of hope. But a more solemn consecration awaits it. We have been rehearsing the years we have walked together ; those years have borne us onward. Around some of us the shadows are already falling, and the end is not afar. Our next rehearsal of our history may be on entering another sanctuary, and before another congregation. Certainly not afar is the hour when those who unite in this consecration to-day, shall themselves wear the awe of eternity ; and this house shall be hallowed by their forms revisiting, invoked by sorrow from the chambers of the tomb, or to the vision of hope descending on seraph pinion from the Everlasting Light. Funeral shadows shall fall across this scene, and it shall grow holy as the place of farewell of departing souls ; where the loved form may rest, perchance, on its way to the tomb, and the last offices of love and honor may be rendered over the silent dust ; where the spirit shall seem to pause a little, lingering amid those it loved so well, before it shall stretch its pinions for the far-off land.

And here at times, father, mother, sister, brother, and the little boy or girl that have faded from our homes, shall seem to come back the while, and utter their farewell whisper across the dark river, and from the shining shore beyond, beckon us away.

Such a consecration, brethren, beyond all that robes, and censers, and solemn formulary, and imposing pageant may bestow, awaits the christian house of worship. Be true to the covenant of dedication you make this day, and this house shall be to you as an armory of the soul for all life's battle ; whence you shall go forth to victory, in contest with satan and the king of terrors. It shall be dear to you as a house of christian brotherhood and communion ; the cynosure

to which the thought of your wanderers shall turn in far-off lands ; to which age shall look in the dimness of life's evening, and the dying from the shadow of death. In life's dream of a night it shall be a place where, as to the Patriarch in the Syrian desert, angels shall be seen ascending and descending ; and when at last the eternal morning breaks, your waking soul standing in the light of higher being, looking back to this place, shall exclaim, " Surely this was no other than the House of God, this was the Gate of Heaven."

DISCOURSE
ON THE
GREATNESS AND POWER OF FAITH
IN THE
WORLD'S HISTORY,
ILLUSTRATED IN THE CASE OF THE
PILGRIM FATHERS,
DELIVERED BEFORE THE
First Trinitarian Congregational Church of St. Louis,
DECEMBER 25, 1859,
BY TRUMAN M. POST, D. D.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

HEBREWS xi: 8. By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out not knowing whither he went.

GENESIS xv: 1. After these things the word of the LORD came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram; I am thy shield, *and* thy exceeding great reward.

HEBREWS xi: 13, 39, 40.—These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.

These passages illustrate the nature of genuine faith.

First. It is childlike, direct trust in God, not in sight or foresight, not in policies or philosophies. If it partakes of foresight, it is foresight that sweeps the heights of eternity, but leaves the mundane interval in shadow. In the cases above instanced, it saw the promises afar off, but for the present knew not whither it went. The city of God gleamed starlike, high and afar; but the exodus of the desert and the sea was without visible way-marks. They followed in their pilgrimage no geographic programme, but the Angel of His Presence.

Second. It is great, and achieves great results, not only unambitiously, but unconsciously. It obtains greatness in pursuing not it, but Duty. In seeking, not its own honor, but God's, it finds for itself glory, and honor, and immortality. Looking at God, thinking of God—not of self—it grows like Him, and is drawn within the circle of His brightness. It follows God's hand, seeing not the future behind it. Duty fills to it the perspective of Destiny. Right, not expediency, is its quest. It finds not simply what it seeks or because it seeks. Aiming to please God, it becomes illustrious to all men. Striving to deliver its own soul, it delivers kingdoms and ages. In saving the future, it saves the present. It simply believes and obeys God, and lo! it has developed and vindicated a

vast and immortal principle. Its specific instance becomes an immortal monument: its simple act, a universal Truth which the ages will not let die. It works, seeing nothing but God, and lo! all mankind are looking at it.

The world is wont to admire foresight, and seek it in its heroes. And foresight is great. There is greatness in vast plans and far-reaching forecast, even if misdirected. A Napoleon embracing in his scheme of combination, the map of Europe and its forces of empire for the age, is a type of greatness in its order.

Nobler is that of Washington, looking serene and afar through the storm of the Revolution. Different still, that of Solon, scheming for the far-future of a State in framing its legislation.

But such greatness is of the intellect; associated more or less according to the type, with greatness of soul. But greater than intellect is faith, greater in character and achievement. Greater in character, as it draws the human soul more intimately into communion with God, invests it with the atmosphere of his emotion and the plastic forces of his sympathy. Looking directly at God, it grows Godlike in that vision. And it is mightier, too. As it simply looks to God's hand, and hears his voice alone, it has a singleness and simplicity of aim, concentrating and stimulating its energy, and giving it plenitude and perfectness of confidence that can be secured leaning on no human Philosophy or Forecast. Leaning on God's arm, He honors it by breathing into it a strength beyond itself, and by guiding it to vast results of which it had not dreamed.

Thus, Abraham, as having left his country and his father's house, a pilgrim on earth, he abode in the shadow of God—must not his soul have grown in grandeur from that communion? As he stood under the midnight heavens roofing the Syrian desert—the one, representative of the desolateness of his present life; the other, in its infinity of stars, of the plenitude and glory of his future, like them mysterious and afar in its splendors—must not his spirit have drunk in something of the awful grandeur and beauty of that Presence Infinite that deigned to call a mortal, “friend?” and promised to be *Himself* “his exceeding great reward.”

And to what issues in the history of time, and of what a shining army innumerable, was he by that one act of trust, constituted archetype and father?

And Moses, great as he would be interpreted as a mere States-

man and Law-giver, of his own foresight scheming the Exodus, is he not incomparably greater as we contemplate him turning from Theban palace and empire to the Midian waste, simply "as seeing Him who is invisible?" or leading the chosen seed through the sea and the desert, following no project or path of migration, but only the hand of God? Does he not seem drawn nearer to God, so that his face shines with a brightness we may not steadfastly behold, from that high commune? And to what mightiness of result in the history of time did his act of child-like trust guide him, as he followed the pillar of cloud and fire which, while it indicated, hid the way?

Of the ancient world, few statesmen or conquerors exhibit a faculty of wide and far-seeing forecast, of comprehensive and rapid combination and vigorous execution, superior to that of Julius Cæsar.

But nearly contemporary with him was an illustration of the greatness and power of child-like implicit faith, in case of one who, not from foresight or forecast, but at the bidding of that voice that arrested him with, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" went through the ancient world with his heart of fire, and his tongue of flame. The conquests and the empire of one long since perished; those of the other—never were they so wide, so strong, so living as now.

Of Julius Cæsar, the greatness seen through the glass of history shrinks and fades.

Of Paul the Apostle, the fame even to this nineteenth century is as the rising morn.

So has it been with the heroes of faith in modern history; martyrs, confessors, and reformers. They wrought not for greatness, yet they attained it. They were not conscious of doing any thing wonderful, yet what they accomplished is now seen to be among the things most wondrous under the sun. Oft times they failed logically to comprehend or assert a great principle; but their actions are now seen to have been the triumphant declaration and vindication of principles which are the life of civilization.

Indeed, not improbably would they have ignored and repelled with fear these principles, if presented directly, in full form and consequence. But the world now accepts and cherishes them as the organic and conservative forces of the true, social order. They worked in the name of no philosophy, of no social theory; yet to

this day, philosophy has been engaged in interpreting and translating into scientific proposition and proof, what they acted into validity and life: and the most consummate social fabrics of the age, are only the evolution of their thought and logical interpretation of their example. Indeed, almost always a principle has to be acted out in life, with dim consciousness of the actor, long before it is presented, or is presentable, in scientific formulary, and has to be exhibited as something peculiar and individual in history, long before and it claims to be received as of universal force.

In such specific, peculiar, dimly-conscious instances, for the most part, have the civil and religious liberties of Europe, and especially those we inherit as descendants of Englishmen, had birth. Men aimed in singleness of heart to obey God, and lo! that obedience became their emancipation from man. In the fear of God they refused an idolatrous rite, and behold, this refusal is made to break the tyranny of Pontiff and King. They aim to deliver their own souls, and lo! they are the deliverers of races and eras.

They protest against a special falsehood, and presently, are recognized as vindicators of the universal sacredness of the conscience.

They confess to a proscribed truth, as alone in God's sight; and directly the world is building monuments to them as champions of free thought and speech. They are constrained as before God, in all humility, to dissent from prelate and monarch; and lo! in sight of the ages they absolve all men everywhere, from all spiritual enslavement, even to themselves.

Such has been the history of the liberation of Europe; not so much through foresight, at least in the outset, as through faith in God, seeing, and, in simplicity and Godly sincerity, pursuing a direct, specific, plain right or duty. While so doing, God has led them unawares through the high places of History and Providence.

So it was with the Pilgrim Fathers, and of the precious lessons they have left us; none perhaps, is more precious than their exemplification of the greatness and power of simple faith, in the world's history; a faith that looks directly and trustingly to God and to duty; not to policies and expedencies. This lesson, underlying the beginning of our commonwealth, and associated in time with the annual return of the stern, sombre, December days, as they sadden toward the death of the year, was perhaps never more in requisition than in the months now passing.

From this conviction, and as illustrating principles, universal and immortal, and beneficent as vast, in obedience to the suggestion of the season now passing, we, to-day, would recur to that example. Not in a spirit of section or sect. Truths, principles, virtues,—these you cannot localise or sectarianise. They refuse private or partial appropriation; but are like God's gifts of the atmosphere or the light. I claim a part in all the great or good of past time, of whatever age or clime: and so in the Pilgrim Fathers, as my fathers, even if there flowed not a drop of their blood in my veins. Their true lineage is moral. Their lesson of heroic faith belongs to me as a man; and would none the less, though they were not the fathers of the ecclesiastical system I hold, or had landed on the shores of Australia instead of those of Massachusetts.

Nor again, in the spirit of man-worship, do we turn to them. Their own example repels and rejects such homage. Many shadows and defects, we may think we see in the portraiture of their life and character, and still recognize it as not discordant from God's economy—as exhibited in the scripture roll of memorable examples of faith—that such examples should instruct us, though associated with many and grave imperfections.

Let us consider them as on that roll this day; and turning from many aspects of their character and achievement, which might attract us, look at them now as exemplars of the greatness and power of faith amid the forces of history.

It was my happiness during the last summer, to meet with the Rev. Dr. Waddington, now pastor of a church in Southwark, London; a church springing and continuously subsisting from the earlier pilgrims, or the generation antecedent to those who came to America in 1620. Deeply interested in his narrative and the letters and manuscripts of those men, written, many of them, in dark and pestilent dungeons, I sought in them some prophetic recognition of their mission in the world's progress and of the greatness of the destiny toward which Providence was bearing them; some distinct consciousness of their place in the historic economy of God: some foresight or forecast of the vast empire that was to spring from them and carry their principles over another continent and down the ages.

But I sought in vain. Trust in God, implicit obedience to his word, hope in his promise to use their example for his glory, these were abundantly intimated. But evidently their habitual look was

beyond compensation or result in earthly history. These were incidents, not aims, of their act and suffering.

A feeling of disappointment at first arose; then I reflected that I was seeking for foresight, rather than faith, and the greatness of these men, as of the champions of faith in the scripture, was of another order than foresight—something higher, holier, mightier; not of the intellect, not in historic forecast, or philosophical analysis, or logical discrimination or proposition,—but, beyond all these.

It was not in their religious creed. In this they stood with the reformers of their day, of the Genevese and Calvinistic school, on the continent, and in England and Scotland; though they differed from these in being less bound by human masters, and in incorporating into their symbol more of the element of progress.

Nor was it their theory and order of Church and State that constituted their loftiest claim to study and admiration. In these, they were far in advance of their time. The world has hardly yet come up to their position. Still a Locke, a Hobbes, a Montesquieu, a Hooker, may have found few in their ranks that could refute or rival them in their several walks of speculation; as on the other hand, they would have found few but what would have far surpassed them in the practical assertion, in their own immediate behoof and special instance, of the great principles which underlie the social architecture of our age. They worked out social problems far beyond the political science of their era; and their work was of vast value in laying principles of civil and religious liberty, at the foundations of a new world,—principles imperfectly comprehended or developed with them yet, though comprehensively exhibited in a germ sure to unfold. Yet, as it was not the theory, so it was not the confession of these principles, that we especially note as the great lesson of their life. That confession has been commemorated by history, and poesy, and art, and lives in the eulogy of the world. But it has been rivalled by other confessions, as dauntless, true and tragic, and of the same principles, made by men of a different stamp, and moved by widely different moral forces. Not this alone, therefore, separates them for our regard.

Nor is it the *greatness of the result* of that confession that fixes our attention; though this has lifted them into the sight of the whole earth. This American Republic is their monument, and on it, as a pedestal, their fames shall stand, rising as it rises. But

results are God's ordinances, not man's virtue or greatness. Many confessions as true-hearted as theirs, and to principles as noble, have been rendered in the dungeons of Southern and Central Europe. But stifled in darkness and silence, where God alone and their torturers saw and heard, with no marble panegyric above them—there their utterers lie this hour, “the chains still rusting on their bony hands,” waiting the blazon of the last day. Not as worshippers of success, do we pause this day over the memory of our founders.

Nor to retrace their story of flight and exile in the old world, or their voyage and landing, and their dwelling in the new in conflict with winter, famine, pestilence, and the savage; not this story with its interest of mystery, sorrow and fear, which history is reciting, and marble, and canvass, and song are telling to the ages, engages us to-day.

Other epics in human life, on grounds of mere dramatic interest and pathos, though pervaded by a widely different moral undertone, might challenge its claim to peculiar regard.

It is the origin, manner and aim of what was great in their thought and life, *its relation to simple, absolute, child like faith*, that especially attracts us. Our fathers trusted in God; following directly and implicitly the divine hand and voice, as disclosed not in a distant forecast of expediency, but in immediate, plain, practical duty; and without their aspiration, “His gentleness made them great.” No tortuous indirect policies, no nicely adjusted balance of chances, no long or curious estimate of results, determined their action. If God's voice said “onward,” onward they moved; and direct, palpable Duty was the Ark of God that opened for them “Red Seas.” The feeble hand that grasps the key is master of the intricate wards and massive bolts that defy other force and cunning. Direct Duty was to them the key that opened vast compartments of Providence.

Our Fathers wrought under the cloud and in the deeps, with vision shut in, and with little consciousness save that they were obeying God. As the little insect that builds in Australian seas, and guided by minute immediate instinct, becomes the unconscious architect of new islands of tropic beauty; so they wrought on, following no vast or distant theory, but clear and immediate right; and a new world arises from their working. Thus they left England on no theory of liberty, but because it was to them the only escape from a worship

which they regarded as idolatrous or sinful, and they dared not disobey God.

Again, they left Holland for the new world, not from a vision of empire, but to deliver their children from the corruptions that pressed in upon them in the land of their exile, and to secure for them a pure worship. Call their belief a mistake, a superstition, still it invalidates not the principles involved. It was to them the voice of God, and they obeyed it.

A slight appendage which a child may handle, attached to the steam car or steamship, stops or sets in motion a force which tempest and wave cannot arrest, nor the arms of a thousand men create, nor the wings of the storm overtake. Such an appendage is direct, simple duty, grasped by childlike faith. In the economy of the Kingdom of God it touches the forces which bear on the car of Providence, and institutes movements through ages. Little dreamed prelate or monarch while forcing on recusant consciences,—that dared not falsify themselves or disobey God,—some dogma or ceremonial, trivial in itself it may be, but regarded by them as false or idolatrous, that they were thrusting into the hand of hunted dissenters such an appendage; were driving them to the practical assertion of a principle that was to let loose revolutions, and impel insurgent nations upon cathedral and throne.

In the brief interval when the Atlantic cable worked as an organ of intelligence between continents, a child's touch applied to the battery could send the electric pulse across hundreds of leagues, through roaring tempests and yeasty or stagnant deeps, over submarine mountains and abyss, and the dark and oozy graves of shipwrecked navies, to the people of another continent. Simple, direct Duty, is this "child's touch" applied to the battery of Providence; and sending signals across ages to new Orders and Civilizations.

This Duty may attach to things most trivial. It may be the question of a vestment or posture or form, seemingly indifferent in itself, which, carrying with it that of the inviolableness of conscience, and the right of private judgment, may send the pulses through centuries. God gives to child like faith these "keys" and "appendages" to great movements of his Providence, and puts it in connexion with the far future. The simple minded, single eyed believer, may not readily comprehend the thesis of the universal right of freedom of conscience, and of thought and worship. But he can clearly see and

feel that God forbids him the performance or utterance of what to him is idolatrous or false. But to obey God rather than king or prelate in this one case, springs the whole question of civil or spiritual liberty. The single, simple, clearly obligatory act before him, is the end of a clue which, seized on, is to guide through dark ways and labyrinths, now invisible to him, to heights of historic power and beneficence.

So it was with the Pilgrim Fathers. Direct and absolute trust in God in accepting duty, simple, plain and single, grasped unconsciously the clues and keys of destinies the mightiest under the sun. Their greatness, beauty and power in history, are incident to this, as the cosmical order to the simple law of gravitation; and mighty principles, architectonic of civil and religious liberty, flow from this high trust as naturally as life and bloom, and the richness of the seasons, drop from the sun's path through the zodiac. But to vindicate and carry out a universal principle, or to found an empire on the assertion of such principles,—this was not their ruling aim, but in all things immediately to obey and please God.

Indeed, they were no worshippers of mere principles. They worshipped God. Principles were with them angels keeping ward around the throne, not sitting thereon. Principles existent apart from Him, were to them a mere phantom—a nothing. As well might shine the sunbeams without the sun. God was the center from which all principle derived origin, vigor and life. The moderns overturn nations and societies in the name of abstractions and universal theories; they, in the name of Him, within whose awful Being principles retire as the rays of light track to their central orb. Later times sing Marseilles chants to Liberty. Our fathers hymned to the living God. Which was wiser, results can show. Principles are great, but God is greater. Jehovah is more than His law. To ignore Him and govern in the name of His law, and of mere principle—as well blot out the sun and rule the solar system in the name of Kepler's theories, or the analysis of La Place!

Thus was faith in God, to our fathers the life spring of which all heroisms were the out-growth; the central force to which all others were ancillary, and incidental. It is the clue that unthreads their entire history, and on which all gems of character and achievement are strung. In obedience to this, they were recusant to the prerogatives of Kings, Parliaments and Prelates over the individual

mind and conscience, and confessors to the right of free worship and private judgment. At its behests they became fugitives from the charm of home and fatherland. For this they became sojourners in Holland, and voyagers on the deep.

What saw they as they gazed forth on the great wide sea, that seemed to them as washing the shores of another planet? Have you ever looked out on the ocean rolling on under night, "going forth dread, fathomless, alone," with its voice dim, drear, vast and eternal as the breathing of the under world? What must have been its outlook to our fathers, as before them stretched its illimitable and stormy waste, with no margin of cities beyond, dashing desolate against the Western sky, like the dark flood that divides our world of life from death! What saw they there beckoning them onward? Dreams of political philosophy? visions of these United States of America? or simply God's hand, glimpsing forth in immediate personal duty?

By faith they became dwellers in the new world. What saw they as they looked on its sad rock-bound coast and its forests stretching away under the wintry sky, in infinite and mysterious gloom? The architecture of republics? or a present God, the skirt of whose glory was even over that desolate land and main?

By faith they became apostles and architects of liberty; not because they worshipped liberty, but God. They were God's men; must obey only his voice; and could they become the slaves of man? They were to render personally their individual account to God: and could they dare allow anything to intervene between Him and them here, that could not also do so at the great judgment? They must be lost or saved eternally, by their own belief; and could they permit any one to dictate their belief now, that could not dictate eternal doom?

By faith they also became assertors of equality and brotherhood. Not that they worshipped these. But terrene distinctions faded away in the presence of that God, who "respecteth not the persons of princes, and to whom the judges of the earth are as vanity." Earthly Alps shrivelled, to a vision from the heights beside the throne! And faith that looked up to one God and Father of all, and to one Christ that hung on the cross alike for all; to one Heaven with its eternal brightness and bliss and one Hell with its ever-wailing woe, compassing with glory or peril the way of all the sons

of men alike—how should not such faith ever see in man a fellow and a brother?

By faith in like manner they became confessors of ecclesiastical freedom and independency. For why go to Lambeth, or Dort, or Augsburg, or Geneva, when they, as kings and priests unto God, could themselves enter within the veil. Into the assertion and vindication of these and kindred principles, they were led, not as theorists and philosophers, but as little children holding upon God's hand, revealed in direct and personal duty.

So with them the bands of social order became as iron; not because of foresight, but of faith; for order with them was no speculation of philosophy, but an ordinance of God. The life of the family and the commonwealth gushed forth from the sanctuary, and like it was guarded by the awe of no mere human command. Thus armed and invigorated, it acquired strength for the shocks of ages.

By faith thus, all life became transfigured, and all its offices ennobled as rendered to God: its joy and grief grew to a perpetual hymn: all work became a liturgy. God was in their lowly homes. Him they saw in the forest shade and heard in the gloom of storms: and the forest grew to them as the Shining City; its storm-cloud, as "the jasper" and "sapphire," and "chrysolite;" their rude lodges grew holy and beautiful as the ante-chambers of the "house of many mansions." But His way was especially in the sanctuary. No cunning of art or charm, of "long drawn aisle or fretted vault" awaited them there. But hallowed by His presence and communion, the log church was to them more than a St. Peter's; and through snows and heat, and over long reaches of forest and mountain, their footsteps were "from strength to strength," as when the tribes went up to appear before God in Zion.

Out of this Godwardness of their whole being, came, in this manner, order, power, and prosperity to individual, family and commonwealth. Thus it was not sight nor foresight, but something nobler and mightier: it was faith that led the Pilgrim Fathers to their greatness and power in history. It was in this that not men only, but delicate woman and the little child grew strong to brave the tyranny of king and prelate and the terrors of prison, flight and exile, and of famine, plague, solitude, and the savage.

In faith they took the wings of the morning and fled to the utter-

most parts of the sea, knowing that there, His hand would still uphold them. In faith they kept their first Sabbath in the New World, in a lonely isle, with garments stiffened with the frozen spray, beneath sleeted pines that harped with the tempest and the wintry ocean ; and so inaugurated they the ordinance of sacred rest for their children to all generations.

By faith they dwelt alone, far off amid the wilds. There the day-spring still knowing its place, was the brightness of His coming. It was He that made the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice. His paths dropped fatness in the wilderness, and the uttermost parts of the earth were afraid of his tokens. There the pilgrim lived and walked with God, enduring from no dream of earthly fame or power, no vision of states and empires, worshipping no genius of liberty, or abstractions of philosophy ; but as seeing Him who is invisible. As a fallen, wandering soul, conscious of guilt and peril, he sought God as a refuge and dwelling place, content, if need be, in finding Him, to lose all the world beside.

It was in such direct vision of God—not in communings with political philosophies—that gentle and cultivated women bore the life-long heartache of the exile ; and when they “could have had opportunity to return,” preferred banishment, with God, to the sweetness of their early homes. It was in this, that the weak grew strong beyond nature, and childhood became wiser than its years, with wisdom looking beyond the tomb. So it was with the pilgrim through all the trials of his earthly lot ; and so when came the final hour. Dying alone, far away from the great world, looking out on “the deep, no plummet soundeth,” what chart shall guide him over that mysterious main. No mundane constellations light thee now, oh pilgrim !—no earthly sunsets lure thy wandering sail !—no mortal pilot serves thee here ! Time’s Speedwells and Mayflowers fail thee, This is no earthly tempest !—this, no Atlantic surge !—before thee the gloom of no mortal shore ; the shades of no mortal wilderness ! What, oh voyager, shall avail thee now ? Visions of coming earthly time ; or of a present God ? of the American Republic, or the Shining City ?

That little child, in that lone cabin, who waned with the hunger and fever of that first sad winter—while the strong are bowing themselves under their burden—is wrestling alone with death ; and who through those eyes, lustrous with the strange light of famine, seems gifted

beyond nature, to look into the spiritual world. What is it that descends as the glory of an angel, on that soul in this awful hour? Is it the Muse of History, or the Spirit of God?

And that fair wife and mother, with fever and consumption attending her desolate couch, and the Dark Angel's shadow over her—now that memories of the past and distant are pulling at her heart strings; memories of the loved and the beautiful beyond the great flood, of the soft hands and gentle voices that should have soothed her now; and with these mingle the ineffable longings for the little son and daughter she is leaving alone in the wilderness—what imparts to her in this convulsion of nature, an awe and beauty of repose beyond all earthly heroism? A vision of no ages, however glorious and beautiful, between her and the Great White Throne, but, directly of Him that sitteth thereon.

Such was the greatness and power of faith in the world's history, presented in the case of the Pilgrim Fathers; such the beauty and the mightiness of a life that truly walked with God. It went out in the wilderness and may have seemed lost. It was lost, however, as a star is lost in heaven. Indeed, a life of faith is never lost. Other ages shall gather around the graves of these men; and the Muse of History shall bear their story as a power and a glory down the future. This American Commonwealth shall be their monument. They must live with it; yea, they will live, should it perish. For in building it, they were building another structure, for loftier ends and mightier duration. To the honor of faith, and simple and direct loyalty to duty, this shall be written for remembrance to the world's end; yea, for their record in the eternal kingdom of the pious. "These are the men who vindicated liberty for the nations and for the human soul, while aiming simply to obey the divine word 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve'—who in loyal endeavor to maintain fealty to God, and to save their own souls, saved the great forces of modern civilization—who aiming to please God have come into the eulogy of the human race—and aiming to found a pure church, have founded the mightiest empire beneath the sun—who accomplished the greatest of historic works while never thinking of history—who unconsciously and unambitiously following simple duty, found it the key to the most glorious of earth's destinies and fames, and were honored to be beyond almost all men, saviors of the present world, while aiming supremely to save that which is to come."

Some five years since, I first visited the landing place of the forefathers, and spent a summer's day amid their tombs. On a height overlooking the bay and the sea, and the place of the first rude hamlets where they lived and died, the forefathers sleep, awaiting the resurrection. Their burial place is fittingly rural, simple, humble,—almost rude—away from the city's din and the great world's walks. No ambitious or gorgeous monument mars the simplicity of the scene or offends the severe genius of the spot.

Before me, the sun was shining brightly on the distant sea ; and on the islands and

“ The Bay,
Where the Mayflower lay,”

and the world-famed rock where democracy, civil and religious, first stepped on the shores of the new world. Hills, sterile and sombre, in keeping with the historic spirit of the place, keep ward around it. Nature has left few of her lighter or more graceful touches on the picture. All, even in the summer light, seems grave, solemn and stern.

Still, the “birds that sang so sweetly” to the ear of the pilgrim “in the March woods,” are there ; and their music that gushes soothingly from the moss-grown stones, and from the thorn bush and the flowering shrubs that grow scantily around, comes on the bright still air like a requiem over the dead. And around and beneath were sleeping the dead ; the holy and heroic dead, whose life and death had hallowed that scene to all time. Here was Carver, their first Governor, who had sunk in that first fatal winter, and whom they had with weary hand and heart laid in his lowly rest in the wilderness. There was the tomb of Bradford, who had followed him in office. Yonder they may have laid—I say, *may have*, for time's effacing fingers have erased most of the inscriptions—yonder they may have laid that wife who had perished on the sea, but whose body had been borne on her husband's bosom through the foaming surf to the shore. Here, it may be, men gifted and of high culture, who had been carried forth through the winter night and storm from the log hospital to their hidden and hurried graves in the wild, may be mingling their mould with that of the perished forest. There, methought, sleeps the maiden, whose bloom wasted with consumption from that terrible December ; but who had found her rude low cabin the home of the loving angels, and God's beatific spirit. There, childhood

which seemed strangely gifted to commune with eternal mysteries, and with strange serenity to joy in the hour of its departure, waits the call that shall softly break the slumber of the little ones.

Here, womanhood that faded under the low thatch and solemn pines, through which the new Jerusalem glimpsed on her dying eye, was sleeping with her baby on her breast. Yonder they may have laid the wise Winslow, or saintly Brewster. That may be the brave Standish's last bivouac, and here the fair flower of the wilderness, his sweet Rose, may have hidden the bloom of her mortal beauty in the tomb.

These, and more, may be imagined; imagined, for to the stranger's eye at least, the graves cannot be identified. For the sentinel stones have grown weary and worn with their charge, and have forgotten the story which affection fondly wished to perpetuate of a faithful life and a triumphant death. But it matters little that the mouldering rock has forgot its record: For their record is on high—kept with God—above the obliteration which shall blot the stars; and it shall be kept on earth. This American Empire shall be their memorial—whether their living witness or their mausoleum; and a new and happier Order of the future inaugurated by them, shall conserve their story, incorporate with its immortal youth.

Nor matters it that cursory visitor or antiquarian curiosity may no longer be able to identify the places of their mortal rest—whether here, or amidst yonder hills, under that whispering oak and pine, or along the sounding sea; or in yonder dells where they hid their graves, lest the malignant eye of the savage might note the diminishing of their number. It may be better thus. So the whole land shall be their monument, and the more their spirits may walk it unconfined; while none the less, the angel of the Resurrection shall guard their personal mortal type, to the transfiguration of the last great morning.

On earth, meanwhile, it matters little that more and more, what is individual may pass, and what is personal, fades into the unsubstantial pageant of the past. Individual history grows to general truths; personality is transfigured to principle, and translated like Astrea to the stars.

As the stranger looks down on the scene—on the harbor of the anchorage and the shore of the first landing,—at the touch of the Muse of History, the bright skies and waters of June change to

the sad days of December; the gloom and storm of winter are on the desolate hills and the ice-bound coast; and from the May-flower in the distance the shallop, with its living precious freight—first fruits of a new era—struggles through the chill spray to the shore; but as all this to the stranger is passing before the mind's eye, lo! the scene is no longer the same; the personages change; the Winthrop and Carvers, the Brewsters and Winslows, are not there: Awful angels of history appear: Principles, the architects of happier ages and cherubim of the car of Providence, seem entering from the baptism of storm, and sea and winter, into the opening theatre of the Occident, the Demiurges of a new world.

So, brethren, from the receding history of our fathers—from the fading of life and personality in the retiring picture, step forth more and more conspicuous and significant, immortal truths, and vast and solemn lessons, it were well our troubled times could hear, teaching us, “Faith in God is the true architect of greatness for men and nations; for this world as well as for the world to come. This is the star in the East that brings to a Saviour; that amid difficulties and dangers, and bewilderments and storms, shines true forever, over the pilgrimage of individuals and empires. Duty, and duty alone, is great, safe, mighty. Man is strong as he holds God's hand,—lofty as he bows before Him,—wise as he listens only to His voice,—true liberty is His service,—true order his law,—true life His love.”

Our fathers seeking Him only as their exceeding great reward, found greatness, riches and empire; reaching after simple, direct, personal duty, they touched the springs of general history for ages. Around God grew life, order and liberty for the individual, for society and the state. Honoring Him, they were honored of Him to plant the seed-plot for a continent, and to belt it from sea to sea with institutions and civilizations quickened with their heart-beat.

So it has been, so it must ever be. Following His hand, a highway shall be opened for us through, no matter what deserts and what deeps. Listening to His voice, and His only, the ages are our own. But disloyal to duty, we perish. Enthroning expediency in place of God, we shall see life, order, and liberty decay.

DISCOURSE
ON THE
VITALITY OF CHRISTIANITY,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

First Trinitarian Congregational Church of St. Louis,

DECEMBER 25, 1859.

BY TRUMAN M. POST, D. D.

VITALITY OF CHRISTIANITY.

PSALM LXXIII: 15. "And He shall live."

This clause, selected from a triumphant prediction of the Messiah, and often read as a mere expletive or ornamental adjunct, is one of substantive, distinctive, vast significance. It prefigures the essential vitality, the immortal "LIVINGNESS" of christianity.

This day,* conventionally associated in many communities, with its origin, naturally directs thought to that *wondrous power of life* in it, that has propagated itself down more than eighteen centuries, from the banks of the Jordan to beyond the Mississippi, without sign of exhaustion or decay.

There are those that in discussing the transient and the permanent in christianity, make everything transient but transition, and leave nothing permanent but change. "All religions," they tell you, "are mortal; all have their date; all hurry through their periods of wonder and enthusiasm, of passion and power, to decay; the course for each, being of nature and necessity, through infancy, youth and maturity, alike to age and death. All are mere husks of society and to be cast off with its growth. Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome,—are these names not alike representative of dead civilizations and dead faiths? Do not palace and fane mingle their ruins, and empire and religion sleep in the same grave?"

"And India, with superstition hoar with eld as her Himalayas, stretching back changeless to the world's grey dawn—are not its thirty thousand gods at last retiring from the Peninsula? while fitly—last of the faces of her receding Trimurti, looking back on the nations they leave—scowls Siva, god of Death.

* Christmas, 1859.

And Mohammedism, though bursting forth like a whirlwind from the Arabian desert, and in half a century sweeping the old world for the belt of a zone—has it not ages since, passed from youth to decrepitude and decay? and is it not now merely waiting to follow the Sultans of the Osmanlis to the tomb of the Caliphs?"

"So it has ever been with religions, and so must it ever be. Christianity is but one of a common class and must obey the common law. A mere garment of society, it is in time to be cast off and changed."

So they argue; and they instance in proof, the changing theologies, and clanging ecclesiastic and philosophic systems, and the decaying sects, and schools, and creeds, that call themselves by her name. But sects, creeds, organisms, orders, philosophies, are not christianity. They are mere accidents, not substance; phases, not essence; vesture, not life.

But christianity is essentially a LIFE. That life, we contend, was never more powerful in the earth than at this hour.

Under the decay and change of human systems, never was its practical power over the world, so great since Christ rose from the dead. Separate christianity, therefore, from all mere accidents, especially from shams, counterfeits and usurpations, abusing her name; and from all pageant and force. Her life is not that of men, or systems; not of mundane dynasties or empires, secular or spiritual. It tracks not through an Origen or Augustine; not through a Calvin or Arminius, or Edwards or Wesley; not through the Constantines or Charlemagnes, or Elizabeths or Gustavuses of history; much less through "most christian" or "most Catholic" majesties and "Holy Fathers" walking down past centuries, with robes trailing in the blood of the Saints.

Below cathedral and palace, below the thrones of force and fraud, and the conflict of schools and systems, in the deeps of social consciousness, in the heart of the million, flows that life. Under differences of race, language, clime, and all outward forms, ecclesiastic and political, in the past—producing practical fruits in spite of them, and in the darkest ages, but mightier ever with social progress—that life has stretched on through more than eighteen hundred years. Shall it not do so in the future? The power of christianity has grown with the growth of science, intelligence, liberty and culture. Is social progress to cast it off here-

after? Is it henceforth to become feebler, to live by sufferance and protest, or to become a more imperial, universal, beneficent force in the ages of highest social culture and power?

For a true view of this question, take Christianity to be Faith in Christ as the Son of God, and in the great substantive facts of his redemption, vitalized by perpetual conscious communion with Him, and working itself out in practical purity and beneficence; the life of Christ, thus transmuting itself into the life of Humanity.

The prophecy of the perpetuity of such a life, we believe, is written in our text, "*He shall live.*" For the life of Christianity is the life of its Founder. And in a sense most true and wonderful, this clause applies to Jesus Christ, as to no other of the sons of men.

"He shall live!" says the objector, "What is there wonderful in that? And did he not die, too?"

"Or lives He, as a teacher of mankind, in the acceptance of his doctrines through after ages? Do not Plato and Socrates, and Bacon, and the great masters of the world's thought, all of them thus live?"

"Or lives He as the founder of a religion, in the faith of believing nations? Do not Confucius and Mohammed, and the founders of faiths now dying, thus live?"

"Or lives He as saint, hero, philanthropist and champion in the world's memory, love and honor? Is not the past full of such immortalities? Is there any thing preternatural in that?"

To all these objections history answers, no! no! In none of these senses, or rather in all of them, but with infinite enlargement of import, does Jesus Christ live. Not as Socrates or Plato, or Bacon, or Confucius, or Mohammed, or Kosciusko, or Howard, or Washington, lives Jesus of Nazareth; or rather with a life enfolding all theirs with immeasurable increase in its divine sphere.

True, in his *Ethics* Christ lives; but as no other moral teacher. His ethics are recognised by the consciousness of universal humanity as pure reason and perfect equity; the eternal thought of God incorporate with our moral constitution, and co-essential with our moral being itself. Of self-declarative and sovereign

thority if read on a stray leaf picked up in the street, valid if repealed by all the counter-edicts of all ages and worlds, they must live with the immortality of Reason and Conscience themselves.

Nor does their authority, like that of other ethical systems, rest upon mere human sanctions; it is shrined within the sanctuary of religious awe; living with the life and sovereignty of God Himself.

Never since he spake on the mountains of Galilee, has Christ so lived in his ethical teachings as at this hour. His moral utterances are becoming more and more the law of the world; the recognised fountain of justice, and the authoritative standard of right between men and nations.

In the form of public opinion, they are becoming representative of the collective reason and conscience of mankind, and as such, sit throned and sceptred over armies, diplomacies, protocols, cabinets and parliaments. Nations may dash against them, but their raging falls as far beneath them as the Atlantic below the sky.

Them, even infidels—men or nations denying Jesus Christ the Son of God—still accept. Passion, lust and pride have gnashed on them through ages, but what one of his precepts have they expunged, dimmed or abraded? As well attempt to tear a star from heaven!

Contemplate them steadfastly, and they deepen to the infinite, like a firmament. But before the gaze of ages, they start only higher towards God's throne—not one has fallen.

Still, and more than ever, they hold back the sword of war, the torch of massacre, the scourge of the oppressor. They arrest the despot in the midst of his fortresses, and the conqueror at the head of his armies; they bind up or roll on revolution; they unfetter the millions, upheave thrones, and arm nations against tyrannies, or they mediate between wrathful empires, and enforce on them truly "the truce of God."

Christ's ethics are served of philosophies; and yet they live independent of the philosophies that serve them; and will live if those philosophies should change or die. The Newtonian Theory

or the Analysis of La Place may perish, but the eternal heavens will still roll on.

Again, Jesus Christ lives in the *religion* He has founded, as no other man lives.

First. Other religions are slain by their false or vicious ethics; drawing upon them the infidelity of nations, or corrupting the civilizations in which these religions must radicate, and with whose life they must live. On the contrary, christian ethics give vitality to christian faith, by both attracting belief toward christianity, and by vitalizing the societies in which christianity inheres. And until the purest of all moral systems and the most impious and atrocious of all religious lies can be supposed to dwell together, must christian ethics and the christian religion hold up each other as opposite walls of the same firmament.

In the second place, Jesus Christ lives perpetually in his religion, because that religion, like his ethics, is counterpart to our moral consciousness. As the former corresponds to the commands, so does the latter to the facts, of our moral being. It meets our felt wants—our conscious moral condition and necessity. This feature of christianity, projecting through all overlaying disguises of false church and theology, has challenged the belief of mankind in the darkest ages—as Mt. Blanc uppiercing through envelopes of fog and cloud, attests under the vaporous veil as still present, the strength of the everlasting hills. The rude million whom formal logic or historic evidence could not reach, feel this correlation to their nature as a sign of heavenly truth, spite of a thousand falsehoods.

Thirdly. Christ lives in his religion because of its wonderful provision for the perpetual new birth of individual souls, and consequently, of nations.

Civilization is thus eternally renovated by revivals—individual or social; by new impulses or illapses of the original life; by restorations or innovations, and reforms. Other nations—Pagan or Mohammedan—fallen to decay, have no second youth of faith, civilization or empire. Like the parasital vine, poisoning and smothering the oak it clings to, their religion itself sinks with the civilization it destroys. But christianity starts to new life in each new-born soul; and injects that newness into social and civil life.

Fresh as from the first baptism of Jordan, she steps forth from each new revival, glistening with the dew of her youth; and she lives with the immortality of the civilization she thus perpetually vitalizes.

Again, Jesus Christ lives as the founder of no other faith, because his alone is the religion of true science; not that it aims to teach science, but that it harmonizes with it as it is progressively discovered, just as its history finds its counterpart in the Egyptian or Assyrian sculptures, as they are gradually disinterred. Its facts, found to correspond to the great Book of Fact, as fast as the extended research and discovery of our times enable men to read it—its principles, coming to view incidentally and inartificially, and attaching by implication to a true science and philosophy unknown in the ages in which the writers lived—its dialect, so wondrously selected as to be a truthful utterance of the same facts and principles under all the transfigurations of progressive knowledge, intelligible in a true and important, though varying import, to infancy and age, and to the sensuous or scientific eras of society—these characteristics give assurance that christianity shall live with the most advanced culture of the race. Like the starry heavens above us, it is true, and shall be true forever, though with varying aspect and depth of truth, alike to the savage or civilized; to the rude peasant or slave, or to Bacon creating new intellectual systems; to the child that can say “Our Father,” or to a Newton sounding the astral abysses or a Milton, passing the flaming bounds of space and time.

False science has been the fatal plague of false religions. Brahmanism must perish before a true Astronomy or genuine system of Physics. Mohammedanism cannot survive the acceptance of a true political or social philosophy.

But the facts and principles of christianity are like mountain peaks which, in the nocturnal landscape, seem hills almost touching the eye, but with the morning start up afar off and leagues into heaven; or like constellations, which through the city vapors seem part of the street lights, but as you emerge from its smokes, spring up to the firmament. They are ever veritable and real, though they rise to loftier heights as the world's vision clears up.

In like manner, Christ shall live in his religion, because that

religion, genuinely apprehended, is an emancipator and excitant of mind, and thus makes civilizations which embrace it quick and powerful. Other faiths, by false science and intellectual repression, enslave and enfeeble nations. Thus peoples which have embraced, however imperfectly, the religion of Jesus Christ, in art, culture, opulence and power are this hour amid the other races as gods. Moreover, among nations nominally christian, those, as a general law, are mightiest, with whom christianity is mightiest; and she again, though she can live amid diverse organizations of church, state, and society, is yet strongest with the freest and most enlightened.

The permanent centres of historic power in Christendom, are thus with nations most illuminated with christian faith. The most energetic and diffusive types of modern civilization are those of the two great leading protestant powers of the Anglo-Saxon lineage, with whom, too, christianity is, on the whole, most powerful. Other nations may have larger and more effective military masses; but these are the laboratory and focus of the ideas which rule modern history. As an enduring power over the mind of the world, the Parliament house is stronger than all the standing armies of Europe. No despot can securely keep his throne till its doors are closed.

Again: Jesus lives, and shall live as no other of men, through his CHURCH—an organization whose life principle most solemnly consecrates it, amid the social economy, to a function of unselfish beneficence and perpetual reform. By the mightiest forces of intellect and soul, it is devoted to glorifying God, through purification of itself and of society. Ancient civilization perished because it had no permanent corrective or counteractive of the selfish principle; and no society can live permanently by this principle. However wise and perfect its adjustment of political machinery, that machinery could not work itself. It had, at some point, to fall back on the free will of individuals. It was necessitated somewhere to presume on the existence of unselfish virtue. But there was nothing in the system to produce or perpetuate such virtue. It could not fail therefore in time to run down. But christianity, through the church placed in the midst of communities, provides for this want.

Organized on the principle of supreme love to God, and supreme devotion to human salvation—its life individualized and quickened, and made powerful by its relations of liberty, equality and fraternity among its members; a reciprocity of obligation towards each other, and a community of obligation to God's word and work among men—holding all equally responsible to truth and to God, with no earthly power above the brotherhood, or mediating between it and God—an organization better fitted to individualize intelligence and activity, and to emancipate, purify and vitalize universal society, cannot be imagined. It seems planted in commonwealths as a fountain of perpetual youth.

Again: Jesus Christ lives as none other in the history of time, through the power of his PERSONAL CHARACTER. The instincts for the moral beautiful must perish in the human soul before it can let that character go from its love and honor. Its instincts of truth must be destroyed before it can believe that character false, or the religion which enshrines it a fraud. That personage is the Atlas of the system, bearing it up immortally. Rightly his name is called "WONDERFUL," the separate, the isolated, the unique. There is no fellow to it among the sons of men. Others have been great, but time has drawn them within his shadow. But that character grows ever upon the mind of the world with age and culture, towering up ever higher across the valley of age.

Others fade or tarnish with years. But when shall that character gather dimness or stain? It grows brighter by the attrition of ages, and clearer with their progressive illumination. Eighteen hundred years have not attached to it a fleck or shadow. Serene, self-poised, complete, god-like,—what fellow has it in the history of men? Other fames fade, or show hollow and counterfeit with time. But when shall that face be the face of fiction or imposture? And if not an impostor, then is He the Son of God.

Its truthfulness is more steadfast than the visible heavens. And on that truthfulness, more and more outstanding to the world's view, His religion must rest forever. That personage is impregnable. Lust, hate, superstition, philosophy, infidelity, may lift up against it their raging. It is only earthly storm dashing

against the stars. Louder and clearer comes the verdict of Humanity, in utterances from age to age; like that of the centurion, "Truly this was the Son of God;" or, of Napoleon, "I have known men, but Jesus Christ is not a man, nor of the sons of men;" or of Rousseau, "Socrates died like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ like a God."

I believe the power of that character is mightier, wider and more living now than on any day since the ascension.

As an object of personal endearment and admiration, Christ lives, and shall live as no other of the sons of men. As a personal friend and benefactor, exercising universally and toward each as if alone, cognizance, care and affection—not one overlooked amid millions who love Him—He lives with the life-throb of a conscious personal love, through ages and millions. Many love a Washington, Kosciusko, Gustavus or Howard. But the race of man weeps around the cross this hour. Earth has other high and monumental places, national and ecumenical; but one Jerusalem.

Nor is it with love for the dead alone, they gather there. No mere dead saint or hero is Jesus Christ. The sorrow of death and the joy of life blend together at his tomb. It is "He that liveth and was dead, and is alive forever, and hath the keys of hell and death." To all the millions of his disciples He is a living Presence, Companion, Comforter, Brother, Saviour.

No other being is so profoundly and supremely loved, and by so many millions, and with such consciousness of living, constant, personal intimacy, as Jesus Christ. While other fames and faiths decay, it is not so with His. Never was the heart-beat of humanity toward Him fresher, stronger, more vivid, more conscious, or from more millions, than at this moment. Never were more ready to suffer or die for Him.

When Napoleon led his vast army into Russia, and his devoted squadrons charging into the foaming Nieman, and sinking in the deadly torrent, still with sword waving above their heads, poured out their "*Vive l'Empereur*" from lips gurgling with death, Europe heard with admiration and terror. But this was in sight and hearing of their chief.

But for Christ, nations and races never having seen or heard

Him, are ready to pass through floods, and to exult amid flames, glorying to be counted worthy to suffer for Him. Millions through all the earth recognize Him as a present witness, champion and deliverer. Through all life's changes, in dark or light, the bridal festival, or the chamber of sickness and the shadow of death; in all homes and all paths, in hut, palace or prison; in wilderness or city, the mountain wild or stormy sea; drawing the curtains of evening or lifting the veil of morn; leaning on human bosoms, quelling human cares and terrors, and wiping human tears that loved Presence walks the whole earth this hour. As the champion of the poor, the vindicator of the rights and duties of universal humanity; as the great apostle of brotherhood and liberty, the ennobler of labor, the comforter of the wretched, the visitor of the sick and imprisoned, the protector of the outcast and exile, the orphan, the desolate, the enslaved—as all these, Christ is destined to live in the coming democratic era of history, more and more, as Lover and Lord of the race.

Christ is, again, destined to live as the REPRESENTATIVE MAN of the future; the mightiest of plastic forces, assimilating the race to itself; the sun of righteousness, whose shining is to strike His image through the great deep of humanity, mirroring itself individually in the million, which are drops in that deep. He is to be the ideal to which the race of man shall shape itself, and to live reproduced in its coming nations, through the ages long as the sun.

Again: Jesus Christ shall live through and in the KINGDOM He has established; recognized of the world in his regal majesty, the central personage and imperial guardian in a new order. In this kingdom, the ethics of christianity are presented as grouped around a living, vitalising Christ. They are not a mere system of abstract maxims and precepts, but vital, incorporate, impersonate in the sun of God,—the robe of his epiphany, worn of Him as the sun wears his beams. They are no longer simply a true philosophy, or rules of being to be vindicated at the last judgment; but the present policy of a most real, though invisible monarchy; a policy worked by an unseen, but ever present sovereign, and whose expanding influence is his triumphal march over the earth.

That kingdom was never so much a living power as this day. Other founders live with the dynasties and constitutions they establish or inaugurate. Thus, Solon lived with the Athenian constitution; thus, Peter, the Muscovite, through the Czars; and Frederick the Great, through all his successors. But with truth, liberty, and love—the great principles of Christ's kingdom—He lives and reigns. Wherever true justice, freedom, purity and brotherhood live and triumph, there Christ lives and triumphs. Wherever the martyr, confessor, or missionary; wherever the patriot, philanthropist, or hero, utters or enacts his testimony to these principles, there Jesus Christ still lives; wherever men think, reason, feel, labor and pray for these interests, there Christ still lives. Wherever men forgive their enemies, or return good for ill, “bless those that curse them, pray for those that despitefully use them,” there Christ lives. Wherever men engage in disinterested beneficence; visit the sick or imprisoned; cherish and comfort the weak and helpless; enlighten the ignorant; reclaim the vicious; or where they free the enslaved; build hospitals; endow asylums; establish schools; there Christ, though personally unrecognized of the actors, still lives. In all battles of principle; in all the conflicts of truth and reason, and their victories over falsehood and wrong; in all labors of love, the world over, Christ lives.

In short, in all the infinite out-goings of light; all the great movements of history, towards truth and righteousness; in all the advances of society, in freedom, art, science, and power; Christ—who is converting all these to agencies of his economy—lives, and conquers, and reigns.

Finally and especially, as we to enter into the circle of revealed agencies within the awful forces of the spiritual world, we find the life of Christ among the children of men, guaranteed by that wondrous, all-vitalizing power, moving now on the deeps of mind as at first on the ruinous abyss—God's Spirit. With that spirit pledged to breathe that life into human souls, and to quicken them with the thought and love of Christ, till he comes again in the clouds of heaven, we feel the future of christianity is placed above accident or natural causes, and above human caprice or will. He cannot die but with death dominating over life through the universe.

All these forces have guarded the life of Christianity in the past, and brought it safe and triumphant through the deadly perils of more than eighteen centuries. Often have her enemies thought her to be dead; but never was she more living than at this moment.

First, Jew and Roman, Pagan and Pharisee, High Priest, Pilate and Herod, raged against her life, and conspired to quench it in a bloody grave. They crucified her Lord, and thought, as they covered his mangled form in the darkness of the tomb, that he was dead—dead evermore. But vain thought! He still lived, through dying, victor of death; never so powerful as when He rose from the dead. As rose his body, so rose his religion from that grave; with resurrection symbolic of all its future.

Then arose against her, heathenism with its pride and cunning of philosophy, oratory, poesy, and art; with the charm of sensuous and intellectual beauty, and all the sorcery of falsehood; thinking to confute, and awe, and sneer, and shame her out of the world. But her word was nearer the soul of the world, and threw upon it a spell mightier than they all. Spite of all, and triumphing over all, Christ still lived; and, soon these forces of heathenism are seen led captive in her procession of triumph.

Then uprose the Iron Power of prophetic vision—the empire of force, the most tremendous the world ever saw—Imperial Rome; with its strength of law and arms, and a policy that for ages like one conscious will of one iron soul, bound the whole world with a grasp that knew no yielding, and brooked no resistance. For centuries this terrible power pressed on the new faith with the world's weight, determined to crush it back into the grave of its founder. But its immortal rebound of life, was mightier than that pressure; and amid the upheaving of thrones, Imperial and Olympian, it ascended the seat of the Cæsars.

Then ensued for the church ages of the more deadly perils of riches and empire. Pride intoxicated; the corruption of power drugged to torpor and imbecility; and darkness stole across school and cathedral. Factions venal or fanatic, convulsed her; illusions mocking, malignant and changeful, came out in the twilight, aiming to cover her face forever; and her draping was evidently of the grave, though of imperial purple and the cloth of gold.

But it was the form, the counterfeit only, that lay dead. The true church had fled to the wilderness. Beneath palace and cathedral and the corruption and pride of power, beneath the battle of ambitious orders and factions, the clang of barbaric metaphysics and the thickening gloom of superstition vexed with heresies, the hidden life flowed on through millions in the shadow; guarded of God, and deepening to a more distinct and intelligent self-consciousness for the trials and questionings of the ages. In that life still lived Jesus Christ.

Then came the Barbarian, storm upon storm, tempest after tempest; till at length, column by column, arch by arch, dome upon dome, the old world fell, and ruin and night returned. It seemed to men of that time the end of the world; that underneath that wreck, christianity was destined to lie deep, dark and despairing evermore. But almost alone of the elements of elder civilization, she survived that cataclysm and crossed the gulf from the old to the new.

Slowly the barbarian world is penetrated and pervaded by her. Her light and life shoot dimly through the dark and raging mass; and gradually order crystalizes through the tumultuous deep. By the rough touch of barbaric freshness and vigor, she is startled to new life. Constantly, for ages, though oft by violent and alien agencies, the Cross is borne farther and farther through the peoples of Central and Northern Europe; victor now amid the gloom of the northern forests as well as in the luxurious capitals of the South; and though shorn of much of its significancy as carried by rude hands through barbarous nations, still representative of great central and vital truths. Under that flood of nations which should have destroyed her, christianity still lived—yea, by that very means, she received an invigoration of hardy life, and the destiny of universal empire. She was “laying the beams of her chambers in the waters,” to shore up the dome of modern christendom. Her arch enemy seems to have thrown nations upon her to quench her, and lo! the nations were themselves in a blaze.

Then came the great apostacy—the ages of Spiritual Despotism seizing on the nominal empire of christianity, and pressing her life down into stifling dungeon glooms. For one thousand years,

humanity ground in the prison house and under darkness, eyeless and chained.

But during these sad and opprobrious ages of the counterfeit, the true church still lived. Its great organic and vitalizing principles were at work, though invisible, down in the deeps. The European chaos was coming to order. Violence was mollified. The barbarism was becoming ruled and penetrated with a civil and christian reason and culture.

Various reforms are meanwhile wrought. Humanity, though by painful steps, still is progressively asserting itself. Private war and slavery are gradually driven out from much of christendom. To the dim, half-conscious, groping mind of the million, Christ lived, faintly yet truly discerned, though hierarch and despot essayed to shut them out from Him.

Gradually, meantime, the immortal spirit and truths of Christianity, that under all this pressure of despotism and falsehood, still could not die, applying themselves to the eternal consciousness of the human soul, prepared the political and social upheaving of the sixteenth century. An insurrection of nations is sprung, and Europe rises on her spiritual chain. There ensues the apocalyptic earthquake, in which a "third part of the cities of the nations fall." Startled and alarmed, the princes and rulers of the earth take counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed. Hierarchical and regal wrath and fear rush upon Reform.

For a terrible century Europe rings with the clang of battle, in which tyrant and prelate confederate against the life of christianity.

But through all, it lived; and half of Europe emerges from these bloody ages—in true and ultimate effect, though with theory long overlaid by conflicting practice—conquerors of the right, for the millions, of direct personal access to Jesus Christ, spite of hierarchical despotism that arrogates to mediate between Humanity and the Redeemer.

But in the desperate agonism of this struggle to crush the insurgent freedom of the human soul, Spiritual Despotism tears open the closures of the infernal pit. Erebean night rushes forth. Infidelity, with its grisly troop, from naturalism to stark atheism, stalks forth, blaspheming, defying, and denying God;

and phrenzied nations are seen hurling their broken fetters against the darkened heavens. Like Gog and Magog they compassed the camp of the Saints about with the cry of "crush the wretch."

But Jesus Christ still lived. Insulted, blasphemed, defied, denied, the Crucified One comes—comes as Son of God—comes to judgment. "He shot forth his lightnings and discomfited them." He sends on them madness of heart, which turns to mutual carnage. Band after band, nation after nation, they rush upon each other's swords, and fall on the conflagration wherewith the world is burning. At length the infernal deep reabsorbs its own storm.

And now the clang and smoke of the impious onset past, serene and fresh, in newness of life, as on the resurrection morn, appears the life of Christ on the earth. It is true the powers of darkness, and hate, and falsehood, have not ceased, still to conspire against that life. But it is also true that each attack continues only to perfect its strength, and complete its armor and munitions of defense. The glittering illusions of transcendental and the cold plague of rationalistic philosophies; the infinite Phantom of Pantheism; the sneer of an upstart Sciolism; the questionings of new science claiming to try God's word, by its imperfect and tentative reading of the page of nature; mysteries involving the vast problem of our being, history and destiny, pressing on man from nature as well as revelation since the world began, unsolved and insolvable by mortal intelligence, yet, absurdly demanding of christianity their resolution to such intelligence; a skepticism, that from the alliance of ecclesiastic with political despotism, has learned to hate christianity, as among the enslavers and oppressors of mankind; the seductions of mammonism, the corruptions of peace, the snares of a worldly prosperity,—these now beset the pathway of the church, as with difficult steps she treads the ever narrowing straits between anarchical Liberty on the one hand and stifling Conservatism on the other, through which opens the way to the Better Era.

Yet, she still advances, and with the life of him, who of old led his people through the desert and the deep,—she shall go forward on an endless life.

Clearly the Spirit of order, and beauty, and life, is out amid the gloom and confusion of the times. Nor was christianity ever

with life so deep and powerful the world over, as now. Never was her progress—measured by her manifold appliance to the complex phases, developments and interests of modern society—more rapid or signal than at present. If the feet of her evangelists are not so swift over strange continents as in the days of the apostles, she is more thoroughly and profoundly striking her hue and thought through the entire body of civilization.

Nothing we can discern, seems destined to destroy or arrest her. History and philosophy conspire with prophecy in declaring of Jesus Christ, as none other of the sons of men “He shall live,”—shall live, though cities, nations, and civilizations pass away: shall live through ages that may trample over the fallen arches of British, or Anglo-American empire; live, even, if so be, when the New Zealander shall stand amid the ruins of London or New York; live as long as the earth rolls and man dwells on it. Yea, and instructed by a philosophy of history that extends its inductions from time to eternity, and from the life of souls here to their life there, and by prophecy unveiling to us the mystery beyond the Great White Throne, we know that far past the changes of earth and time, when suns fade and stars fall, and worlds burn,—in the new earth and new heavens,—with the life of humanity bearing the Crucified One in its bosom evermore, and with the life of the Divine Spirit breathing His thought through the universe and through eternity—“He shall live.”

One glorious thought closes on our vision as we attempt to pursue it into the infinite future, even as the transfigured cloud on the pathway of the setting sun. If Christ shall live, we shall live also. He shall live in us and we in Him, forever. He is to man, as here, so evermore, “**THE LIFE.**”

APPENDIX.

The Society connected with the First Trinitarian Congregational Church of St. Louis, was organized on the 12th of January, 1852. Its object, as expressed by its Constitution at that time adopted, was to relieve the Church, about to be formed, from the responsibility of conducting its finances, and to concentrate the interests and influences which would naturally surround a congregational church enterprise. All regular attendants upon the services of the church, who contributed annually to the support of the same, were constituted members of the Society.

The Society thus organized, met on April 2d, 1852, and elected the following gentlemen Trustees, into whose hands, according to the Constitution, all the ordinary business of the Society was committed :

JOHN S. McCUNE,
E. R. MASON,
S. M. EDGEELL,
JOHN H. AVERY.

E. W. BLATCHFORD,
ROLLIN CLARK,
WM. S. McKEE,

At the same meeting, the Trustees were authorized to purchase a lot of ground for a new Church, and, on the 18th of May following, they consummated the purchase from Hon. H. S. Geyer, of a lot on the North-west corner of 10th and Locust streets, with a front of 122 feet on Locust, and a depth of 102 feet on 10th street, for the sum of \$12,200.

In the meantime a subscription, amounting to \$20,000, had been raised among the members of the Society and friends of the enterprise. But as this was not deemed sufficient in amount to erect a church edifice, and also pay for the ground, the matter was suffered to repose for nearly three years.

Early in the spring of 1855 a subscription was started for the purpose of erecting a chapel upon a portion of the lot which had been purchased, leaving room, however, for a church edifice to be erected whenever the Society should be prepared to build. Upon this subscription the sum of \$8,000 was raised in a short time; and at a special meeting, March 5th, 1855, this subscription was accepted by the Society. The Trustees were instructed to proceed at once to erect a chapel, and also to dispose by sale

of the old church property on Sixth street. This property was sold in the following October, and the new chapel, costing about \$9,000, and capable of seating about three hundred persons, was completed, and taken possession of by the Society early in November.

At the annual meeting of the Society, Jan. 12th, 1857, it was resolved that the time had come for taking steps towards the erection of a larger and more permanent place of worship, and a new subscription was ordered to be opened for the purpose. At this meeting, a new Board of Trustees was chosen, consisting of the following gentlemen, viz. :

JOHN S. McCUNE,
ROLLIN CLARK,
JOSIAH FOGG,
S. B. KELLOGG,
JAMES P. FISKE.

S. M. EDGELL,
FRANCIS WHITTAKER,
JOHN H. AVERY,
REUBEN BEARDSLEE,

Subsequently, however, upon the resignation of Mr. Avery, Mr. Samuel Plant was elected a member of the Board in his place.

On the 13th of July following, the Trustees called the Society together, and reported that the sum of \$25,000 had been subscribed, and that no doubt existed of increasing the amount to \$30,000, wholly within the Society. The Trustees were instructed at this meeting to proceed with the enterprise. The subscription was subsequently increased to the sum of \$30,000.

During the two following months the Board of Trustees held several meetings for the purpose of discussing and maturing plans, and Messrs. J. S. McCune, Francis Whittaker, and Josiah Fogg, were chosen Building Committee. To this committee, the name of Mr. Samuel Plant was subsequently added. After carefully considering various plans presented by several Architects of the city, the Trustees adopted, and the Society, at a meeting held September 18th, 1857, approved of plans submitted by Messrs. Pond & Hocholzer, of St. Louis, Architects. All the subsequent plans and working drawings for the entire edifice, were prepared by the latter of these gentlemen, Mr. H. Hocholzer, while the former, Mr. C. H. Pond, was the active and efficient Superintendent of the work from the beginning to the close.

The corner stone of the new church building was laid by Rev. Dr. Post, pastor of the church, assisted by several ministers of the city, on May 19th, 1858, and the edifice was completed and dedicated on March 4th, 1860. At the dedication a historical discourse was preached in the morning by Dr. Post, the pastor, which, by request of the Society, is published herewith, together with two other discourses delivered on former occasions. In the afternoon the church celebrated its first Com-

munion in the new sanctuary, at which, over two hundred members were present. In the evening Rev. Dr. Sturtevant, President of Illinois College, delivered a most interesting discourse upon the Ministry and the Sanctuary.

The edifice is of Roman Corinthian architecture, without any spire, but presenting six beautifully fluted stone columns in front, and is throughout a most substantial structure. It stands on the ground 102 by 67 feet, and contains 126 pews. It contains a fine organ, built for the Society by Messrs. Hook & Co., of Boston, and has in its basement various rooms for Lectures, Sunday School, and a Pastor's Study. The entire cost of the edifice, exclusive of the organ, was \$53,500.

The first sale of pews at auction, took place on March 12, 1860, at which time forty pews were sold for an aggregate amount, including premiums for choice, of over \$35,000. Of this sum about \$4,000 was received for premiums alone.

All the pews in the church are either sold or rented, except sixteen and the Society now congratulates itself, after having passed through so many years of severe trial, upon being not only in a position of self support, but favorable for exerting a benign and saving influence, upon the increasing population of the city.

Earnestly attached to its pastor, with the most perfect fraternal union among its members, and with a wide and most interesting field of usefulness around it, it looks forward to the future with pleasant hopes and anticipations.

ST. LOUIS, April 30, 1860.

The Organic Development of Christianity in the Direction of Education
and Learning.

AN

A D D R E S S ,

DELIVERED IN BOSTON, MAY 30, 1860,

BEFORE THE

Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education
at the West.

BY REV. J. W. WELLMAN.

B O S T O N :

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS STREET.

1860.

“AT a public meeting of THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF COLLEGIATE AND THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT THE WEST, on Wednesday, May 30, 1860, in Central Church, Winter Street, Boston, WILLIAM ROPES, Esq., one of the Directors, presided. Rev. Prof. JOSEPH EMERSON, of Beloit College, Wisconsin, offered Prayer, and the Annual Address was delivered by Rev. J. W. WELLMAN, of Newton, Mass.”

A D D R E S S .

It is the fine remark of Lord Bacon, discoursing on the "Defects of Universities," that "if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not any thing that you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it." It will be generally conceded, that the roots of our educational institutions are imbedded in the Christianity of our country. And yet, such a rhetorical figure will be understood as illustrating the *fact*, rather than the *nature*, of the relation of Religion to Learning. It is still an open question, What is the kind of connection that subsists between them? Is it organic, or mechanical? Are our educational institutions a natural product, as an arbitrary gift, of Christianity? Have they come to us in a merely accidental connection with our Puritan faith, or are they the result of a grand historic process, the last fruit of a great organic development which has been going on through all the Christian centuries?

It will doubtless commend itself to every one as a just statement, that our present system of public schools would have been as anomalous, indeed as impossible, in the days of Christ, as a garden of flowers on the sands of Sahara; that a New England college, in the time of Paul, would have been as much of a miracle, as a full-blown rose flinging its fragrance upon the air around it, which yet never hung upon any stem or stock. And yet, may not these schools and colleges have existed potentially in Christianity at the start? May not this great change, that has taken place in the manner and facilities of education, be only the natural unfolding of Christianity in

the direction of intellectual culture, so that our present educational institutions are the bud and bloom, not of a century-plant, but of a tree which must have grown through all the past Christian centuries, ere it could bless the world with these singularly beautiful and fragrant blossoms?

I propose to answer this question in the affirmative; and to advocate the view, as animating as it is sublime, if it is the true view, that the relation of Christianity to education and learning is organic or vital, not artificial or accidental; that our educational system and institutions are the result of a growth or evolution which has been going on through all the Christian era; that Christianity, by the designed working of its two vital forces, the Word and the Spirit, has ever developed itself in the direction of culture; not uniformly, of course, in all ages and countries, not continuously in every place, not in a straight, unbroken line, perhaps, any where, but rather by constant reproduction, just as the fruit-tree of the same species, wherever you plant it, always puts forth the same leaf and flower, and bears the same fruit; and not only this, but also that these intellectual developments—looking at them not so much in single places as in the world, not in the comparison of brief but of long intervals of time—have grown even fairer, richer and more abundant among the nations, giving us in this an earnest of that promised time, when knowledge, as well as holiness, shall fill the earth.

The theme, then, upon which I beg leave to say a few words at this hour, is, *The organic development of Christianity in the direction of education and learning.*

And first, it is a familiar fact, that Christianity, through the new birth which it gives, directs and intensifies the intellectual life of man. The originating power in this growth or evolution, of which I speak, is supernatural. The vital forces are the Word and the Spirit, and they, in their influence upon the soul, “are spirit and they are life.” Christianity, through these living and life-giving forces, is a stimulus to mind. It creates in the soul a craving for high intellectual, as well as for high moral, attainments. It awakens, for instance, a sense of liberty under God, which requires for its right exercise the highest intelligence. It gives a clear consciousness of personal accountability to the

Most High, which demands, in view of a coming reckoning, the best possible equipment of discipline and knowledge, in order to meet properly the obligations incident to such a lofty stewardship. The imperative voice of Christianity, to those who embrace it, has ever been, "In understanding be *men*." But manhood is not the attainment of a day. It comes only by growth; by a process of gradual evolution, like the slow and silent organic processes which we behold in the vegetable kingdom. And thus we have, in the individual man, what may properly be called an intellectual *development*,—one, nevertheless, the originating or life-giving power in which is supernatural. Jesus himself grew in wisdom. And in the free and perfect unfolding of his intellectual life, he is the type of what is proximately accomplished in all those who are born of the Spirit into his kingdom. And Christianity, thus working in the individual mind, through that works in society. Producing an intellectual development in the individual members of the community, through them it produces a corresponding development in the world, manifesting itself in systems of education, in institutions of learning, in art and science, and in all the varied aids and instruments of a rapidly advancing civilization.

Again, looking at Christianity in its actual history, we find *in its very origin and ground-work* an obvious preparation for a grand unfolding of itself in the direction of education and learning. Christ's coming as a great *Teacher*, "the light of the world;" his creating at once the college of the Apostles, with the design that they should be fitted to teach others, that their pupils in turn might be qualified to instruct still others, and that this process should go on until the whole world should be enlightened with the light of true knowledge; when he ascended, his leaving, as the chief and permanent forces in Christianity, those two great, supernatural illuminators, the Word and the Spirit; that temporary but wonderfully prophetic provision, the endowment of the early Christians with miraculous intellectual gifts, designed to take the place of the knowledge and culture, and the facilities for knowledge and culture, such as schools and libraries, which, on account of their nature and the laws of mind, Christianity had not as yet had time to produce, by the process of normal development,—all these things, and

such as these, unmistakably indicate that Christianity was designed to be the great educator of the world.

Again, we observe, as a fact of history, that Christianity, at the outset, manifested a natural affinity for all true learning and culture, for every form of truth and beauty. It did not come to the world like a tornado, sweeping away, in blind and remorseless fury, the art and science, and all the intellectual acquisitions of past ages. It came rather like a living germ, and, planting itself in the midst of the Hebrew and the highest Pagan civilization, in the midst of a vast amount of fragmentary and chaotic learning, in the midst of decaying nationalities, governments and religions, it began at once a strictly organic work, disintegrating the various elements around it, as a plant does the atmosphere, fluids and earths, appropriating to itself all true discipline and culture, receiving as the aliment of its own life the true and the good, and rejecting the false and the bad; and so unfolding itself from within, and bursting up through all the incrustations of superstition and tyranny, false philosophies and false religions, there stood forth at length, in vast and expanding proportions, a true Christian learning, accompanied and aided by a rapidly advancing Christian literature and by flourishing Christian institutions of learning. Christianity had no disposition to make a clean sweep of the ancient culture. It did not come to the world with the spirit of the Goths and Vandals, despoiling, with barbaric rudeness, the beautiful and venerated products of art and science. It came with a singularly refined and just taste, a more than human culture, a spirit to appreciate all beauty in nature and in art, and all truth in philosophy and science. Wherever it went, it imparted to the human mind great powers of discrimination. It began to exhibit every thing in its right place and proportions. It exalted the beauty of holiness above all other beauty. It made the truths of Revelation paramount, and the standard and test for all other truth.

The capacious mind of Paul had doubtless treasured vast stores of Pagan and Rabbinical learning. But the moment he became a Christian, a disintegrating process commenced. He began to discriminate between the true and the false, between the excellent and the worthless. It is easy to imagine how some single truths of the gospel, acting like

the morning sun upon the mists of the night, would clear away a thousand false conceptions that beclouded his mind. The doctrine of the resurrection, for example, rising clearly upon his vision, may have dissipated a vast amount of mythological and traditional learning upon the subject of man's transition from the present to the future state. The doctrine of justification by faith, in the same manner, may have swept away many vague and erroneous conceptions respecting the nature of sin, the character and destiny of man, the government and character of God. Correct views upon these subjects must have gradually corrected his views upon other subjects. Thus the light must have advanced farther and farther into the darkness, ever opening new fields of truth to his enlarged and enraptured mind. This great intellectual movement taking place in individual minds, must have produced a corresponding movement in the world, manifesting itself, to a very great extent, in the character and institutions of society.

Observe, in the next place, some historical facts which disclose the actual progress of this intellectual development in the world, during the first Christian centuries.

Immediately after inspiration and other miraculous gifts had ceased, there was a great change in the degree of culture and knowledge prevalent among Christians. The intellectual character of the church fell. The next two generations of Christians, taken as they were, in a great measure, from Pagan nations, and usually from the lowest classes in Pagan nations, were an exceedingly simple-minded people. And yet the distance through which the church fell, intellectually, at this point, was not so great as the distance through which it rose immediately after the ascension of Christ ; so that, on the whole, there was plainly an advance. No one, in reading the New Testament, can pass from the Evangelists to the Book of the Acts and to the Epistles, without marking the great change which took place in the intellectual character of the disciples, at or near the time of the Pentecostal baptism. Before this, they were only children in understanding ; afterwards, they were men. It is not surprising, however, that when that supernatural process of enlightenment ceased, there was apparently a great change. The Apostolic Fathers, as they are

called, it has been justly said, "seem like grown-up children." And yet such men as Clement, and Ignatius, and Polycarp, judged simply by their writings, must have been, in mental culture, far in advance of the fishermen of Galilee, while passing through the three or four years of their pupilage, under the personal instruction of Christ.

But leaving the Apostolic Fathers, and coming down the successive generations of Christians, we observe a constant and rapid advance in knowledge and general culture. As early as the middle of the second century, and according to some authorities earlier still, schools were very generally established throughout Christendom, for the instruction of children and youth. At the same time, great scholars appeared here and there, and various places began to be distinguished as seats of Christian learning and literature. As early as the first part of the third century, we find the north of Africa, under the influence of Christianity, lit up with an intellectual splendor, which ever since has been regarded as the marvel of that age. Alexandria, at that time, had become famous for her school and her scholars, her Clement and Origen; and Carthage had become the chief seat of the Latin theology, the home of Cyprian and Tertullian. A high degree of intellectual life seems to have pervaded all classes. Three years of catechetical instruction were required as a necessary preparation for admission to a Christian church.

Very early, too, in other parts of the world, schools of theology began to flourish, as at Antioch and Edessa. But perhaps the most interesting and promising feature in this great intellectual movement in the West was, that it every where pervaded the masses of the people. As the gospel is not for the few only, but for all, so the intellectual life it awakened was not confined to a few superior minds, but was general. Celsus, who was the first writer against Christianity, and who scoffed at the new religion because it made so few converts from the great and the learned, and so many from the low and the ignorant, yet unconsciously paid a fine compliment to the combined Christian modesty and intellectual vigor of those same low and ignorant Christians. "You shall see," he says, "weavers, taylors, fullers, and the most rustic and illiterate fellows, who when at home, and when before their elders and

betters, are as mute as fishes ; but when they can get a few children and silly women by themselves, then who so wise and learned, who so full of talk, and so able to teach and instruct as they !” This testimony, from an enemy of Christianity, is exceedingly significant. *Children*, he tells us, were gathered together, in that early age, and taught by Christians. *Women*, too, not simply men, but women—an unheard-of thing, it would seem, at that time in the world—were not deemed unworthy of intellectual elevation. Even *they*, he tells us with a sneer, shared those humble educational privileges which he describes as having spontaneously sprung up among the people. Indeed the whole picture which he draws, of discussions going on, of instruction imparted and received, of a general intellectual ferment, among even the lowest classes of the people, reaching both sexes, and the youngest as well as the oldest, is strikingly illustrative of the fact, that a great educational movement was going on in the world under the influence of Christianity. Arius and Athanasius were not the only men, in the fourth century, who were able to discuss abstruse questions in theology. Said Gregory, of Nyssa, in his discourse on the divinity of the Son and the Spirit, speaking of the people of Constantinople, “Every corner and nook of the city is full of men who discuss incomprehensible subjects ; the streets, the markets, the people who sell old clothes, those who sit at the tables of the money-changers, those who deal in provisions. Ask a man how many oboli it comes to, he gives you a specimen of dogmatizing on generated and ungenerated being. Inquire the price of bread, you are answered, ‘The Father is greater than the Son, and the Son subordinate to the Father.’ Ask if the bath is ready, and you are answered, ‘The Son of God was created from nothing.’” And at the same time that this intellectual ferment was going on among the masses of the people, great scholars were shaking the world with their discussions, and various places, both in the East and in the West, were becoming renowned for their schools of theology and general learning.

And thus, during the first Christian centuries, there was a rapid and grand development of Christianity in the direction of education and learning ; a development, which reached its culmination in the fourth and fifth centuries, creating that

age of intellectual splendor, when, all around the shores of the Mediterranean, the commonest artisans discussed, in their shops, the profoundest questions in theology ; when Christian mothers, in many lands, prayerfully taught their sons the great truths of Revelation ; when the children of Christians were every where gathered into schools ; when Alexandria and Antioch had become great seats of Christian learning, and Edessa, "the Athens of Syria ;" when Athanasius stood forth the peerless theologian, and the golden-mouthed Chrysostom the unrivaled orator of the world ; and when Ambrose and Augustine thought and wrote for all succeeding ages.

But all this intellectual splendor waned, and went out. The internal corruption of the churches and the sword of the Saracen arrested this magnificent growth, and left Christianity to reproduce it in other climes and ages.

I pass, in the next place, to the intellectual development of Christianity in the West, immediately before and during the Middle Ages.

We find Christianity here in very different circumstances, and with very different material to work upon and with ; and I propose to show how the tree, although planted in a different soil and clime, yet at length bore the same fruit,—the same in kind, but far richer and more abundant.

Christianity in the West found itself among the wild barbarian hordes who peopled northern Europe, and who, pouring southward, had planted themselves upon the ruins of the Roman Empire. There was no old civilization, no Grecian and Roman culture to be appropriated, no "wild olive branch" to be "grafted in." Every thing must be created anew, language, literature, institutions of learning. The wondrous forces of the gospel here plunged into the old night of heathenism, and set to work, and for centuries they seemed well nigh lost in the darkness. Their progress was laborious, often imperceptible. Christianity entering the heart of a Saul of Tarsus, and appropriating his fine intellectual discipline and massive learning, and then taking him on to a yet higher culture and knowledge, must exhibit a result very different from that presented when it enters the heart of a wild savage of Normandy or Burgundy, and begins the work of his intellectual development ; and yet

the tendency and power of Christianity in this direction, may, in the end, be more clearly illustrated in the latter than in the former. Christianity planting itself among the scholars of Alexandria, and in a few years making that place the most celebrated seat of learning in the world, exhibits, in its immediate results, a spectacle very different from that presented when it plants itself among a few untutored Gauls, in the wild forests on the banks of the Seine ; but when, after many centuries of slow progress, we behold, as the result, the great University of Paris, with its thirty thousand students, we say that the tendency and power of Christianity to unfold itself in the direction of education and learning, are more grandly illustrated in the latter instance than in the former.

The power of Christianity in the West, through the Middle Ages, was, moreover, greatly weakened by internal corruption, and especially by a false church organization. There had gradually grown up an enormous ecclesiastical centralization, which sought to repress all spontaneous and independent developments of Christianity. Having its centre at Rome, and reaching, with the iron grasp of its power, every part of Christendom, it rendered an easy and natural expansion of Christianity, like that of the first centuries, impossible. Centralization is an attempt to produce expansion inward. It is, in the church, what selfishness is in the heart. It makes something this side of Christ the centre and head of the kingdom. Its result is stagnation and death. It made the church of the Middle Ages a mummy. It wrapt it all round and round with every conceivable invention which could repress its natural life and growth. And those ages are called "*The Dark Ages.*"

And yet, notwithstanding all these and other repressing and corrupting influences, Christianity lived. The Word and the Spirit still wrought, and wherever they wrought we can detect some movement in the direction of education and learning. Many of these intellectual movements, it is true, were necessarily abnormal. Schools were formed mainly in connection with monasteries and cathedrals. Learning, in those untoward times, hid itself behind iron bars and castle walls. It was cloister learning, narrow, sentimental, mystical, often worthless. It was feeble and sickly, like the vegetation that grows in dark, damp cellars. And yet, for all this, it illustrates

the intellectual vitality of Christianity none the less, but all the more clearly. For nearly all the *piety* of the times was in these same monasteries. The clergy were exceedingly corrupt. The schools were mainly in the hands of the monks, and of a few of the more pious bishops, and were the fruit of the purest Christianity of those ages.

The monasteries, moreover, were the repositories of the ancient learning, and of the works of the Christian Fathers. They frequently gathered large libraries. In some of them a prodigious amount of labor was expended in multiplying copies of ancient works. Hundreds of monks in the same room toiled at their desks, without a word or a whisper, month after month and year after year, transcribing the Bible, and the works of the Christian Fathers, and the Greek and Roman classics. The monastery was the cumbrous printing-press of the Middle Ages; and it accomplished a noble work, not in diffusing knowledge among the millions of those ages, but in transmitting the treasures of ancient learning, and the writings of the first Christian centuries, down to the inventive genius of the fifteenth century, which in turn has given them to the entire world. Here, as in many other instances, we find a little rill, away back in a remote century, bursting out of the very heart of Christianity, and we trace it down the ages, until it becomes a great river, and finally, in our times, expands into a world-wide ocean.

But the most beautiful intellectual developments of Christianity in the Middle Ages, and those which most strikingly illustrate its organic educational power, occurred far away from the great centres of ecclesiastical tyranny and corruption. Oftentimes on islands of the sea, up among the free peasantry of the mountains, and along the extreme borders of Europe, far away from Rome, in places where the people knew little and cared less about popes and cardinals and bishops, some truth of the gospel would find its way to a human heart, and fill it with the love of Jesus, and then, in that single instance, there would be a free and natural unfolding of Christianity, making the very wilderness bud and blossom like the rose, until Rome heard of it, and Romish tyranny and corruption reached it, and then all this beauty would wither and die.

Let me give two or three examples. About the middle of

the fifth century, a slave boy—his name was Patricius—while tending the flocks of his barbarian master among the hills of Ireland, gave his heart and life to Christ. He was a British boy, and had been taken captive by a band of pirates. Very early in the Christian era, the gospel had been preached in Britain, and churches had been established, probably, by missionaries not from Rome, but directly from the East. These churches continued through the first centuries. The father of Patricius belonged to one of them, was a devoted Christian, and faithfully instructed his boy in the truths of the gospel. But Patricius cared little for these things, until he was taken by the pirates and sold to savages. And then, as his employment compelled him to be, much of the time, alone in the mountains, abandoned of all human aid, he began to look to God for help, and to find his chief delight in prayer and in thoughts of Jesus. “I was sixteen years old,” he says, “and I knew not the true God ; but, in a strange land, the Lord brought me to a sense of my unbelief, so that, although late, I minded me of my sins, and turned with my whole heart to the Lord my God ; who looked down on my loneliness, had pity on my youth and my ignorance, who preserved me ere I knew him, and who protected and comforted me, as a father does his son, ere I knew how to distinguish between good and evil.”

After six years of slavery, he escaped from the savages and reached his friends. But he immediately began to feel “an irrepressible desire to carry the blessings of the gospel to those Pagans with whom he had spent a great part of his youth.” He thought about it by day, and dreamed about it by night. The love of Christ wrought in him precisely as it did in Samuel J. Mills, nearly fourteen centuries later. He finally repaired to France, to obtain some little instruction from pious monks and clergymen, preparatory to his missionary labors ; and then, against the earnest remonstrance of his friends, who feared for his life, went to bear the blessings of the gospel to the savage tribes of Ireland. Perfectly familiar with their language and their customs, he assembled the people around him, in the open fields, at the beat of the drum, and told them the story of Jesus. His preaching was blessed. The heathen embraced the gospel. And Patricius, under this free working of the love of Christ, although comparatively ignorant himself,

immediately organized schools for the instruction of the people, and especially to train up native teachers and preachers. And, strange to say, these same schools speedily became the highest and most flourishing institutions of learning in those times ; and during all the dark ages they were, to benighted Europe, like a bright, ever-burning fire away on the distant horizon. For centuries, they were nearly the only visible source of intellectual light and life. They were constantly pouring forth teachers and preachers into every part of the Western world. In a similar manner, out of a comparatively free and unfettered Christianity, schools sprang up, a century later, in Scotland. A missionary from Ireland even founded a monastery on one of the islands of the Hebrides, which, in thirty years, attained the highest reputation as an institution of learning. Thus, while the enormous centralization of the Romish church was resting like an iceberg upon nearly all the Christianity of the world, away on this extreme border of Europe, the only place where Christianity was free, it was unfolding itself naturally, according to its own laws, fresh and beautiful, like the bursting flowers and the living green that fringe an Alpine glacier.

In the last part of the sixth century, a young man, born in Ireland and educated in her schools—Columban by name—felt the fire of Christian love burning in his heart, and began to look around for some field of missionary labor. Finally, with a few companions, he passed over to the continent, went to the country of the wild Burgundians, and began to tell them of Christ. His preaching was successful ; and here, too, measures were immediately taken to provide teachers and to educate the people. And in the midst of this free and flourishing development of Christianity, the greatest opposition, which Colomban met with, was from the powers of Rome. He manfully asserted his independence, but the powerful Papacy snatched from his hand the fruit of all his toil, and he was, at last, obliged to beg the privilege of living silently in the forests, by the side of the bones of seventeen of his missionary companions who had fallen in the midst of their arduous labors for Christ.

In the last part of the seventh century, and in the first part of the eighth, several young Englishmen, of devoted piety, most

of whom had received their education in the schools of Ireland, went as missionaries to the untutored tribes of Germany. The name of the most noted of these was Boniface. So successful were his labors, that, within a period of fifteen years, he had "organized churches among a hundred thousand Germans, and erected numerous church edifices and monasteries, where before was an unbroken wilderness." And here likewise abundant provision was made for the education of the people. Thus out of a living and comparatively free Christianity, came the first schools of Germany. Boniface came very near asserting his entire independence of Rome. It is a remarkable fact, that the first missionaries to Germany were upon the point of doing precisely what Luther and his companions did seven centuries later. The seeds of the great Reformation were planted in those first Christian missions; and they never died. They were unfolding through all the intervening centuries. The harvest came at last.

Time fails me to give other illustrations. But nearly all the movements of Christianity in the direction of learning, during the Dark Ages, came, not from Rome, not from the church, but from individual men, far away from Rome, whose hearts burned with the love of Christ. The missionary movements of the Papacy, in those ages, were carried on in the spirit of the crusades. The heathen were to be christianized by the pomp of bishops and the march of armies. The establishment of schools for the intellectual elevation of savages and infidels, was a thing not thought of. When bishop Otto, for instance, at the beginning of the twelfth century, would christianize the barbarians of Pomerania, he marched into their territory in great state, all his robes on and crozier in hand, at the head of a long retinue of attendants and wagons, and a company of soldiers; and the overawed heathen were immediately baptized by hundreds, surrounded by the soldiers. When in a few days, he had thus christianized one village, he marched to another; and thence to another.

Similar in spirit were the missions in the Middle Ages to Tartary and China. We do not call these Christian missions. Their object was not to christianize, in our sense of the term, but to subdue the heathen and compel them to acknowledge the church. There was, of course, no unfolding of Christian-

ity in such cases, and the missions ceased as soon as the sword and the crozier were gone. It is a fact exceedingly pertinent to our subject, that in all those missions in the Middle Ages, so far as I am acquainted with them, which were prompted, not by the love of Christ, but by a spirit of Papal propagandism, there was no progress whatever in the direction of education and learning.

I have now spoken of the cloister learning of the Middle Ages as springing from Christianity, under the repressing influences of a false and corrupt church system; and also of the isolated or sporadic educational movements which sprang fresh and free from the earnest piety of individual men, most of whom were comparatively removed from the crushing and corrupting influences of ecclesiastical centralization.

But there were, during these ages, several other lines of development in the same direction, one of which I must not omit to notice. I have already said that Christianity, at the very opening of the Christian era, found its way to Britain; that, as a consequence, in the middle of the fifth century, it entered the heart of an ardent British youth, and, unrepressed and uncorrupted, grew and unfolded itself there as spontaneously and as beautifully as the flowers on his native hills; and that the sequel of this was a mission to Ireland, and the founding of those schools which, for many centuries, were the most flourishing institutions of theological and general learning in all Europe. These, and similar institutions in Scotland, exerted a powerful influence upon England. They constantly supplied her with scholars and teachers, and enriched her with literature and science; and the enthusiasm in letters thus awakened, led to the procuring of books from the dusty libraries of Rome and Gaul.

While this natural educational development was still going on in the seventh century, a bishop elect, who had been sent to Rome for ordination as primate of England, died by the way. The pope took it upon himself to send back in his place one Theodore of Tarsus, a man of ability and learning. But fearing to trust a man educated in the oriental church, among the intelligent and independent Englishmen, the pope sent back with him an Italian abbot, as a kind of overseer or spy. Fortunately, however, Theodore favored the scholars and the

learning of England, and not only that, but with his Italian companion traveled through the country, made arrangements for the establishment of schools, and greatly encouraged the already growing culture of the people. Under these influences a large class of educated men began to come upon the stage of action, and among them was the venerable Bede, who has been deservedly called, "The teacher of England." Bede was the instructor of Alcuin, who in his turn became the great teacher of his times. Alcuin, on account of the celebrity of his scholarship, was called to France, and became the teacher of the Emperor Charlemagne, and Charlemagne became the greatest patron of learning in his age, established schools throughout his empire, and laid the foundations of the Universities of Paris, Pavia and Bologna.

In a similar manner, Alfred of England, a century later, or at the close of the ninth century, taught by the scholars of his country, and thus imbued with a love of learning, became the patron of letters. In these two instances we see the learning, that sprang centuries before from the ardent piety of individual men, finally enthrone itself in the highest seats of national power. This was something new. It was Christian learning, for the first time, subduing and appropriating for its own more rapid progress, the power of the state. It was an advance beyond even the educational triumphs of the primitive Christianity. It was an earnest of what would be achieved, in this direction, in coming ages, when pure Christianity should obtain a more perfect and universal triumph. It was a faint betokening of that yet farther and brighter hereafter, when the kingdom of Christ shall subdue all things unto itself.

But the fullness of time had not yet come. The revival of letters, in the times of Charlemagne and Alfred, was like the too early bursting of the spring buds. The Dark Ages were the Winter of Christianity. Its progress, during this period, was not, in any great degree, external and demonstrative. The organic processes that were going on, were for the most part hidden and silent. Much of the learning, as we have seen, was cloister learning. Other educational movements rose far away on the lonely borders of Europe. Twice only did they reach, in any marked degree, the great centres of national power, and then only to be driven back immediately, in the

one case by the devastation of war, and in the other by an unfavorable civil government.

But the Spring time was coming. All these under-ground and silent educational processes were not in vain. These long lines of separate development at last met, united their forces, and burst upon the world in that great revival of learning which occurred in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; when the far-famed scholastic theology reached its dizzy height; when a score, more or less, of universities were founded in Europe every century, and schools without number; when there were ten thousand law students gathered at Bologna, and thirty thousand students at Paris, and thirty thousand at Oxford; when the literature of the East, which had been brought to the West by the Crusaders, and imported by the Arabs through Spain, was ransacked and studied as never before, by thousands of eager scholars, and the works of the Christian Fathers, and the Greek and Roman classics were made as familiar as household words; and when great men, as Anselm, Abelard, and Thomas Aquinas, thought and wrote for all the coming ages.

Christianity here, at last reached a height of development in education and learning corresponding to that which it reached in the East in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was longer about it than in the first instance; for it had different material to work with. It found nothing here, in the way of letters and culture, made to its hand. It had to create every thing. It had to transfer all the ancient learning into several barbarian languages. It had to create a new literature, new institutions, and a new culture throughout. And yet, in spite of all this and other hinderances, it triumphed at last, and not only that, but it reached, in this case, a higher and more perfect stage of intellectual development, than in the fourth and fifth centuries. And I submit, from what has been said, even, that in all this long and mighty development, the grand, vital force has been the Word and the Spirit, a living Christianity unfolding itself in this direction, as well as in others, according to its own inherent laws.

The great revival of learning of which I have spoken, which occurred in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, did not by any means remove the difficulties in

the way of a free and normal unfolding of Christianity. It took place rather in spite of those difficulties. It did not purify the church of its corruption. It did not destroy its false organization, that enormous ecclesiastical centralization that repressed everywhere the free life and growth of Christianity. But that revival of learning was in direct antagonism to the policy and tendencies of Rome. It foreboded a great conflict. It cleared the way for the Reformation. It furnished men with the intellectual armor and discipline necessary for the coming contest. Above all, it nourished the spirit of freedom. The great Universities of Paris and Oxford, born not of Rome, but of the freer, purer Christianity of the North, could not be made to submit themselves entirely to the great ecclesiastical power that sought to control them. They boldly nurtured the spirit of reform. They often proclaimed truths and principles, and defended them in open debate, which were in direct opposition to the doctrines of Papacy. They were a great torment to tyrannical popes and cardinals. They were the avowed exponents of the independent spirit which quite generally prevailed in the North. Connected with Universities were most of the men who led the way in resisting the tyranny of Rome. Thus, in the middle of the thirteenth century, a learned divine in the University of Paris, William of Amour, boldly defended the ancient freedom of the University, now against the attack of the monks, and now against the dicta of the Pope. Half a century later, we find the chancellor of the University, the renowned and learned Gerson, standing forth as the champion of ecclesiastical councils, boldly defending their authority as superior to that of the Pope. Greater and more daring reformers still were Wickliffe at the University of Oxford, and Huss at the University of Prague. The intensest intellectual life, and the highest scholarship of that age, were found in immediate connection with the freest, purest piety.

Again, the great educational movements, and the general awakening of the human mind, resulting from the *Protestant Reformation*, mark a yet higher stage of the mighty development which we are tracing. It is a fine illustration of the organic connection between Christianity and learning, that that tide of spiritual life which, beginning here and there with individual men, and rising higher and extending wider in

Europe for two hundred years, at last brought on the Reformation, was accompanied all along its course with intense intellectual activity. Men of great learning, as well as of great piety, such as Robert Grossthead, and Roger Bacon, and Richard Armacan, prepared the way for Wickliffe and Huss. And Wickliffe and Huss, men of the highest scholarship and intellectual power, prepared the way for Luther, and Zwingle, and Calvin, and Cranmer, and Knox. That great wave of spiritual life, that, rolling through several centuries, at last broke amidst the surge and thunder of the Reformation, all along its passage bore high upon its crest men unsurpassed in their times as scholars and thinkers ; men especially of terrible power in intellectual combat, before whose steel in the tournament of debate no man living could stand. The Word and the Spirit, thus acting upon individual men through successive generations, in spite of all the difficulties encountered in those ages, at last developed an intellectual power in the world which all the might of Rome could not match. Thus the crisis was brought on, and the Reformation began.

The Reformation itself was a great revival of Christianity. We should, therefore, naturally expect, if the view I am advocating is correct, that it would be immediately followed by correspondingly great intellectual movements. And this is what actually took place. The reformers began at once to busy themselves about the education of the people. Luther recommended the establishment of libraries in every town. In 1528, he and Melancthon drew up a plan of studies for common schools, which was followed in Germany until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The present gymnasia in Germany, answering to our colleges, had their origin in the Reformation. Zwingle and Calvin were likewise zealous promoters of learning. The latter was himself a great teacher, and at one time gave instruction to a thousand students. He also "caused the erection of a splendid edifice for the gymnasium of Geneva, to which eight distinguished professors of Hebrew, Greek, Philosophy, and Theology were invited." In France the Protestants established thirty-two colleges, every province in the kingdom, with a single exception, being supplied with one or more ; and also at least one parochial school was established in connection with every church in the land.

In England, likewise, great zeal was awakened in behalf of education, and an immense amount of funds was contributed for the endowment of schools, and for other educational purposes. Oxford and Cambridge were reformed ; and although they suffered at first, from the revolutionary process, yet, in the end, were greatly benefited. And the great schools of Eton, and Rugby, and Harrow were begun. In Scotland, also, the Reformation produced similar results. A parochial system of education was established through the efforts of John Knox and his associates, "who determined that every parish in the kingdom should be supplied with a school sufficient for the whole population, as well as with a church for divine worship." And under the same influence the University of Edinburgh was founded.*

But these distinctively educational movements, which have done so much for the intellectual elevation of modern Europe, and of a large portion of the world beyond Europe, do not by any means exhaust the intellectual benefits of the Reformation. That great revival of Christianity created in Germany a language and literature destined to exert a world-wide and lasting influence. The Bible translated by Luther, became the standard of German prose. The writings of Calvin disclosed the resources of the French language, and made it, as has been well said, "a powerful, polemical tongue." The English version of the Bible performed a similar work for the English language and culture, and the English literature rose at once to the height of its Elizabethan splendor. The arts and sciences advanced with rapid strides. Invention fol-

* "With the Reformation," says Mr. Morell, "a new era commenced in the educational history of Europe. * * * Hitherto men had been quietly led by authority ; now they were to be guided by their own convictions ; and consequently it was a matter of supreme moment that those convictions should be rightly and wisely formed. With the spread of the Reformation, accordingly, the fact dawned upon the mind, that the universal exercise of private judgment must be accompanied by the universal education of those who were to employ it. Without this, it was seen that the work of reformation would be wholly incomplete ; for of what use would be the appeal to individual convictions, so long as the people were too benighted to have any ? Of what avail the right of private judgment, so long as the masses of mind around them had no judgment at all ? With the Reformation then, *the imperative necessity of educating the whole mass of society, from the highest to the lowest, first grew into a clear conviction.* All the great efforts for accomplishing that end date their origin from this period."

lowed invention, and discovery, discovery, in quick succession. Great intellectual energy every where pervaded the masses of the people. Never before was there such a general and thorough awakening of the human mind. And Europe is indebted to-day, for her countless institutions of learning, for her splendid literatures, her art and science, her high civilization, and all her intellectual elevation in the world, proximately to the Reformation, but really to that comparatively pure and free Christianity of which the Reformation was only a revival.

From this hasty glance at the intellectual developments of Christianity in modern Europe, I pass at once to the similar developments of it in our own country. Here it found itself again in circumstances, in many respects, entirely new. In the first centuries, Christianity unfolded itself in the midst of the highest Pagan civilization of the world. In the second great period of its history, it took barbarian nations as wild and heathenish, probably, as any that ever existed, and with such material began to work; and after centuries of slow progress, the lofty civilization of Protestant Europe is the splendid result. But in this country Christianity took neither civilized Pagans, nor wild barbarians, but a Christian people at the start. It took an enlightened Christian nation in its germ. Nay, it wrought out the germ itself, in the great Protestant Reformation in Europe, and transplanted it to these shores, where it might unfold itself more freely and naturally, than it ever could amidst the tyrannies, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Old World; thus connecting, organically, its work *here*, with that reaching back through all the Christian centuries in the Old World. Christianity, therefore, here really entered upon a distinct period of its development. And thus we come to the historical position of our own educational system and institutions. They are the last, in the order of nature, which Christianity has yet produced. They are the result of a great historic process,—a process which has been growing mightier and grander through all the Christian era. It reached one culmination, in the fourth and fifth centuries, in the East; and another and a higher, in the great revival of learning, and the subsequent intellectual splendor accompanying and following the Reformation, in Europe. And now here, in the yet farther

and freer West, we have, in the comparatively short space of about two hundred years, another educational unfolding of Christianity, which we cannot believe is unworthy of its historical position. It is certainly of vast proportions and of vast power. Its bare statistics would fill a volume ; and in many particulars, it already surpasses all previous similar results of Christianity.

It will answer my present purpose to notice, briefly, three characteristics of this great educational development.

And first, Christianity, in this last unfolding of itself, has been surpassingly prolific in institutions of learning, one leading characteristic of which is, that they are *free*. They bend the knee to no earthly power. They exist in cringing subserviency to no despotism, civil or ecclesiastical. Our theological seminaries, our colleges and common schools, have sprung spontaneously from the Christianity of the people, and thus far they have been left to be freely controlled by the organic power from which they sprang. Their growth is therefore natural, free. Never before were institutions of learning so entirely in the hands of the people. In some of the States, the civil government, it is true, seems to take the initiative in promoting education, inasmuch as it requires, by law, schools of a certain kind and length to be kept in every neighborhood. It also charters our higher institutions of learning. But in this country the people make the government, and therefore *they* virtually originate and control the whole system of education. The educational institutions of Prussia, of world-wide reputation, are not free ; they are in the hands of the government. The government educates the people for itself, in a great degree ; not so much for their good and the good of the world. The whole system is too mechanical. Its very source is artificial. And this is one of the chief reasons why Prussia, with her massive system of education and her great learning, has yet never taken any leading part in the enterprise and civilization of the world. Our educational institutions, on the other hand, springing, not from the government, but from the Christianity that lives and throbs in the hearts of the people, are more vital and organic. They are more normal, and therefore must be better. They are already seen to be more powerful in their influence upon individual

and national character, and to be more closely connected with the enterprise and general progress of the age, than are the governmental systems of education in Europe. Should pure Christianity ever die in our country, (which may God forbid,) some artificial source of education might take its place, and would for a time, perhaps, be better than none. But educational institutions, with such an origin, will always be found to be strangely wanting in vitality, and comparatively powerless in energizing and elevating humanity.

Again, Christianity in our country, unfolding itself more naturally and freely than ever before on so large a scale, has given us institutions of learning in unusual harmony with all other institutions around them, civil and religious. There is a beautiful interdependence among them, constituting a perfect unity, as if they all came from the same source, and were fashioned by the same power. Our form of popular government would not long exist without a system of popular education ; and *our* system of popular education would have but a brief continuance without a popular government. The comparatively free church politics which predominate in our country, for their successful working, demand an *intelligent* piety in laymen, and *intelligent* piety in laymen will almost invariably demand a comparatively free church polity. The whole circle of our eleemosynary institutions can thrive only as there is knowledge enough among the people to appreciate their necessity and worth ; and the general knowledge of the people is greatly augmented by the appeals which our charitable institutions, almost limitless in kind and number, are constantly making to their intelligence. But *why* this mutual dependence, and this harmony among all our institutions, civil, religious, charitable, and educational? The explanation is to be found in the fact that they all come from the same source. In our country, Christianity took a Christian nation in its germ, and freely, comparatively speaking, developed all its institutions. Hence their harmony ; hence the perfect system which they all together constitute, each dependent upon all, and yet all exulting in their individual freedom. Institutions of learning here are among their own kindred. They are at home. Never before have they enjoyed such congenial, helpful family connections. Hence their growth is natural and vigorous. And

in this we have one fine illustration of their superiority, as compared with similar institutions in former ages. In this respect, as in others, they are not only the last, but the ripest and fairest fruit of the kind which Christianity has yet borne.

Again, Christianity, in this latest stage of its growth, has given us institutions of learning, one leading characteristic of which is, their interdependence, and their completeness as a system. In some ages and countries universities have comprised nearly all the educational facilities offered to the people. But Christianity, in its free action, furnishes ample provisions for popular education. Recently, many have zealously advocated the claims of common schools, but spoken comparatively in disparagement of higher institutions of learning. The college, especially, they have regarded as a kind of needless appendage to our educational system. But Christianity is wiser. In its free working, it has always given, as soon as any other institution, *the college*, or something equivalent. It does not, as some suppose, develop first the primary school as a mere aid to parental instruction; and then the grammar school out of the primary school; and next, the academy out of the grammar school; and finally, the college and professional school out of the academy. It develops them all together. He who advocates a fragment of this system, to the disparagement of the rest, belongs to the ninth, not to the nineteenth century. The college is as necessary to the primary schools, as the primary schools are to the college.

Christ himself gave the type or pattern, which Christianity, in its free and natural unfolding, has ever since followed. As soon as he began to instruct the *people*, he founded the *College* of the Apostles, as a means of supplying well-trained teachers. And in the age immediately succeeding that of Christ and the Apostles, great seats of learning, as those of Alexandria, and Antioch, and Edessa, seem to have sprung up as early as the subordinate schools designed for children and youth. Patricius, also, in Ireland, established, as soon as any, schools of the highest rank, in order that he might furnish accomplished teachers to instruct the people. And twelve centuries later, on these far-off shores of New England, we find Christianity developing itself by the same law. Only eighteen years after the landing of the Plymouth colony, and only eight

years after the landing of the Massachusetts Bay colony, Harvard College was founded. And in our own day, far away to the West, as fast as new Territories and States are formed, new colleges spring up. Some lament this rapid multiplication of higher institutions of learning ; but history teaches us that it is inevitable, as surely as we give free play to a pure Christianity. It is thought by many that our colleges, because they are so numerous, are small and feeble, and suffer exceedingly in comparison with the great and richly endowed universities of Europe. But the universities of Europe are, some of them, nine or ten centuries old. Our oldest university, on the other hand, has not yet reached its two hundred and twenty-fifth year. Yale is only a little more than a century and a half old. Brown and Dartmouth have not yet celebrated their centennials. Williams College is only sixty-seven years old, and Amherst only thirty-nine. And all the colleges in our western States are in their early infancy. The Universities of Paris and Oxford, now so mighty in their vast endowments, and encircled with such a mystic antiquarian glory, what were they, when they were no older than our colleges ? They were so insignificant, that it is now impossible to trace that period of their history. The feeblest of our collegiate institutions cannot suffer in the comparison. And moreover, when the Universities of Paris and Oxford were only a hundred or two years old, they two were the only universities in all Europe, while we have, to-day, at least one hundred and twenty-five colleges, more than a hundred of which have been founded within the last three-quarters of a century.

But take the Universities of Paris and Oxford, even in that period of their great prosperity, the first half of the thirteenth century, when thirty thousand students crowded the halls of each ; we find that they comprised, at that time, nearly all the educational facilities of their respective countries. " Boys, and even children," we are told, were numbered among the thirty thousand students of Oxford. They were placed in this great school, doubtless, because there was such a poverty of subordinate or common schools at that time in England. And the educational interests of France, beyond the great seat of learning in her metropolis, were also in a most deplorable condition. To institute, therefore, a fair comparison between those seats

of learning at that period, and the corresponding educational facilities of our country at the present time, we must bring forward, not one of our young colleges, with its two or three hundred students, but all our colleges, and all our schools and academies, and then we shall have nearly four millions of students to place by the side of the thirty thousand of Oxford or Paris. It is by such a comparison that we perceive the true and enormous advance which the educational developments of Christianity have made in this last period of the long history we have traced. We see where we are;—to what we have attained. The great number of our educational institutions; their even distribution over the country; the spontaneousness and rapidity with which they every where spring up, all kinds at once; the common school, in all its grades; the college; and the professional school,—constituting a complete system in every small section of the country,—are features which we look in vain for in any previous period of history. This educational development, so widely and evenly diffused over the country, is not demonstrative. It makes but little noise in the world. The mightiest forces always work the most silently. There is no centralization of its power, and therefore it makes no great show. It has more of the quiet, free air of Galilee about it, than of the pride and pomp of Jerusalem; more of the wild beauty of the hills of Ireland, in the days of Patricius, than of the artificial splendor of Rome. But in this is the hiding of its power. In the stillness and security of Galilee, in hidden and quiet retreats in the north of Europe, Christianity, in earlier ages, unfolded beautifully, mightily, in the direction of education and learning. So in later times, far away from the powers and tyrannies of the Old World, her vast but uncongenial civil and ecclesiastical centralizations, on the wild shores, and in the free air of this distant and unappropriated country, Christianity has begun again to unfold itself in the same direction, freely, naturally, but on a far larger scale, and more rapidly and mightily than ever before.

But this process has but just begun here. Is it to continue? Is it now to go on until it reaches *here*, the promised millennial culmination? Or is it to be arrested, turned back, and Christianity left to reproduce it, on a still larger scale, and with more freedom and power, in yet some other land and clime? This

is the great question ;—a question which it is the lofty mission of this Benevolent Society to aid in solving. If the churches, under the stimulus of Christian faith and love, shall continue to create and sustain colleges ; if a free and living Christianity shall be *permitted* to pervade our institutions of learning, and to control them according to her own laws ; if the mother shall be allowed to nourish her own offspring ; if the Bible, and revivals of religion, and Christian teachers animated with the lofty purpose of educating men for God and eternity, shall continue to be found, in our schools and colleges ; then the promised millennial triumph will come *here*. Not otherwise.

I go up and down the great aisles of history, and every where I find the highest intellectual life springing fresh from the highest spiritual life ; and that wherever spiritual life dies, intellectual life dies with it. The Greek and Roman culture quickly outgrew the false polytheistic religions out of which it sprang, then culminated, then perished. The Mohammedan religion furnished a brief stimulus to the intellectual life of the followers of the Prophet. But that religion was false, soon began to die, and the Arabic culture perished with it. But Christianity never dies. It leaves one place only to plant itself and grow with more vigor in another. Impeded, and crushed, and seemingly annihilated in one clime or age, it bursts forth in other climes, or ages, with fresher life, on a larger scale, and with more might and majesty than before. But all up and down its great history, whenever the intellectual culture and the institutions of learning which it has evolved, have, in any way, become dissevered from it, they have either utterly perished, or have become dead and barren, like limbs dissevered from the tree that bore them. Thus perished those great seats of learning that, in the first centuries, flourished in Africa and in the East. Thus perished the universities of Spain, and the monastic and cathedral schools of the Middle Ages. And, to-day, much of the culture of Europe, and many of her institutions of learning, languish from the same cause. How long the art of Italy, the science of France, and the learning of Germany would go on from the mere momentum which they have already received, if they should become entirely dissevered from the Christianity out of which they grew, it is impossible to tell. But not long. The

atheism of the French Revolution destroyed, in two or three years, for the time being, all the schools of France. The rationalistic infidelity which reached its culminating point, a few years since, in Germany, had already emptied her churches, and in a few years more would have emptied her universities. It is affirmed by the highest authority, that the University of Oxford, with all her wealth and glory, is to-day, in most of her leading departments, not equal to a third-rate school ; and that simply because of the semi-Papal or Puseyite influence that controls her.

And now, here, in our own country, where Christianity has put forth her last, freest, best educational development, we have only to cut the branch from the tree, to see it wither and die. Begin to separate, as much as possible, our institutions of learning from all the influences of a free and vital Christianity ; take the Bible from our schools ; put a stop to revivals in our colleges ; allow no teachers of earnest, evangelical, working piety to teach in any of our schools or seminaries ; away with the annual day of fasting and prayer for colleges ; disband this noble Society, instituted for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education in the rising Empire of the West ; cut, one after another, all the threads of organic, spiritual influence which now bind our whole educational system to the freest, purest Christianity that pulsates in the land ;—do this, and you shall see all our institutions of learning, from the primary school to the university, all this beautiful verdure and bloom of Christianity, perish, as the tender leaf and flowers perish, when you have plucked them from the stem that bore them.

I have seen, in the primeval forests of northern New England, a huge oak, towering up in its native majesty, the slow growth of centuries. Around its ponderous trunk, here and there, could be detected *scars*, where once thrifty limbs shot out, which, however, in some way, lost their vital connection with the tree, then died, dropped off, and perished forever. Farther up were limbs, dry and dead, unsightly things, still holding their place on the tree, but destined soon to fall, and rot, as others had done before them. But high up above all these were great branches, more mighty than the tree had ever borne before, stretching far away to the skies, and waving their living green in proud triumph over all the forest.

So Christianity in the world is the majestic growth of centuries. Churches, institutions of learning, all external organizations which grow out of it, when they lose their vital connection with it, sooner or later perish. Many branches of this tree, in past ages, have, in one way and another, become dis-severed from it, and have passed away, leaving scarcely a trace of their existence. Others, dead or dying, still hold their place and name ; but they are only waiting the same doom. Their very memory shall rot. But high above all these, this tree has put forth, in these last times, great branches, which are still waving in proud triumph their living verdure and bloom over the nations. These, too, may perish. God only knows. They certainly will, unless some lessons are learned from the great teachings of the past. But if they do perish, then yet other branches, fairer and of more majestic proportions, shall put forth from this same wondrous tree, and they shall canopy the world, and all nations shall repose beneath them, amidst the millennial blessings of purity, peace, freedom, and knowledge.

A D D R E S S

DELIVERED AT THE

CONSECRATION

OF

The Lake Grove Cemetery,

Holliston, Mass.,

J U N E 1 , 1 8 6 0 ,

BY

The Rev. J. C. BODWELL,

OF FRAMINGHAM.



HOLLISTON:

E. G. PLIMPTON, PRINTER.

1860.

A D D R E S S .

MY FRIENDS !

WE are assembled for the performance of a service dignified and grave, yet by no means sad,—to consecrate a resting-place for those who sleep. The spot is singularly beautiful, and all the better adapted to the purpose for which, henceforth, it is to be held sacred. A sweet picture, on which time works no decay, leaves not a single faded tint ; just now re-touched by the great Master, living and lustrous in its summer glory, as fresh as when it came new from that great Master's hand. A picture which was not finished in a day. These hills, with their graceful undulations and ample curves, sloping to the lake—bright mirror for the morning star, “Winnikening,” smile of the great Spirit,—gray rocks with their mossy beard, and trees, sweet chesnut, oak, evergreen walnut and silver maple, pleasant awning to this soft, leafy bed ;—who can tell us how many ages passed away, or what mighty convulsions, up-heavings, transformations, took place after this picture of magnificence was begun, and before it was finished, as we behold it to-day ! A spot on which might fitly be reared a palace

for a king : Solomon in all his glory could have added no embellishment which would not have rested gracefully on this handy-work of God. A spot on which regal taste and opulence might never grow weary in constructing gardens of pleasure :— where men might love to dwell in their happiest moods, and the merry voice of children would blend in a sweet unison with the song of spring-birds, or make a pleasant harmony on the brightest summer day.

We are assembled, nevertheless, to fence it off forever from the labors of the husbandman, the noise of commerce and all the precincts of living men, and to set it apart for the silent and perpetual abode of those who pass away. These spacious and beautiful grounds, traversed already by graceful avenues and already marked off for individual proprietorship and occupancy, are sacred and dedicate, from this hour, as the exclusive domain of the dead.

If the object were to ensure for this charming spot, in perpetuity, the most diligent and varied annual culture, with ever-accumulating accessions of architectural elegance and picturesque embellishment, you could not do it so effectually in any other way. The proudest monuments of a living ambition crumble to a swift decay ; the sweetest pictures about the habitations of the living fade, often, in a single generation, and lapse into barrenness, or perish by the remorseless ploughshare of commercial enterprise : but that which we give to the

dead is sacred forever to verdure, and fragrance, and repose. From this day onward no other spot of equal area in your pleasant town will so certainly and so rapidly advance in a varied and sweet attractiveness as this. Whoever would regale his sense with the first fragrant hyacinth that marks the return of spring will seek it here. The crocus, and daffodil, and polyanthus, loosed from their ice-bound, wintry graves, will have their first resurrection here. Nowhere in the gardens of the living will the rose and the honeysuckle be decked in more brilliant hues, or exhale richer perfumes than in this spacious garden of the dead. No other avenues shall wind among finer overhanging trees, or tempt the feet of those who can appreciate the handywork of God, by a more delicious shade. All this is made a thousand times more sure than any deed of trust or statute of the Commonwealth could make it by the purest and most steadfast affection of the human heart, that which we cherish for those who have passed forever away.

There is a certain summer day when, among the green hills and mountains of South Wales, in the rustic church-yard of the hamlet and the crowded cemetery of the city alike, every grave is profusely decked with fresh flowers, to wither and droop with the setting sun of that summer day, as the sleepers beneath withered and drooped, late or long ago. Nor will you ever hear from those sweet singers, the ancient Britons, a richer song

than when the serried procession of friends and neighbors moves, with solemn steps and slow, to such a hallowed spot, chanting plaintively one of their pleasant Sabbath hymns :—

“I would not live away—live away below !
 O no, I'll not linger, when bidden to go ;
 The days of our pilgrimage, granted us here,
 Are enough for life's woes, full enough for its cheer.
 Would I shrink from the paths which the prophets of God,
 Apostles and martyrs so joyfully trod ?
 While brethren and friends are all hastening home,
 Like a spirit unblest o'er the earth would I roam ?”

We never love so truly and so tenderly the friends God gives us here, as when they have gone before us to the land of silence ; we never do for them a gentle office with less admixture of selfishness than when we plant flowers around their graves. The modern improvements in our places of burial are, therefore, one of the most simple and beautiful operations of the great law of love in human hearts, and so a sure sign of advancing civilization. The dreary and repulsive aspect of the early graveyards of New England was an accident of circumstances, and in no sense an illustration of puritan character. Our fathers were men of a singularly varied and extensive culture, full of warm affections and genial sympathies, elegant in their tastes, and of mature and large scholarship. They came to the wilderness from the homes of love and beauty. The primrose, and the lark, and the green hill-side, and the murmuring stream, were among the companions and teach-

ers of their childhood, and treasured memories of all their following years. As they hollowed the first rude graves, and laid tenderly to rest, with the grand requiem of the sea, their Rose Standishes and their Madam Bradfords, did they not bitterly remember the graceful yew tree and the decent monument, the green velvet-turf and smooth gravel paths, where their fathers and mothers were sleeping, with the venerable church and ivy-mantled tower, hard by? They could not forget; but men whose daily lot it was to contend with the undefined terrors of the wilderness, and the still more formidable inertness of glebe unbroken, and "forest primeval," had small time, and, very likely, small inclination to make pictures. They who had much ado to provide a comfortable habitation for the living, could hardly have been expected to prepare picturesque abodes for their dead, albeit nobody ever loved their dead with an intenser love than they. It is no less than a grievous wrong to the memory of those same puritan fathers, and it is one of a cluster of wrongs, that we, their degenerate children, have been so slow to vindicate their taste and culture, by embellishing that which their mighty faith redeemed from the desert-gloom of a thousand years, and rendered habitable for either living or dead. Had those men lived till now, they would have been our teachers in æsthetics, as they are our teachers and examples in all the sturdy attributes of a manly and heroic Christian character; and many a thing of beauty, which

we are only now cautiously beginning to plan, would have been finished by their plastic skill long ago. When the hand of taste and art, moved by a heart of love, shall have added to this spot, which we are assembled to dedicate, whatever is most in harmony with its ample and varied natural beauty, the whole will be a growth and development of the grand old puritan character hardly less than the churches and schools and colleges of New England.

I know you will not be content to regard these grounds, with all their prospective and appropriate improvements, as merely the heart's beautiful expression of love for its dead. You will be ever seeking to trace amid these living pictures the perennial record of some particular truth in relation to man and his destiny.

What shall it be? That death and the grave are no fit subject for any but the most pleasant associations, to those who view the matter aright, in the light of philosophy and Christianity? That there is nothing at all which should awaken gloom; but that, even as an infant child slumbers sweetly when its little day of pastime is ended, in the curtained chamber whose walls are hung with cheerful pictures, even so, when our life's brief day is succeeded by evening shades, and we lie down to rest, all around these silent halls should be as balmy as the breath of summer, and as beautiful and bright as summer flowers?

Alas, the first bereaved heart that comes hither with its dead will dissipate forever all such gossamer illusions

as that! No, death, to all living, is a gigantic evil, always and everywhere man's most dreaded foe. All his attributes are terrible. The eldest born of sin, you cannot invest him with attractiveness, you cannot make him otherwise than stern and awful in his aspect. His eye is cruel malice, his hand is hard and cold, his presence withers every flower, consumes all fruitfulness, his very breath is contagion, and his slightest touch pain, and faintness, and blasting, and desolation. Sorry companionship is that of death and the grave for summer beauty and song of birds, fragrant flowers and ripening fruits! Search out in the heavens and the earth and the deep seas, and tell us, what is more bitter than death, what is more cruel than the grave? Ask the young mother as she waters with her plentiful tears the fresh rose-buds she is leaving on the grave of her first-born; or let the young wife answer, bending in agony over her husband's coffin.

We are here, nevertheless, with the express purpose to dedicate this most attractive spot as the peculiar and exclusive habitation of death, a land of graves. Shall it not, for all that, be more beautiful than ever, and grow in beauty year by year? Shall not the birds sing among these branches their richest song, and rear in leafy arbors, their happy young? All the long summer gayest flowers shall bloom, under glorious skies and crystal showers; the air shall be filled with fragrance; autumn shall put on her magnificent attire;

and winter snows, spread, as an ample covering, above the ever growing multitude of the sleepers, shall sparkle in the sun, exceeding beautiful in its celestial whiteness.

These things are fitting all, most fitting, as the decorations of the grave, the dreary, silent, remorseless grave. The close intermingling of things so diverse is not a sentiment, nor an illusion, but a simple truth, which all men believe and know, because it is taught them by every day's experience from age to age, since the beginning of the world. It is, that ever since the expulsion from Eden death makes his relentless raid continually into all the precincts of beauty and fruitfulness and joy. It needed no Christ, no Plato to teach us this.

"Death rides on every passing breeze,
And lurks in every flower ;
Each season has its own disease,
Its peril every hour."

Into every dwelling place of the living he comes alike, the abode of many children, and the home of the newly married ; the cottage of the lowly, the gilded chambers of the rich, the palaces of kings. You cannot have failed to note a beautiful and touching memorial of this fact in the burial of Jesus. When the dark crime of Judas had reached its frightful consummation, and a resting place was to be secured for the dead body descending from the cross, we are told, in the simple eloquence of the Bible, that "in the place where he was

crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre. There laid they Jesus." In the garden a new sepulchre ! So is it always and everywhere on this sin-stricken earth, and it is no more than a becoming recognition of this truth that you decorate these grounds, and set them apart forever, a resting place for your dead.

There is another, and still higher truth of which man's tender regard for the dead is, unconsciously, it may be, an expression and indelible record. In our hearts' deep affection our friends never live so truly as when they have passed away from our sight. These shady arbors, with their sculptured monuments, will tell that it is only a partial and temporary dominion of death we acknowledge. No shrine to annihilation and dreary non-existence shall be erected here. When Jairus comes weeping and inscribes on the pale marble "MY DAUGHTER !" and shades it with rose, and myrtle, and branches ever green, does he know and understand that this is only the unfolding of a scroll on which God has written "The maid is not dead, but sleepeth !" This old and ineffaceable hand-writing of God in human hearts hath been overspread by dense, ever-thickening shadows, as when the darkness of a clouded and gloomy midnight blots out the beautiful landscape ;—buried deep under the accumulating debris of sin, like the records of Nineveh and Herculaneum. Christ, in the gospel, dissipates the darkness, brings to light the buried

record; and then we read, in the clear beam of this rising sun, "LIFE AND IMMORTALITY!"

This spacious cemetery, then, which we consecrate to-day, shall be far more than a peaceful receptacle for lifeless forms returning to their kindred dust: it shall be far more than a spot where the children of sorrow shall remember blighted hopes and perished joys: a broad and pictured tablet it shall be, on which shall be read, in the bright sunbeam, evermore, the ample and ineffaceable inscription of the great truth of man's immortality. All of life and beauty that is here shall be so many sweet symbols. With each returning spring-time the clothing anew of the naked branches in a rich and abundant foliage will foreshadow the day when the sleepers underneath shall be "clothed upon, and mortality be swallowed up of life," and all the merry spring birds will sing it in their song. He who comes hither, and, with a gentle hand, deposits the dry and withered seed in its little grave, and from that little grave there rises up what he planted, in such new body as God giveth, living and fragrant and beautiful, shall hear a voice saying to his heart, "So also is the resurrection of the dead." The winter so cold and dreary, when the foliage is faded and fallen, and the birds have ceased to sing, and all is desolation and death, how quickly it passes away, and a new creation envelopes us! That withered seed which you buried, the shadows of the night fell upon it and there was nothing to mark the

spot where it lay ; but lo, in a little while, it re-appears, in a marvelous symmetry and grace, of which there was no prophecy in that which you buried. "So also is the resurrection of the dead !"

"A little while, a little while,
And the dark grave shall yield its trust ;
Yea, render every atom up
Of human dust."

"Sown in corruption ; raised in incorruption : " "sown in weakness ; raised in power : " "this mortal " clothed with "immortality ;" and "death swallowed up in victory."

You did not send for me to preach, and I am not going to do it, neither is there any need. The sermon is in the occasion, and many times more eloquent and impressive than I could give. When the present service is ended, and we retire from these grounds, can we forget how soon some who are here now will come again, not as they came to-day, but borne by weeping friends, to be laid in the narrow bed for the long, long sleep : and how rapidly, when the first grave shall have been opened to receive its tenant, this silent assembly, gathered one by one from among the living, will become a great multitude ?

Who shall come hither first to take possession for the dead ? Age, with its weariness and its locks of gray, or the rosy infant ; manhood in its prime, or youth in

its early bloom ; parent or child ; brother or sister ;
the bridegroom or the bride, who can tell ?

Are we not reminded, too, of many things which Jesus and his prophets and apostles spake concerning our character and conduct here, as affecting our destiny far and forever beyond the grave ? “Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.” “There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.” “Marvel not at this : for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth : they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil”—what should their resurrection be ? “I am the resurrection and the life ; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live ; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.”

“Oh that each in the day of his coming may say,
‘I have fought my way through ;
I have finished the work thou didst give to do :’
Oh that each from his Lord may receive the glad word,
‘Well and faithfully done !
Enter into my joy and sit down on my throne !’”

APPENDIX.

At a town meeting held Oct. 3d, 1859, permission was given to locate a cemetery on the West shore of Winthrop Pond, on the spot designated by the Commissioners for the purpose, the Hon. Levi Lincoln, and the Hon. John S. Sleeper. At a meeting of the stockholders in the newly located cemetery, held on Oct. 26th, pursuant to a warrant duly served by A. Leland, Esq., Justice of the Peace, in and for the County of Middlesex, the association organized as a corporation under a constitution, and with the following Board of Trustees.

GEO. E. JOHNSON,
S. MORSE CUTLER,
SETH THAYER,
CHAS. C. JEWETT,

LUTHER BELLOWS,
AUSTIN G. FITCH,
WM. R. THAYER.

At an adjourned meeting, it was unanimously voted ; that, "The rural cemetery recently established on the West side of Winthrop Lake shall be called, and known by the name of 'Lake Grove.'"

Lake Grove is situated about one mile South of the Town House. The tract of land was purchased of Uriel Cutler, S. Morse Cutler, and Elijah Kingsbury, and is about 18½ acres in extent. Easy access from Highland St. is furnished by a thoroughly made avenue. The soil is rich, and the surface of the land diversified by hills and dells. The natural growth of trees consists of chestnuts, oaks, maples, walnuts and pines. Lake Winthrop, which bounds the grounds on the East, contains about 400 acres, and presents a shore line picturesquely varied by height and inlet. The avenues and

walks have been tastefully laid out under the supervision of Robert Murry, landscape gardener.

Lake Grove was consecrated with religious services Friday, June 1st, 1860. Although the weather was unfavorable, the two previous days having been rainy, and the day of consecration being overcast, a large concourse assembled at the hour to join in the procession formed on the grounds. The Reading of Scriptures and the Prayers were strikingly appropriate to the interesting and solemn occasion, and the singing of the hymns by the united choirs of the town was of rare excellence and beauty. A chaste and hallowed recollection of the day will linger in the minds of all present.

The following was the order of services of the consecration,

I.—INVOCATION. By Rev. D. Richards.

II.—READING OF SCRIPTURES. By Rev. T. Morong.

III.—HYMN. Selected and altered for the occasion.

Fair, sacred Grove, our feet are led
Up to thy solemn shades to-day,
To found a city for the dead,
From life's commotion far away.
Here Art with Nature will unite,
To fill the heart with pure delight.

A skilful hand these paths hath traced,
O'er hillocks green, through grove and lawn,
Where once the happy "red man" chased
The nimble deer and timid fawn,
Where oft he roamed, beneath this shade,
Shall we to our last rest be laid.

Along these paths will soon appear
The peaceful dwellings of the dead;
All ranks will find a level here,
One pillow and one common bed;
O'er all alike, the plaintive breeze
Will sweetly murmur through the trees.

The smiling lake the bank will lave,
Serenely calm as their deep sleep;
Its influence gently o'er the grave
Subdue the grief of those who weep,
And speak of peace on that far shore
Where we shall meet our loved once more.

God of this welcome summer day!
God of the living and the dead!
Vouchsafe thy presence; ever may
We by thy watchful care be led,
Till we shall mount to realms above
And know the fulness of thy love.

IV.—ADDRESS. By Rev. J. C. Bodwell.

V.—HYMN. Selected.

Home of the coming dead !
The spot whereon we tread
Is hallowed ground :
Here earth, in sacred trust
Shall hold their sleeping dust
Until her bonds they burst,
And rise unbound.

Here shall the weary rest,
And souls, with woes oppressed
No more shall weep :
And youth and age shall come,
And beauty in her bloom,
And manhood, to the tomb.
Sweet be their sleep.

Around their lowly bed
Shall flowers their fragrance shed,
And birds shall sing :
On every verdant mound
Love's offering shall be found,
And sighing trees around
Their shadows fling.

And there 's a holier light !
Hope, with her taper bright,
On every tomb,
Points upward to the sky :
There every tear is dry,
There is no mourner's sigh,
Nor death, nor gloom.

VI.—CONSECRATING PRAYER. By Rev. J. T. Tucker.

VII.—DOXOLOGY, L. M. Sung by the Congregation.

VIII.—BENEDICTION.

The first sale of lots was Saturday, June 2d.

The first interment was June 12th.

OLD AGE.

A

DISCOURSE

IN COMMEMORATION OF

SOLOMON STODDARD, ESQ.

OF NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

WHO DIED OCTOBER 16, 1860, IN THE NINETIETH YEAR OF
HIS AGE.

BY ZACHARY EDDY, D. D.

Pastor of the First Church in Northampton.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS ST.

1860.

DISCOURSE.

IN the year 1836 an old man died in the city of New York, whose name is, even to this hour, a hissing and a by-word throughout the civilized world. After a brilliant career as a soldier, a lawyer, and a politician,—after having filled the second office in the Republic during the usual term, he suddenly fell into a bottomless gulf of infamy, never more to rise. Stained with the blood of an illustrious statesman; baffled in all his subtle schemes and ambitious hopes; smitten with the curses of outraged husbands, injured fathers, and ruined victims; pursued by the execrations of a nation,—he went forth a second Cain, to wander to and fro on the face of the earth, from city to city, from country to country, distrusted, feared, hated, shunned by all good men and honorable women. At length, after a long and inglorious exile, he returned to wear out the miserable remnant of a ruined life in his native land. Childless, friendless and poor, without faith in God or man, uncheered by the sympathy of the good and pure, he traveled on, a lonely wayfarer, far down the

vale of years, till, at the age of fourscore, he lay down to die. He died as he had lived, a heartless, cunning dissembler. Though an infidel from his youth, he listened with affected devotion to the exhortations and prayers of the good though credulous clergyman who visited him in his last illness ; but he expressed no compunction for the voluptuous villanies of a long life, and he justified to the last the murder of Hamilton. When asked whether he had a good hope of pardon for the sake of the merits and righteousness of Christ, he answered with the skill of a practiced diplomatist: "*On that subject I am coy.*" One more word only passed his lips ere they were sealed forever—"MADAME!" So died AARON BURR, the son of an eminently godly father, the grandson of JONATHAN EDWARDS, the lineal descendant of SOLOMON STODDARD the second pastor of Northampton ; a remote relative, consequently, of the venerable and beloved man who has just been translated from our society to that of just men made perfect.

It is a startling contrast which is suggested by the mention of two such men in a single sentence. Both came of the best blood of puritan New England ; both were children of the covenant ; both were thoroughly instructed, in their early years, out of the Holy Scriptures ; both were liberally educated, the one at Yale College, the other at Nassau Hall ; both entered the legal profession ; both lived to extreme old age ; but with these points of comparison, all resemblance ends. The former

was brilliant, eloquent, versatile, daring ; the latter intelligent, judicious, sober-minded,—a grave gentleman of the puritanic school. The former was possessed with a boundless ambition,—greedy of power, of fame, even of notoriety ; the latter was modest, retiring, unobtrusive, shunning all display, shrinking from public notice, seeking and finding his happiness in a private station, and most of all, in his own peaceful and well-ordered household. The former, by manifest lack of principle, drew upon himself the mistrust and displeasure of the Father of his country ; the latter, during the whole of a long life, bore the character of A RIGHTEOUS MAN in whose integrity all who knew him reposed the most absolute confidence. Our venerable friend was as remarkable for spotless purity and faithfulness in all domestic and social relations, as was Aaron Burr for cold-blooded contempt and violation of the most sacred ties. The one was a sneering infidel, without God in the world ; the other was a humble Christian, walking with God like Enoch ; commanding his household after him like Abraham ; a man of prayer, offering daily the morning and evening incense ; hallowing the Sabbath, honoring the church of Christ, and walking in all His commandments blameless. The former was a scoffing Ishmael, driven out from the covenant household to wander in the desert ; the latter was an Isaac, meek-hearted, gentle, reverend,—the heir of the promise, of whom the Lord said, ‘In him shall the consecrated seed be called.’

Contemplate these so different men in old age. Burr, given up at length by a long-suffering wife, is charitably received into the boarding-house of a Scotch lady; but such is the infamy that clings to his name that her generosity is scandalously misinterpreted; and respectable guests shun the house as if it were infected. There he dies, unwept, unlamented. He is buried in ground consecrated by the relics of many illustrious saints; but that holy ground cannot protect the stone erected by stealth at his grave from being defaced by indignant hands. How this "poor old man, fourscore and upwards," must have been loathed while living, whose fresh grave was the object of abhorrence and insult!

Turn now to the revered patriarch who has just gone to his rest. Never was old age crowned with higher honor and felicity. Such was the reverent estimation in which he was held, by all classes of his fellow-citizens, that the very appearance of his erect and stately figure in the street was greeted with respectful courtesies and a general expression of pleasure. We are not aware that he had an enemy. During his declining years, the tender ministrations of filial piety softened every infirmity and lightened every burden. He was indeed singularly happy in his children, all of whom he saw walking in the steps of his faith. The two sons who were cut down in the midst of their years and usefulness, had already attained high distinction in the Christian world; one as a devo-

ted scholar, who laid his great stores of learning on the altar of Christ; the other as an apostolic missionary, who fell on the field of glory, true and faithful unto death. Father and sons have at length "clasped inseparable hands" on the Mount of God.

Our friend almost attained to fourscore years and ten; but a well-furnished mind, clear and vigorous till his last brief illness, and a serene, trustful, pious heart, enabled him to bear the burden of his great age not only with dignity but with a cheerful and buoyant spirit. His last years were mild and lovely as a summer evening. His sun went down without a cloud; and long will the memory of his gentle and righteous life linger among us like the soft effulgence of twilight. For long years to come, whenever we try to picture to ourselves a blessed and beautiful old age, the image of SOLOMON STODDARD will present itself to our mental vision; while that of AARON BURR, should it obtrude itself at all, will awaken emotions of loathing and horror.

The present is as fitting an occasion as a pastor could desire, to discourse on OLD AGE, a subject, one would think, of great interest and importance to all classes, but especially to the young. Could those of you who are in youth, or middle life, find out the art of growing old as gracefully and graciously as our excellent friend, it would be to you a very precious acquisition.

The following texts of Scripture will naturally introduce the topics which we purpose to illustrate and enforce.

THE RIGHTEOUS SHALL FLOURISH LIKE THE PALM TREE; HE SHALL GROW LIKE A CEDAR IN LEBANON. THOSE THAT BE PLANTED IN THE HOUSE OF THE LORD SHALL FLOURISH IN THE COURTS OF OUR GOD. THEY SHALL STILL BRING FORTH FRUIT IN OLD AGE: THEY SHALL BE FAT AND FLOURISHING.—*Psalm xcii.* 12—14.

MY SON, FORGET NOT MY LAW, BUT LET THY HEART KEEP MY COMMANDMENTS; FOR LENGTH OF DAYS, AND LONG LIFE, AND PEACE SHALL THEY ADD TO THEE.—*Proverbs iii.* 1, 2.

The first passage is a lively picture of a desirable old age; the second indicates the means by which such an old age may be attained.

I. Who can be insensible to the exquisite beauty of the imagery employed by the Psalmist? The cedar and the palm tree are the most stately and imposing productions of the vegetable kingdom in the East. Mount Lebanon was once covered with vast forests of the former,—now dwindled to a few insignificant groves in secluded nooks,—and the tropical valley of the Jordan, for miles above Jericho, was densely shaded with the vivid and feathery foliage of the latter. Both are evergreens; both grow to a vast size; both are remarkable for longevity; and both are of the highest value—the cedar for its timber, the palm tree for its fruit. Fitly are they chosen by inspiration to represent the righteous—those “trees of the Lord,” green and flourishing, honored and fruitful even in extreme age.

It cannot be denied that this representation is contrary to the notions which many entertain. We are apt to think of old age as a period of weakness, torpor and suffering. It is associated in our minds with gray hairs and wrinkles and trembling limbs and a bending form, and—what is even more to be dreaded—with dimness of sight, dullness of hearing, and decay of memory, imagination, wit and sensibility. We are perhaps acquainted with some aged persons who are querulous and unhappy, and with others whose existence is the waveless calm of utter imbecility. Such sad instances of decay make us shrink from growing old, and sometimes exclaim, “Happy are those who die young!”

Now I am not about to deny the peculiar infirmities of old age, any more than those of infancy, childhood and youth—for every period of life has infirmities peculiar to itself—but do we not unconsciously exaggerate those of the aged? When we look around us on the world as it is, our gloomy imaginings are to a great extent dissipated. Among those of our acquaintance who are from sixty-five to seventy-five years of age, though there are many, doubtless, who are oppressed by disease, and some who are unlovely and miserable, we shall find few instances of great bodily weakness and infirmity, fewer still of mental decay and prostration. Complete dotage is exceedingly rare. Let us go a little into details, premising that our remarks will be especially applicable to the old age of the righteous.

We begin with the lowest consideration, that of personal beauty—a consideration which will be despised only by those who are indifferent to the feelings with which they are regarded by kinsfolk and friends. If old age may retain the power of pleasing, if it may even be invested with charms superior to those of youth, surely its approach may be anticipated not only without painful forebodings but with a certain satisfaction. There are those, doubtless, who will smile at the suggestion that old age may be invested with a beauty nobler and more winning than that of youth; but such persons—equally shallow in thought and feeling—know not what beauty is. They think of it as dwelling in a brilliant eye, lustrous hair, coral lips, rosy cheeks, rounded muscles, and a lithe, well-proportioned form; and there *is* beauty in all this, the beauty of a vigorous vitality, but it is of an inferior kind. Let the “sage and serious Spenser” teach us the immortality of true beauty:

For beauty is not, as fond men misdeem,
 An outward show of things, that only seem;
 For that same goodly hue of white and red
 With which the cheeks are sprinkled, shall decay;
 And those sweet rosy leaves, so fairly spread
 Upon the lips, shall fade and fall away
 To that they were, even to corrupted clay;
 The gleaming eyes, those sparkling stars so bright,
 Shall turn to dust and lose their goodly light;
 But the fair lamp, from whose celestial ray
 That light proceeds which kindleth beauty's fire,
 Shall never be extinguished nor decay;
 But when the vital spirits do expire
 Unto her native planet shall retire;
 For it is heavenly born and cannot die,
 Being a parçel of the purest sky.

Beauty is less an attribute of the body than of the soul. The human form is loveliest when it gives expression to high mental and moral qualities ; and that expression is oftenest seen, I think, in the countenances of the aged. There are no faces which so much attract and please us, as those that record conflicts victoriously ended and followed long since by inward repose ; faces brooded over by the peace of God ; brows, furrowed indeed with thought and care, but all the more the fitting throne of gentle wisdom and meek authority ; eyes, dimmed it may be with days of toil and nights of weeping, but beaming with the love which casteth out fear. From such countenances, all traces of those passions which are the chief enemies of beauty—pride, anger, sensuality, and ferocity—are forever obliterated. It is for this reason that good men and “devout women,” as they grow old, become more lovely in the eyes of all who can discern the beauty of holiness. Those silver hairs, those lines of thought, that air of serene tranquillity breathed over the whole form and features—are they not beautiful ? We have known faces, harsh and repulsive in middle life, become attractive in old age. The rugged lines which once spoke of irascibility, or of stern resolve, are rounded and mellowed by years, like the crumbled and moss-grown angles of an ancient tower which once bristled with steel, and stood unshaken amidst the thunders of battle.

Says our most devout and eloquent writer on

art: "There is a certain period of the soul-culture when it begins to interfere with some of the characters of typical beauty belonging to the bodily frame, the stirring of the intellect wearing down the flesh, and the moral enthusiasm burning its way out to heaven through the emaciation of the earthen vessel; and there is in this indication of subduing of the mortal by the immortal part, an ideal glory of perhaps a purer and higher range than that of the more perfect material form. We conceive, I think, more nobly of the weak presence of Paul the aged, than of the fair and ruddy countenance of the youthful Daniel; and David, the beautiful stripling, with the brook-stone of deliverance in his hand, is less ideal than David leaning on the old age of Barzillai, returning chastened to his kingly throne." *

It is doubtless an erroneous impression, that old age is generally a period of great bodily suffering. It is, indeed, liable to disease and pain, not differing in this respect from other periods of life; but it is highly probable that the aged, on the whole, suffer less than the young; partly because their sensibility to pain is less keen, partly because they are more exempt from acute and violent maladies, and partly because they are more cautious and prudent. Look around you; how many men of your acquaintance on the frosty side of seventy, are still hale and vigorous, with a power of endurance which puts to shame their own sons! How many

* Ruskin.

of our most diligent farmers are old men ! Rising with the lark, they may be seen in their fields from dawn till even-tide. If the forms of some of them are a little bent, it is to be attributed, in most cases, to excessive toil and imprudent exposure in their younger years.

What is most dreaded in old age is decay of the intellectual faculties. Undoubtedly there are instances of dotage in every community ; but they are less numerous than we are apt to imagine. It will be found, as a general rule, that those only lose their faculties who cease to use them. That men who retire from active life while they are comparatively young, should gradually sink into a state of mental feebleness and lethargy, is what might be expected ; for an indispensable condition of vigor, whether mental or physical, is energetic action. Many—unwisely I think—give over the cares and labors of their callings before they have reached the age of full intellectual development, which has been fixed by the best physiologists at the seventh climacteric—that is, about the fiftieth year. We do not repose entire confidence in the judgment of most men under that age. A statesman under fifty is universally regarded as a young man—almost too young to be raised to the most responsible positions ; and some of the most illustrious the world ever saw, displayed astonishing intellectual power, and even the loftiest eloquence, in extreme age. Who ever suspected any decay of memory, imagination, or judgment, in John

Quincy Adams ? He did not attain distinction as a parliamentary orator till he had passed his sixtieth year ; but who could stand before him when he was roused by a great question, or by some rash attack of his enemies ? Whose memory was ever more trust-worthy than his at fourscore ? Who was ever more prompt or scathing in reply ? I am not aware that the intellectual energy of Henry Clay declined with advancing age. Daniel Webster never did more hard work than during the last two or three years of his life. The same remark is applicable to the most eminent British statesmen, as for example, Chatham, Burke, Wilberforce, Wellington and Joseph Hume. Glancing at the secular professions, we see their brightest ornaments well-stricken in years—not a few of them successfully practicing law and medicine at the age of seventy-five or eighty. Merchants and bankers who continue to manage their own affairs in old age, seldom betray any lack of shrewdness or ability.

Such facts more than warrant the conjecture that the decay of intellectual faculty, sometimes painfully apparent in aged persons, is to be attributed, in most cases, to a premature withdrawal from active life. No complaint is so common among the aged as that they have lost their *memory* ; but we almost invariably discover, by a little inquiry, that they recall with ease and accuracy what they happened to observe in early life ; and many are remarkable for graphic minuteness in narrating their experiences in childhood and youth. This

renders it probable that the *faculty* of memory is unimpaired, and that they forget recent occurrences because, having ceased to feel a lively interest in them, they have not given them due *attention*. Many aged people, who keep their faculties bright by constant use, keenly observe what is going on around them; and their memory is as ready and retentive as ever. How many can give a full analysis of a sermon which has happened to interest them? How many keep the minutest details of business constantly in mind? The loss of memory is not therefore the inevitable and peculiar calamity of old age. It is as often found in youth and middle life; and is caused in some cases by disease; in others by vice.

We may therefore safely conclude that mental decay is not the necessary or usual misfortune of old age. Those who live a sober and temperate life, meanwhile diligently cultivating their minds, and continuing to perform the duties of their callings, may reasonably hope to enjoy intellectual vigor to the last.

Some imagine that old age brings with it a callous heart,—a loss of sympathy with man and with nature. Now there is doubtless such a thing as a hard, selfish, unfeeling old age. Unhappy men there are who, having spent their earlier years in vice, and their later in miserly accumulation, are, in the last stage, loveless, covetous and hard-hearted. Perhaps their very countenances wear an expression so sordid and sinister, that we shrink

from them with disgust and horror. But how is it with those who have been from youth upright and benevolent? Do *they* grow callous and unsympathizing as they grow old? Just the reverse. Have you not observed that many men—stern, severe and even repulsive in middle age—become bland and genial, when they are crowned with hoary hairs? Many noble men are like the best fruits of our northern climate; you must wait for winter to ripen and mellow them. Try them in *season*, and you shall find their flavor delightful. It is beautiful to see how mild and tolerant, how tender and considerate, how heartily active in promoting the enjoyment of others, many aged people are. It is very touching to see their love of children; to see them sometimes mingling with their own grand-children in innocent sports, undisturbed by their boisterous hilarity. We often meet with aged persons with whom the love of nature is a passion and a blessedness, enjoying, to all appearance, a keener and wilder delight in “the pomp of groves, the garniture of fields, and all the dread magnificence of heaven,” than the young. No, my friends; age does not harden the heart and deaden the sympathies. The aged are sometimes called *childish*; I have more commonly found them *child-like*. Pride and prejudice are gone; they are less morose and querulous; and their last years are softened and beautified by pervasive gentleness and love.

We sometimes think of old age as lonely and

friendless. Every aged person must have outlived many, perhaps most of his early friends; and some there are who have no ties with the new generation grown up around them. Such unfortunate persons should have our deepest commiseration. Those who are at once childless and *poor*, should find sons and daughters in all who know them. Love them; pity them; comfort them!

They have had playmates, they have had companions,
In their days of childhood, in their joyful school-days;
All, all are gone, the old familiar faces!

The aged Christian, however, though alone is not alone. Even in solitude he has blithe society; for the Father is with him. Besides, he does not look upon his early friends as lost, but gone before, to the fair and sinless land, where he will find them all again "some summer morning." Meanwhile, though haply written childless, he shall not be friendless. God has promised to protect and cherish his aged saints; "Even to old age, I am He; and even to hoar hairs I will carry you."

I have thus far endeavored to convince you that there is nothing in *old age itself*, which should cause us to shrink from it. I now proceed to show how much there is *in the old age of the righteous* which is lovely, precious and desirable. "They shall still bring forth fruit in old age."

1. We generally find, in the old age of true Christians, great maturity and richness of religious experience. Doubtless very high and precious

experiences are often attained in early life. This cannot be questioned by any who have read the biographies of Brainerd, Martyn, Summerfield, James B. Taylor, and our own sweet saint, Stoddard; but who can doubt, that had these heroic servants of Christ lived to threescore years and ten, they would have reached a higher pitch of spiritual attainment? I will venture to suggest, that both in Brainerd and Martyn we may discern certain defects and infirmities of character which would have been corrected by age. There was something morbid in Brainerd's melancholy, and his zeal was not always tempered with discretion; and we seem to detect in Martyn a tincture of the same sombre and feverish spirit. In fact, we often observe in the young a high degree of enthusiasm, activity and emotional ardor; but less frequently that completeness and symmetry of character, that spiritual sobriety and wisdom, that serene and immovable faith, that meek humility combined with unwavering firmness of principle, which so often attract us to the feet of aged saints.

There seems to be a certain order of development in the spiritual life, corresponding, generally, to that of nature. The fervid passions of youth, and the engrossing cares of manhood, too often interfere with spiritual progress, and sometimes arrest it altogether for years; but as old age comes on, the clouds break away, the obstructions disappear, the buried but still living germs of holiness spring up, and grow, and blossom; and there is at length an abundant harvest.

The experience of the young convert comes on him as a surprise. He is suddenly brought into a new world—a world all glorious and lovely with the presence of a new-found God and Saviour. Peace looks down upon him from the skies ; peace smiles upon him from the trees and green grass ; peace flows in his heart like a river full to the banks. He floats in love ; he soars and sings like a sky-lark in the light of the ruddy summer morning. This is *first love*, a foretaste of *last love*, which is heaven. This fresh and infinite rapture, however, does not last. The light fades away ; the “sweet glory” is eclipsed ; darkness that may be felt closes in upon the soul. The time of conflict comes. The young recruit must gird on his armor, and go forth to the field. He must give and take many blows. The world is against him. Satan is full of rage. His own heart is often like the sea which cannot rest but casts up mire and dirt. His faith often wavers ; his hope is faint and fitful like the flame of a dying lamp flickering in the socket ; and he is sometimes ready to exclaim with Bunyan’s Pilgrim, “I shall never see the celestial city.” But he carries through all his conflicts, through years of darkness and trial, the memory of that *first love*, and the hope of regaining it. This constitutes, in fact, his *ideal* of a perfect state—an ideal which he incessantly struggles to realize. And it is often realized after a forty years’ wandering in the desert. I have seen aged Christians who enjoyed perfect peace, with all the wisdom and

strength of a long and varied experience super-added. I have seen them in the possession of the full assurance both of faith and hope, "walking in the land of Beulah, where the air is sweet and pleasant, where the flowers appear in the earth, and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land. It is a country beyond the valley of the shadow of death, and out of the reach of Giant Despair; and is indeed on the borders of heaven." I have known some aged saints who, like Payson, had reached this fair land. Jordan lay at their feet, shrunk to an insignificant rill; breezes fanned them from the farther shore; and they were longing for their departure, singing,

Oh, the City of my God
In that land!
Wide its pearly gates unfold!
Soon shall I walk its streets of gold,
And the King I shall behold
In that land!

This is not, indeed, the *universal* experience of aged Christians; but it is so common that the language of our text is amply justified.

2. A pious old age is often the most useful period of life. Some, indeed, are disabled for active labors in the church by physical infirmities; but their number is not large; and it would be a great error to conclude that even *they* are useless. Do they not "also serve who only stand and wait?" Are the passive virtues—resignation, patience, fortitude, meekness—to be despised as unprofitable?

Are they not, in fact, the very crown and glory of the Christian life? Oh, let not the feeble and decrepit servants of Christ, who rarely breathe the fresh, out-door air, or mingle with their fellow-men in the drawing-room, or in the street, or in the Sabbath assembly, let them not for a moment think that they live in vain. The fragrance of their retired and noiseless virtues, of their sweet humility and uncomplaining submission, pervades the atmosphere which many breathe, and thus passes into the life-blood of the church. Those who nobly suffer have always been accounted worthy of affectionate love and reverent remembrance. They are the Lord's precious martyrs; and he will remember them in that day when he makes up his jewels.

How much the church and the world are indebted to the prayers of these "hidden ones,"—

Their prayers which rise to the throne above,
And bring down the blessings of peace and love,—

we cannot know. One of the interesting recollections of my boyhood is connected with a funeral sermon from the words—"The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended." It was a discourse preached over the remains of one who had been, for many years, affectionately called, "Father Jones." He had long been feeble and infirm, painfully hobbling around on crutches. He was remarkable, not for his natural gifts or education, but for his *prayers*. From his childhood up he

had walked with God ; and in extreme old age he was a true Israel, for he had power with God and with men. Ministers often traveled a long distance to converse with him, and learn how to pray by bowing with him at the throne of grace. All the people of that region, even many who were openly irreligious, felt that they were poorer when he died. It is now thirty years since that good old man went to his rest ; but there are many, even now, who cannot mention his name except in a subdued voice and with moistened eyes. Think you that the old age of that blessed saint was unfruitful ?

As a general rule aged Christians are not laid aside from active labors, and their influence largely contributes to the prosperity of the church. Who can estimate the value of their private admonitions and counsels ? Who can turn away from the tender and solemn expostulations which are enforced by the authority of white hairs ? Who are the peacemakers in the church ? Whose words in the day of strife are like oil upon the troubled waters ? What shall curb and direct the headlong energy of youth, but the wisdom of age ? Where shall pastors look for advice and sympathy except to the elders ? Those who have lived and labored at the far west have a painful sense of the immaturity, the fitfulness, and even of a certain hardness and irreverence which characterize communities and churches in which gray heads are rarely seen. It is an evil lessened by every succeeding year ; but

an evil it is, of no ordinary magnitude. The stability of our eastern churches, and the mellowness and spiritual sensibility which I have not failed to find among them, are, under God, to be ascribed to the influence of aged saints. Their very presence in the Sabbath assembly is better than many sermons; and their prayers and exhortations in the prayer-meeting distill as the dew. Into sick rooms and into the house of mourning they carry the balm of healing and of consolation. Who so well qualified as they to guide inquirers to Christ? Who so wise as they to win souls? Who but they shall feed Christ's lambs? Why is it that an Apostle has said: "Ye younger, submit yourselves to the elder"?

Many aged Christians, blessed with wealth, devote their later years to works of beneficence. Perhaps they are still prudent and thrifty, possibly even far-sighted and enterprising; but their hearts are open as the day to the visitations of melting charity. They can say with Job: "The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not I searched out."

Thus the aged saint flourishes like the palm tree in the courts of our God, laden with precious fruits of piety and good works. Who among you does not wish and pray that such an old age may be yours? This leads us to the consideration of

II. The means by which such an old age may be attained.

1. Let all who would reach a happy, useful and honored old age, *have a religious care of the body*. This suggestion will perhaps strike a certain class of hearers as trivial and unworthy of the subject. They are accustomed to think of the body as a vile incumbrance of the soul—a creature to be loathed and despised ; but such a notion is equally irrational and unchristian. It is unchristian ; for the Scriptures declare that the body of the saint is the temple of the Holy Ghost ; that he who sins against it is guilty of sacrilege ; (“HIM WILL GOD DESTROY ;”) that, while it is to be kept under by rational discipline, it is to be continually offered to God as a holy, living and acceptable sacrifice ; and finally, that it is destined not to utter and ignominious destruction, but to a glorious transformation, after the likeness of the Lord in the blessed resurrection. Contempt of the body is equally irrational ; for it is not a mere house, covering, or garment of the soul, but its form, its living instrument ; the condition of its consciousness ; the vehicle of its communications with the external world ; the seat of appetite and sensation, of pleasure and pain ; the organ of thought and volition ; the outer man. The full development, and the healthy, sustained energy of the mind, are conditioned upon the state of the organism which is thus either a nimble instrument or a heavy clog and obstruction. Disorder of the brain produces

insanity ; premature decay of its functional energy, imbecility or dotage—the most dreaded infirmity of old age. To guard against this terrible calamity, to insure intellectual longevity, to perpetuate the physical conditions most favorable to moral purity and religious improvement, the body must, from childhood, be the object of reverent care ; the laws of health—which are laws of God—must be intelligently observed ; the eminently Christian grace of temperance must be diligently cultivated and habitually exerted ; all vicious pleasures must be sternly renounced and avoided ; lawful pleasures must be indulged in moderation ; all temptations to idleness—that rust of the soul and destroyer of the body—must be resolutely resisted ; and finally, all the members, organs, and appetencies of the corporeal nature must be consecrated to God, for the inhabitation and uses of his Spirit.

One or two illustrations may render these general suggestions more definite and impressive. The name of Samuel Taylor Coleridge is known and revered, wherever genius is held in loving admiration. He was, doubtless, the most brilliant, learned, eloquent *young man* who, for more than a century, has spoken our noble English tongue. He was early recognized by a host of too enthusiastic disciples as the heaven-commissioned regenerator of modern philosophy, theology, poetry, ethics, politics, and scholarship—a universal genius—another Plato or Bacon. But alas, ere long, it became apparent that this all-accomplished scholar, this

profound thinker, this divine poet, this most eloquent of Englishmen, this grand, contemplative, religious nature, was a wreck. In the year 1816, when Coleridge was only forty-four years old, his generous friend, Charles Lamb, thus wrote to Wordsworth: "Coleridge is at present under the medical care of a Mr. Gilman, at Highgate, *where he plays at leaving off laudanum*. I think his essentials are not touched; he is very bad, but then he wonderfully picks up another day, and his face hath its ancient glory; an archangel a little damaged." What a mournful picture of England's greatest literary man in middle age! In mere impotence of *will*—with the kindest heart that ever beat—he had abandoned his wife and children to be cared for by others, while he himself, helpless as a child, was generously provided for by one who admired his genius and pitied his misery. And this ruin of a noble nature was wrought by opium. He who might have been—but for this early abuse of his body—an acknowledged intellectual king, was, during all his later years, regarded with mingled reverence and pity, as an inspired dotard: the world's teacher sank into a half-despised, half-idolized pauper. Might not DRINK have wrought a similar ruin? Is there any sight on earth so pitiable and loathsome as an aged drunkard and debauchee? Is any fact better established than that every kind of sensual vice induces premature decay of body and mind?

I commend to my youthful hearers the example

of the venerable man who has gone from us. Though by no means of robust constitution, nevertheless, by the strictest temperance he preserved a good degree of intellectual and bodily vigor till his ninetieth year. Something of infirmity there was in his later years ; of dotage nothing.

2. Those who would attain to an honorable and happy old age must store their minds with valuable knowledge. It cannot be denied that age destroys or diminishes many sources of enjoyment. The pleasures of sense gradually lose their zest. As the eye grows dim and the ear dull, the noblest productions of art cease to charm ; pictures and music appeal almost in vain through the obstructed avenues to the imagination ; and even the beauty and grandeur of nature are rather guessed at and dimly felt than clearly perceived. Sometimes even books and conversation—as in the case of our departed friend—are but half-enjoyed. Thus is the mind, as years and infirmities increase, more and more thrown upon its own resources for solace and pleasure ; and miserable is that man whose mind, in such an exigency, is a blank. Picture to yourselves a man who devotes all his best years to the sole business of dollar-hunting. Gifted with a certain beaver-like sagacity to discern the main chance, he succeeds in all his plans ; he grows rich ; he is the owner of broad acres, of stocks and mortgages. He is rich and old. He looks around him for friends : almost all his early friends are in the grave. He looks within, and finds his mind utterly

unfurnished—no pleasant reminiscences—no materials for a single interesting train of thought. Books and newspapers have been prohibited luxuries in his house. He has cultivated his lands, and has been rewarded with plentiful crops ; but he has let his own mind lie fallow for a life-time, and now it yields him neither flowers nor fruit. How, I pray you, does this poor rich old man differ from a vegetable ?

Who would be at once rich, and old, and ignorant ? Nothing is more to be dreaded than a *vacant mind* in old age. And many young men, it is to be feared, are traveling on to such a barren and dismal old age ; for the time to accumulate knowledge is in youth and early manhood. Let none indulge the thought that they are, by their very circumstances, deprived of the advantages of a thorough and even liberal culture ; for all educated men have, whether in college or out of it, educated themselves. Let an apprentice, or a merchant's clerk, or a farmer's boy, devote two hours a day to hard study, and by the time he reaches middle age, he will probably be a learned, certainly a well-informed man. And in this age of books and newspapers, ignorance is a *crime*—such a crime as he would be guilty of who should, were it possible, reduce a promising lad to idiocy, for he is doing his utmost to make an idiot of himself in old age.

The kind of knowledge which will prove most valuable in old age is precisely that which is most valuable in the earlier periods of life. You shall

not acquire it by reading, however diligently, the novels which load the shelves of circulating libraries, and sometimes of libraries of higher pretensions ; nor yet by poring over the popular magazines ; but by giving your leisure hours to the study of the few standard authors in the several departments of science and literature ; and above all, by the diligent perusal of THAT BOOK of which Sir Walter Scott declared, in his last illness, it was the only one. “Bring me the BOOK,” said he to his friend. “What book, your honor ?” “Why do you ask ? THERE IS BUT ONE.”

3. We counsel those who would be serene and happy in old age, to cultivate most assiduously their moral nature, and to guard it carefully against all contamination, perversion, and damage. The education of the conscience is, happily, a very simple matter ; it is but learning our duty and doing it. The law of God declares the former ; the latter lies within the province of every man’s free-will. The continual practice of what is just, and honorable, and seemly, gradually builds up a strong and beautiful framework of virtuous habits ; and the finished result is a noble and well-balanced character—such a character as, more than age, made our departed friend the object of universal reverence. It is too obvious to require any argument, that a man who has been pure and righteous from his youth up, must, other things being equal, be eminently happy. Without a good conscience, what is health, or wealth, or even the amplest store

of knowledge? Picture to yourselves an old man whose memory is burdened with great sins—whose heart is like a furnace filled with ashes and smouldering cinders—whose imagination teems, not with forms of purity and loveliness, but with the reeking exhalations of passion in putrid decay—whose past shines lurid under the flame of remorse—whose future is clouded with fear, blackening into the midnight of dull despair. Alas! who does not shrink from an old age like this? Who would lay up such a treasure against the winter of life? Let the youth who shuts his ears to the voice of duty, tramples under foot the law of conscience, sacrifices truth and honesty and honor at the shrine of passion, be warned in time; let him know that “whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;” that he who in the spring-time soweth to his flesh, shall assuredly, in his autumn, reap corruption. In age, if not before, his sin will find him out; the iniquity of his heels shall compass him about.

4. A fourth provision for old age, still more important than any yet mentioned, is the early cultivation of true piety.

Man has a spiritual and religious nature. He instinctively yearns for communion with his Maker; he is conscious of weakness and dependence; he is burdened with a sense of guilt; he needs a Redeemer; and he craves an assurance of eternal life. With these deep religious wants unsatisfied no man can be perfectly happy in his earlier years—

how much less in old age? Love to God, faith in Christ, the hope of a blessed life beyond the grave, assurance of pardon and reconciliation, serene reliance on Providence, a trust that falters not in sickness, pain, poverty, bereavement, death—this it is which blesses and beautifies youth and manhood as well as age. An old man without hope and without God in the world may well be an object of compassion. The present is without pleasure; the past is worse than a blank, for all his days have been spent in sin; the future—oh, what has he to hope for in the interminable future? Standing there on the brink of the unknown sea, he is about to bid farewell to all he ever loved, and to sail—whither?

The great Roman orator and moralist, felt the need of religious faith and hope to support and cheer the aged; and he makes his revered Cato discourse almost like a Christian: “I depart from this life,” says he, “as from a temporary lodging, not as from a home. For nature has assigned it to us as an inn to sojourn in, not a place of habitation. Oh, glorious day! when I shall depart to that divine company and assemblage of spirits, and quit this troubled and polluted scene. For I shall go not only to those great men of whom I have spoken, but also to my son Cato, than whom was never better man born.” Did not our venerable friend depart with some such sentiment in his heart if not on his lips? Having for so many years witnessed a good confession, he was in his

extreme age serene, expectant, joyful, waiting for the change from mortal to immortality.

“Now *abideth* faith, hope, charity—these three.” It is beautiful to see, in many cases, these fair graces in full bloom amidst the decay and ruin of body and mind. When the intellect is feeble and the memory utterly fails, religious hope and affection are often in their highest vigor. An aged saint had forgotten wife, and children, and friends, and seemed almost unconscious of his own existence. “Grandfather,” said one, “do you remember Jesus?” The dim eye brightened; a radiant smile spread over the wrinkled face; he spoke—“JESUS! JESUS!—He’s my Saviour! Certainly I remember JESUS!”

5. Those who would enjoy a peaceful and honored old age, must devote their lives to USEFUL AND NOBLE WORK.

How many of the young are utterly unconscious of the high, earnest, solemn mission on which they are sent into the world! How hard it is to convince them that life is not a holiday—that this world is not a play-ground—that they are sent hither to ‘do business in great waters;’ to fight against sin and falsehood and the devil; to build up, with agony and sweat and blood, stone upon stone, their own moral characters, and the City of God on earth; to serve their age, to bless the world, and to glorify God! Yet the voice of God has been for years sounding in their ears, “Son, go *work*, to-day, in my vineyard!”

You may not be called to do the work of a Brainerd, a Martyn, a David Stoddard, or a Judson ; you may not be summoned to act a grand part on the theatre of the world's progress ; you may be assigned an obscure calling, in a secluded sphere ; but none the less are you required to bring forth much fruit, to do good to all men as you have opportunity, to work while the day lasts ; so when evening comes you shall receive your wages. When gray hairs are set like a crown upon your heads, the memory of the good you have done shall fill your heart with humble, thankful joy ; blessing and honor shall be showered upon you by your fellow-men ; the voice of your Divine Taskmaster will say, "Well done, good and faithful servant ;" and you shall come at length to your grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season. Standing around your holy dust, the living shall say, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth ; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors ; and their works do follow them."

Thus have I pointed out the path which leads to the serene heights of a Christian old age. In conclusion, I address myself to my youthful hearers, but not without painful misgivings lest all that has been said may appear to them as an idle tale, or at best a pleasant song. "What have we to do with old age ?" they will ask ; "it is a great way off, like a mountain dimly outlined in the blue distance." I know, my young friends, that in childhood and

early youth the hours are leaden-winged, and that every day seems like an eternity. And yet these very days which seem to drag their slow length along, will appear to you, by and by, to have been swifter than an eagle hasting to his prey. To the aged 'life is a vapor, which appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away; it is like the grass which groweth up: in the morning it flourisheth and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down and withereth. The days of our years are threescore years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.' You are now, my young friends, fanned by the fragrant breezes of spring; but ere you are aware, summer, autumn, winter, in quick succession, will be upon you; for we all do fade as a leaf. Look forth upon yonder hills, already more than half-stripped of their pomp of crimson and gold. It seems but yesterday since they were like great billows of living verdure dashing their spray against the very clouds. They are still, though faded, surpassingly lovely. Well, if *you* must fade as the leaf, then like the leaf, I would have you fade tenderly, grandly, gloriously, so that the beauty of your autumn may exceed that of your spring. And be assured that the course of life which has been recommended to you as the best preparation for old age, is the very course which will insure the largest pleasure and usefulness in youth and manhood.

But alas ! as I look over this great assembly, in which the white heads are so few—like scattered orange-blossoms in a sea of verdure—I am struck with sudden fear and trembling ; for it occurs to me that few of all the beloved youth of my flock—few of those in middle life—will see the period for which I have been all this while persuading them to prepare. Have we not, within a few weeks past, followed more than one sweet maiden to the grave ? Are not others fading away under our eyes ? Ah, ETERNITY is nearer to the most of you than old age ; so near, that by putting forth a hand you may reach beyond its veil ! There is but a step between you and death. You are all, young and old, flitting like shadows to a world where there is neither youth nor age. A little while, and your places will know you no more forever ; another congregation will fill these pews, another pastor stand in this pulpit. We shall all have disappeared ; and it will seem to those who come after us that our existence was a dream. They will wander through the graveyard, and spell out our names on the moss-grown stones, wondering, perhaps, what sort of men and women we were in life. But we shall then be living on amidst other scenes, a larger, more intense, more real life. Shall I, then, exhort you to prepare for old age ? Rather let me, a dying man speaking to dying men, entreat you TO PREPARE FOR ETERNITY ! And yet why should I speak ? Other voices, sweeter, holier, tenderer than mine—familiar, household voices—speak to you in still and

solemn tones from the unseen world. Fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, friends—methinks they call to you from the tents of the immortals on the other side of the dark river,—‘O ye who still dwell in houses of clay, and in a world over-arched with the bow of hope, where mercy may be sought and pardon found, repent TO-DAY; fall upon your knees and call upon God; renounce your sins; believe on the Lord Jesus Christ TO-DAY; for ye are even now entering into the pale mists of death, and soon, soon shall ye stand before the great white throne, to be judged for the deeds done in the body.’

SOLOMON STODDARD,

OF NORTHAMPTON.

From the Springfield Republican.

DIED at Northampton, Massachusetts, on the 16th of November, 1860, SOLOMON STODDARD, Esq., in the 90th year of his age. He was born on the ancestral estate in that town, in the year 1771; being descended from the second minister of the town, of the same name. His father, at the time of his birth, held the office of Sheriff under the British crown. When four years of age, war commenced with Great Britain; and during the succeeding years of excited strife, his early education was pursued under difficulties of no ordinary nature. He was, however, well prepared for college, mostly by private instruction and recitations to the minister. At the age of fifteen, he entered Yale College. There he maintained a good standing as a student, and was assigned an English oration in the graduating class of 1790. Previous to his death, he was the oldest living graduate of Yale College, with one or two exceptions.

After leaving college, Mr. Stoddard entered the office of the late Gov. Strong, as a law student. He there prepared himself thoroughly for his profession. For eighteen months he practiced law in Williamstown, Mass., and then

settled permanently in his native town, where he continued the active duties of his profession till 1811. That year he was elected to the office of Register of Deeds, for the County of Hampshire. He was chosen Clerk of the town in 1816, and was re-elected, annually, for seventeen successive years.

In 1819, he was appointed Chief-Justice of the Court of Sessions.

In 1821, he was appointed Clerk of the several Judicial Courts in the County of Hampshire. This office he resigned in 1837.

Several times he was sent by the town as representative to the General Court ; and he filled, besides, many offices of trust in the region where he resided, always discharging the duties connected therewith with scrupulous fidelity. At the age of sixty-seven, he retired from public life.

He was of a modest, retiring disposition, and never put himself forward, or claimed precedence over others ; kind, gentle, obliging, he was ever esteemed among his fellow-citizens, as a good neighbor, and a man of unswerving integrity and uprightness. Originally a federalist of the Gov. Strong school, he became successively a whig and republican, as parties modified or were dissolved. He was always firm and decided in his political opinions ; though prudent and courteous in his intercourse with those who differed from him.

The chief glory and ornament of his character, was his consistent and exemplary piety. For forty years he was a member of the church in Northampton of which Rev. Jonathan Edwards was former pastor, and his walk and

conversation, in humility and devotion, were a fitting exemplification of the spirit and temper of the gospel of our Lord. He outlived most who commenced the race in company; and the later years of his life, free from many of the cares of earlier days, were passed in the bosom of his family, where the Christian virtues shone with bright and constant lustre. He was the patriarch of the house, who led the family devotions, morning and evening. He manifested a lively interest in the benevolent efforts of the day, and was ever ready to contribute to promote them. To the period of his last illness, his mental powers were active, and he kept himself familiar with all the movements of the political and religious worlds.

In 1799, he married Sarah Tappan, eldest daughter of Benjamin Tappan, Esq. The union was eminently a prosperous and happy one, and continued fifty-two years, till the decease of his wife, in 1852. Their children were eight in number, seven sons and a daughter. Two of the sons have deceased; the eldest—Professor Solomon Stoddard, author, with Professor Andrews, of the Latin Grammar—and the youngest, Rev. David Tappan Stoddard, missionary to the Nestorians of Persia.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 30, 1860.

My Dear Sir,—And so the harvest so long in waiting, is gathered at last. In the fading days of autumn the Reaper came, and found the shock of corn fully ripe. He had brought forth fruit in old age. Precious seed from

that vigorous stock lies buried in the heart of Asia. And, indeed, in what land is it not scattered, yielding the fruits of *hereditary* piety?

I saw him in midsummer, cheerful, patient, bright, dignified, devout; a little bending under the infirmities of age and the touch of disease,—questioning whether he was any longer of use in the world,—yet most useful to all as an illustration of God's faithfulness to his servants; as a long link of mercy holding three generations together; as a beautiful example of a serene faith, an unblemished integrity, a pure and hallowed Christian life.

I bless God that I knew him, and that I saw him so recently. And now do I come to mourn with you? But surely you do *not* mourn. I seem to see you full of thankfulness for the gift of such a father, so long preserved; for the memory of such a life; for the peace of such a death; and full of rejoicing that he is with Christ in the infinite peace and purity of heaven.

May that peace, the Master's own peace, flow down upon you and yours, and upon all the dear friends at Northampton, who will miss his venerable presence, but who cannot lose the blessed savor of his life. Do you not begin to feel that the *family home* is in our Father's house?

Ever truly yours,

JOS. P. THOMPSON.

CHARLES STODDARD, Esq.

OUR NATIONAL UNION:

A

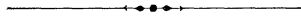
THANKSGIVING DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED IN THE

First Trinitarian Congregational Church

NOVEMBER 29, 1860,

BY TRUMAN M. POST, D. D.



ST. LOUIS:

R. P. STUDLEY AND CO., PRINTERS, BINDERS AND LITHOGRAPHERS, MAIN AND OLIVE STS.

MDCCCLX,

SAINT LOUIS, DEC. 1st, 1860.

REV. DR. POST:

DEAR SIR.—We heard with great satisfaction and pleasure your excellent discourse on Thanksgiving Day. Fully sympathizing with the views expressed by you in that discourse, and believing that they would be eminently useful in fostering in the minds of our fellow citizens, sentiments of patriotism and affection for the Union, we would most respectfully request of you a copy for publication.

FRANCIS WHITTAKER,
WYLLYS KING,
J. S. McCUNE,
RUSSELL SCARRITT,
SAM'L PLANT.

SAINT LOUIS, DEC. 10, 1860.

MESSRS. FRANCIS WHITTAKER,
WYLLYS KING,
J. S. McCUNE,
RUSSELL SCARRITT,
SAM'L PLANT.

DEAR SIRs.—Your expressed wish or opinion would ever have weight with me. If the discourse, of which you ask a copy, shall contribute to strengthen in any mind the sentiment of love and devotion to our National Union, under which this people have lived so happily, and so long, I shall thank God for it. I am conscious at least it is honest in its argument, and conciliatory in its design. As I had it not in manuscript at the time of its delivery, I may not have been able exactly to restore it; but it is, I think, substantially the same.

Very truly yours,

T. M. POST.

DISCOURSE.

II CHRONICLES, xxx: 12. Also the hand of God was to give them one heart.

I have selected this text as expressive of the fact that National unity of counsel and will, is the gift of God ; and fitly to be ranked with themes claiming grateful commemoration. It stands in this passage, also historically connected with a most memorable and genuine Thanksgiving. Judah and Israel, for more than two hundred years, had been disunited, much to the opprobrium and disaster, moral and political, of both. Hezekiah had at that time sent couriers about to the entire Hebrew nation, inviting them once more to unite at least in the great National Festival of the Passover. They were variously received in different quarters. But to some of the people "God gave one heart to do the King's commandment." The consequence was that they kept a most remarkable Thanksgiving ; and for even twice the usual number of seven days. For, says the Chronicle,

"The children of Israel that were present at Jerusalem kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with great gladness : and the Levites and the Priests praised the Lord day by day, singing with loud instruments unto the Lord.

"And Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all the Levites that taught the good knowledge of the Lord : and they did eat throughout the feast seven days, offering peace offerings, and making confession to the Lord God of their fathers.

"And the whole assembly took counsel to keep other seven days ; and they kept other seven days with gladness.

"For Hezekiah, king of Judah, did give to the congregation a thousand bullocks and seven thousand sheep ; and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep ; and a great number of Priests sanctified themselves.

"And all the congregation of Judah, with the Priests and the Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of Israel, and that dwelt in Judah rejoiced.

"So there was great joy in Jerusalem : for since the time of Solomon, the Son of David king of Israel, there was not the like in Jerusalem.

"Then the Priests arose and blessed the people : and their voice was heard, and their prayer came up to his holy dwelling place, even unto Heaven."*

* II Chron., 30: 21-27.

That occasion, too, stands out from a ground of troublous and evil times; even as this present. Indeed, the origin of our Thanksgiving Festival dates back to the days of famine and sickness and savage terrors, amid our fathers. It was well thus. Praise to God is ever due and comely. Such times constitute, moreover, the most effective setting of blessings, less appreciated otherwise; as the diamond gleams brightest encased by jet, or the star shines serenest and purest on a ground of stormy sky.

It is well, too, for spiritual excellency and happiness, in the darkest times to devote seasons expressly to the duty of grateful joy—to look at the bright aspects of gloomiest things, and to study gladness. A resolution to do this will often resolve the murkiness and sadness of a day of cloud and tempest.

To day I feel that we are called to set our joy on a groundwork of sorrows and troubles. We meet amid financial perplexities, and solicitude and sorrow for our country—a sorrow that sits at each fireside as a domestic grief. Still let us consecrate the day to devout gladness. And we have ample cause. As we call for them, incentives to thanksgiving crowd on us like the stars or the sea, from nature, providence and our entire being. But I have thought it most salutary, and demanded by the times, and by your own feelings, to select as our theme, for this occasion, OUR NATIONAL UNION, thus far conserved, through the goodness of God, for almost a century. The more so, as the influences of political institutions, from their very commonness, are wont to become to us as the sunlight and atmosphere; appreciated only by their loss or perversion, as are these, when infected by pestilence, or shaded by disastrous eclipse. Blessings grow dear as they die or are in peril.

Our National Union would be worthy of thanksgiving for what it has wrought, were it to die to-day; we would still gather around it, as around the body of a dead friend, and commemorate its benefits, and thank God it has lived so long; may we not, the rather, this day gather around its life, with prayers and vows for its continuance. And as the feuds of brothers are oft healed or forgot beside the mortal sickness of a mother, may we not hope that our political asperities and antagonisms may now be hushed awhile, as we watch beside the deadly peril of our National Union, the mother of us all. May not our filial piety be quickened, our feeling of fraternity be reanimated, and our hearts be softened, purified and enlarged—as all mutual recrimination dismissed the while—we recount her benefits to us all, in a memorable and happy past?

Let us then to-day, banishing complaint and accusation, render to our God thanksgiving for the fraternal tie that has still bound us together as virtually one Nation, for four-score years; while the whole earth meanwhile—East of us in the old world, and South of us in the new—has been rocking with revolution and change.

And first we thank Him for the Union of the Revolution; a Union amid Colonies accustomed to act, for a century, as separate peoples; divided more widely, even than our present extremes of territory, by time and difficulty of intercommunication, as also by habitudes of thought and feeling, and of social and political life; and presenting greater difficulties to combination of counsels and interests than now. We thank God that spite of all these, He gave them "one heart" to achieve political emancipation and a place among the Nations; and in achieving this, to pour out as one, their best blood and treasure—all for each and each for all, means or extremes alike—standing shoulder to shoulder, true brothers, in that terrible hour.

We thank God again for the Union of the Confederation; whereby they entered as one people into the scale of Nations, and presented a league for the most part impregnable to foreign intrigue and influence; and were enabled to live together as brethren, though with governmental tie very loose and precarious. Especially we thank Him, that when its fatal defects became manifest in the paralysis and impoverishment of the Federal Government, amid the conflicting claims, legislations, judicatures and commercial regulations of States, He enabled them to go through the fearful experiment of the dissolution of one government and the creation of another, without bloodshed or tumult, in the quiet of a profound peace; presenting a spectacle without a parallel in history, and of which any people were presumptuous to invite a repetition. And we thank Him that He gave them finally one heart to form the UNION OF THE CONSTITUTION: expressly projected and ordained by them, "To form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity."*

It was God, we believe, that gave them one heart to overcome the almost insuperable difficulties of conflicting opinion and seemingly conflicting interest in the way, and to frame an instrument on the whole, the most perfect of its order ever devised by man. All human things are imperfect. But its seeming diverse defects as looked at from different sides, are, most of them, the only practicable resultants of interests, complex and divisive, framed into one system; and representative of necessary compromises. They were essential to the creation of the instrument, which, if not the best ideal, appears to have been the best possible for the time. And who shall say it were better there had been none? that it has not, with all its alleged faults, been still an incalculable blessing? The wonder is not that our fathers did not create a better, but that they created one at all. Should we be likely to form one more perfect? If in

*See Preamble to the Constitution.

such hope we destroy this, we shall, I fear, emulate the crime of the daughters of Pelias; and see from its mangled fragments, however we stir the cauldron, no superior form, no living shape reborn.

We thank God this day that, for nearly the life of three generations, this instrument has to such an extent accomplished its express designs, of "union," "justice," "domestic tranquillity," "defense," "liberty," "general welfare;" that it has secured a more perfect union, and thereby presented us in foreign relations, not as a league of States, but one Nation; wielding in diplomacy and arms the strength of a first class Nation, and now speaking with the voice of more than thirty millions of people; and that thereby we have been safe and respected everywhere, our flag the protecting wing of a powerful empire over our citizens on all lands and every sea; that we have stood erect, and not crouched and crawled amid the Nations; have presented an impregnable front to undue or divisive foreign influence, whether by intrigue, intimidation or corruption; that we have been saved from the melancholy history and example of all other confederacies in the presence of great despotic and centralized Powers—Powers which passed from intrigue and bribery to Patrons, Protectors, Tyrants and Ravagers. I thank God for the union that has saved us from that wretched clientship of States, presented in case of the above Confederacies; prosecuting emulous suits in foreign courts; dupes and victims of foreign cupidity, treachery and ambition; and purchasing advantages over a rival, by dishonorable alliance or subserviency, by mutual betrayals, and finally by sacrifice of their own free existence. Would that our countrymen might pause to read at this day the history of the Hellenic States after the glorious war of Independence with Persia; the fearfully graphic sketch which Thucydides has given of the woes and crimes and shames of the Peloponesian war; and the story of the unutterably sad and opprobrious ages after his picture—the ages of the death and dissolution of a people, corrupted, conquered, enslaved, crushed under successive overlaying despotisms of Europe and Asia.

Let us thank God for the contrast to theirs, which our history has thus far presented through the union of these States. And also for that union as a means whereby a central government—sovereign in its sphere of interests properly national, and armed with the full complement of powers, diplomatic, legislative, judicial and executive for its self-maintenance and enforcement, and with a national exchequer, army and navy—is made to so harmonize with state sovereignties, in like manner independent and supreme in their sphere, that they can no more clash in their proper functions, than planets with their satellite moons may collide with the solar system in which they are inorbed.

We owe thanks that thus we have been enabled for four-score years, to

blend together in our nation the advantages, seemingly incompatible, of large and small states, the minutely and thoroughly distributed life and culture and democratic activities of one, with the massive strength and order, and the larger comparisons and cosmopolitan civilization of the other ; a combination, the ideal of which would unite the brilliant, intense and thorough vitality of the Hellenic Polities with the stability, regularity and power of Imperial Rome. We have thus been enabled to unite municipal freedom with strong central government, local variety with national uniformity, and individual liberty with imperial order and security.

We would render thanks, too, this day for a union, whereby we secure a uniformity of administration and judicature in interests of national order and reach ; and avoid the irritations and perplexities of conflicting local ordinances and jurisprudence ; and especially, whereby we have the arbitrament of Law and not of the sword above states ; that contests between States are not driven for settlement to the fields of battle ; a blessing we can estimate only in contrast of a state of things where such controversies fret through diplomatic intrigue, and forceful reprisals to war, or form the opening for foreign intrigue, corruption and ambition ; as in the case of the States of Ancient Greece or the principalities of Mediæval Italy and Germany. May we never learn to prize this blessing by its loss.

We have, moreover, reasons for gratitude this day, that we have so long enjoyed a union whereby these great interests are secured, not only without enfeeblement, but with the strengthening, of political liberties ; a system not like a Grecian dome, weakened by expansion, but like the Gothic minster, where the rising of arch upon arch, with all their tracery and interlacing, makes each part the stronger with the strength and massiveness of the entire structure. So are individual and local liberties strengthened and guaranteed by the interlacings of State and National prerogatives, that each part guards the whole and the whole each part. Our State liberties are safer for our National sovereignty, and are likely to be crushed beneath its ruins if it fall.

We owe thanks for our National Union, also, in that under it is possible a great commercial and economical system, embracing the breadth of a continent and zone ; whereby industry, trade, productions, enterprise and internal improvements, have been left free to consult for the mutual correspondencies of climate, soil, position and the geographic configuration of a continent, unembarrassed by local tariffs, custom houses, passports and sumptuary laws ; and unburthened by the expenses, civil and military, of numerous petty nationalities, each with its governmental officials, its armies and navies and foreign missions ; a union which convoys the trade of remotest seas to our shores secure under our national colors, and under

which we have conquered the desert, the wilderness and the mountains, and unite the commerce of two oceans to a continental transit through one people, of one speech, and under one arch of empire ; a union which has blent, with a most free and powerful civilization, a domestic tranquillity under which has been achieved a degree of physical and social prosperity without parallel in the history of mankind. The Arts have flourished, enterprise has been quickened, our territories have been improved, empires conquered from the wilderness, wealth has been accumulated, and commerce quickened and expanded into the most distant regions, and in the midst of profound peace.

Meanwhile not only have material interests prospered ; great social problems have been resolved, education has been fostered, intelligence has been diffused, prejudices have been corrected, ideas enlarged and modified, and a civilization larger, broader, more national, more composite and cosmopolitan, been elaborated. Society has achieved a permanent advance, and the kingdom of God has been expanding itself and accumulating power for future conquest. History presents no other such picture of liberty, order and happiness. Shall we, in the wantonness and caprice of gambling-venture, put all this to peril ? Amid all this our National Union stands as a vast Magistracy of the Peace. Shall we now tear it down ?

Even Despotism has received the gratitude of history as a vast police of nations, and under *that* we are sure to seek domestic tranquillity, if sacrilegiously we subvert that National Republic which now keeps the peace of our vast empire of States.

The Historian of the Decline and Fall, pronounces the era of the Antonines one of the happiest in the history of the world. True, under the dome of a universal despotism the earth was dying all the while. The loss of liberty was the loss of life. Humanity was growing more emaculate ; the pulse of civilization beating feebler, and the shadows of the coming night falling faster from the Indus to the Atlantic.

But there was physical well-being, personal safety and unembarrassed commerce under an enforced universal order. The Imperial Robber permitted no other than herself. To Syria and Egypt and Macedon, to the Iberian and Gaul and the Moor, she said "keep peace with each other." From her seat in the Capitol she looked forth, the supreme court, the sovereign arbiter and lawgiver, the enforcer of order, to the world ; the centre of a universal magistracy and police, before which the clangor of national discords and arms was hushed, and under whose arch of empire commerce convoyed her argosies and her caravans and mercantile ventures, in unobstructed ways, through peaceful and prosperous peoples, from the Erythrean Gulf to the Isle of Britain.

So far was Gibbon right that the era of the Antonines shows amid the contrasts of anarchy, discord and violence between which it occurs, as an Age of Gold. Peace and order are the necessities of nations. Better, infinitely, a Russian despotism than the bloody anarchy of the Druses and Maronites. We should find the most stringent of military despotisms, a refuge from that wretched tumult of petty, jangling, crouching, corrupt, Macchiavellian nationalities, which opens on us through the portals of disunion. From a history like that of Mexico or Central America—whom we should be likely to follow with even bloodier trace—we should find relief even under the despotism of the Czars or Napoleons. *That* would be the certain and the most hopeful solution of the wretched imbroglio. But shall we for this, in wantonness and wilfulness, cast away a système which, for three-fourths of a century, has been demonstrated capable of wedding together order and life, liberty and law, in a civilization, imperial in its territorial range, and cosmopolitan in its elements and ideas?

True, objections may be raised from various quarters, diverse and antagonist as the quarters they come from, against the Constitution of our Union. Were all invited, as in the case of the ancient picture hung up for criticism, to mark their opinions of defect, they would probably leave it but one blot. And so, if their marking of excellencies was called for. And the defects of one class would probably be excellencies to another. I may have my serious objections to the instrument; you have yours; and a third party has his; and so on infinitely. But our objections are discrepant and contradictory. For the most part they confute each other. But with them all, who does not believe that, with all imputed faults, our Constitution has yet been, on the whole, one of the greatest blessings ever granted by God to any nation? And when, and how are we likely to get a better? This is susceptible of peaceful amendment, if necessary, according to its own provisions. With much reluctance and hesitation indeed, should I enter on the work of amending, lest I should take from its excellence or its reverence. Still, if defects or inequities in it seem no longer endurable, can we not confer and arrange in reference to them, fraternally and constitutionally? But if we destroy to rebuild, from its ruins no ree stable organism will be likely to re-arise. The hands that tear it down, I verily believe, dig beneath themselves an abyss. Demoniac forms and faces the rather will emerge from the seething deeps, that shall wander forth to mock and madden through a funeral century!

The Constitution, too, we should remember, is blameless for many of the abuses accomplished under it, and claiming its sanction. It has had strains put upon it, that it should never have been called to bear. The misconstructions of hate or of worship; the distortions of passion, fraud, tyranny and fanaticism; the glosses of parties, creeds and interests; alleged

conflict with natural right or Divine law, or arrogation of prerogative superior to such right and law ; reverence for its name invoked in defence of wrong, until men have been tempted to question the duty of reverence ; threats of dissolution employed as the leverage for advancing the interests of faction, till men have begun to inquire what the organic instrument of our Union was worth—now, for abuses of this kind the Constitution is not answerable ; though by them it has suffered ; and even more from worship than hate : for the arrogation of perfection, contradicted by a single fault, loses too oft our entire confidence. The god dethroned sinks below the mortal, and idolatry confuted, turns to contempt.

But while our Constitution claims not to be worshipped as God's absolute work, it does ask to be revered and loved as the best of its kind, thus far achieved or practicable among the nations. Could the spirit of its framers still breathe on us from their mould, it would still utter to this Union a monition like that of the Latin Lyrist to Ancient Rome, "While you bear yourself subordinate to the gods, you hold empire." Human constitutions are manifestly vital only as subordinate to the eternal constitution of God. Transcending that limit they of necessity undermine and subvert themselves. They destroy the moral basis on which alone they must ultimately rest. The cry of union, therefore, raised to cover wrongs ; to consecrate injustice or impiety ; to shield with inviolableness absurdities and abuses ; to stifle free questionings of the reason or of the moral and religious sentiment, or to claim our honor and trust for men, in whom, if love of union still abides, it grows like the mistletoe, on the decayed trunk of all other virtues—such treatment of the Constitution is most illegitimate and most unfair to any human ordinance of government ; it must in the end destroy it. Nothing can prove more clearly the excellence of our own, than that for so many years it has endured the strain put on it by such treatment, and yet its hold on the nation's heart has not been broken, but it is still strong in the love and reverence of the millions of this people. But, in truth, the utmost of alleged grievances, lying in the course of its past or probable abuses, are as nothing compared with the infernal gulf it now covers and closes. Indeed, we shall best estimate the importance of these objections, in the light of the historic landscape that opens upon us, if the Constitution to which they attach, is destroyed. Our debt of gratitude to Heaven for the past, can be best estimated by reversing the picture we have taken.

Suppose, then, our country is led along the way in which present disunion movements are marshalling us ; our National Banner no longer floats in the heaven ; the architects of ruin have had their way ; the North American Republic, with its glorious memories and hopes, disappears from history ; a gulf opens before us like that seen of the Hebrew Pro-

phet, on which the four winds strove, and from which issued strange, fierce, ravening political forms. Chaos is there, and forms as baleful as waited around the portals of eternal night. Into that abyss I care not to look. Suppose we have floundered through it: dissolution in all its stages—secession upon secession—disunion on disunion—revolution after revolution, have been accomplished. Political disintegration has reached its utmost term—what term, who shall tell, when once the process of dissolution has begun, and public faith been dissolved. New combinations wrestling with new destructions, emergent—who may forecast or describe them? How many confederacies, leagues, oligarchies, empires, Eastern, Western, Northern, Southern and Middle; of the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Mississippi, the Lakes, the Gulf or the great Basin? But it emerges—order in some fashion—from the dark and crimson gulf. Now what shall be the relation of these States to Foreign Powers? What their place in the scale of nations?

It is the imagination of Astronomers that once, between the orbits Jupiter and Mars, there shone a planet glorious as Jupiter, object of admiration and delight to any eye that beheld, and among the lords of the system amid which it rolled. A seemingly blank abyss, revealing to the telescopic vision alone, asteroids of feeble, dim and servile disc and divergent ever-parted orbs—this is the field once filled with its brightness but where the fragments of its ruin, untraced and untraceable, wander now darkling forevermore.

Such appears our change in the horoscope of dissolution. Our proud bright sphere among the nations, knows us no more. Our country speaks no more, in foreign diplomacy, with the voice of thirty millions of people. It enters in foreign relations no longer with the wealth, the art and productions, the commerce, the arms of so many millions, in its scale. Its colors, that spread as the wing of a mighty empire over each ship and each citizen on the uttermost land and main, have fallen as a blighted constellation from the sky. I see now a medley of petty States, creeping and crouching among the nations. Their proud port is gone. On the land and sea their flag is veiled, or floats by sufferance. Rival States appear instead; alien, hostile, in shifting combinations of league and counter-league, intrigue and adverse intrigue; the minor clustering around the larger, or banding against them—as in the case of Austria and Prussia, in the modern Germanic, or of Sparta and Athens, in the ancient Grecian system of States—the stronger, whether in strife or conspiracy, equally afflicting the weaker, and each and all fomenting within others faction and insurrection. A medley of States in such relations to each other, I see exposed to insult and injury, at the caprice of great powers at home and abroad; wearying the ear of foreign courts with suits of obsequious rivals, suppliant and accusatory, waiting for patronage or protection

around the purlieus of palaces ; like client nations attendant on the Roman Senate, or the Hellenic cities intriguing at the courts of Persia, Macedon, Syria or Egypt. We should become like Mediæval and Modern Italy or Germany, the football and prize of foreign policies, and the quarry of foreign ambition. Our Union, which, as a wall of adamant, has presented itself impervious as well to foreign intrigue and gold as to foreign arms, being gone, we should soon find ourselves penetrated, through and through, with corrupt or divisive influences from abroad, baleful as Macedonian faction or Persian bribery. We should enact over again the wretched histories of Modern Italy in the presence of the powerful monarchies of France and Spain, and of the Othos, Fredericks and Hapsburgs—their arena of intrigue and battle, trampled of foreign policies and war. Now this is no fancy picture ; it is a prophecy of all past history. Incredulity here is infatuation. Are we better or wiser than past times, that like causes shall no longer produce like effects ? Our present history, certainly, of tumult for disunion, springing from the bosom of unparalleled prosperity and profound peace, is encouraging no such conceit of superior reason, sobriety or goodness.

Meantime, with the perishing of our Union, our great continental system of commerce and of internal improvements, whether of private or governmental enterprise, disappear. Amid the distrusters and rivalries, the restrictions, tariffs, passports and conflicting policies, of alien States, and amid the tumults of factions, forays and wars, this of course would perish. Our commercial systems could no longer adjust themselves to the correspondencies and configuration of a vast and imperial field, to a continental arrangement of rivers and mountains. The strength of thirty millions of people could no longer be levied to grapple with the desert and mountain. Our Pacific railroad would fade out, like Alexander's projected pathway of occidental traffic, for ages. Our dream of the trajection of Asiatic trade, through peaceful and prosperous millions, of one speech under one empire, from ocean to ocean, without passports or customs, must vanish with the phantom of an imperial past. And not only so, but the land is meanwhile devoured by its multiplied exactions. Instead of the civil, military and diplomatic budget of one nation, it now has to bear that of nearly two score of different sovereignties, each compelled to keep a large military force to guard its frontier and collect its customs.

Industry, art and enterprise, pressed down under these burdens, can no longer, as now, enter into competition with the markets of the world. Impoverishment sets in, like consumption on our peoples, while passport and custom-house systems vex the frontier, and the tax-gatherer, together with a despotic police and espionage, harasses the interior. Under just such influences as these, and springing too from just such a condition as

disunion now offers us, the richest prosperities have faded away; whole climes have withered, and the curse of ages descended on the fairest earth and sky.

Moreover, with the perishing of our unity of legislation, administration and judicature in matters of national order, countless irritations would arise, and countless discrepancies and antipathies would be loosed, that would fret more and more toward hatred and war. Those prerogatives of the central government, which now are the means and guarantee of domestic tranquillity, when broken up and distributed among some thirty-three sovereignties—soon to be multiplied to we know not how many—would be constantly clashing at State borders. This political structure broken up, all the edges of the fracture will be sharp and dentated. Oppositions of policies and interests, and of laws and judicatures, contests of claims extending across State lines, and now of national reach and relation, will then constantly deepen the contrasts and repugnancies of civilization. Alien sentiments will more and more grow up, and more and more they will be exasperated to dislike and hate of neighbors as foreigners. How long would this continue before the frontier would throng with armed men? Yea, each State, then a nation, must permanently be so thronged, watching and guarding against its neighbor, with fortress and standing armies. The frontiers must permanently bristle with forts and bayonets, and be vexed with passports, customs, spies, and gendarmes. And how long before war would flash along such frontiers? A spark would ignite it. Occasions would never be wanting. Antipathies and resentments, and discrepancies of interest or of civilization, if they will not allow our living together as one country, will not, we may be assured, leave us peacefully side by side with each other as foreign ones. Especially is this hopeless, when we reflect that the original difficulty is not political, but intellectual and moral, arising, not from unity of government nor removable by political severance, but having its ground in diversities of civilization, culture, social order, political economy, and moral convictions; convictions amenable only to reason and religion, and not to be arrested by State lines or prohibitory laws or armed men, but only by a border of desolations over which no social relations should stretch, no press, railroad or telegraph should extend the contagion of thought, and no living breath might pass. Indeed, that strife, upon which, as a ground-swell, all other strifes of the present crisis arise, and which it is hoped to quell by disunion, would burn all the more fiercely for the proposed remedy; a remedy which, even regarded from the stand point of those who use it, seems like stopping the plague, by breaking down the walls of a pest house. The evils complained of would be cured by dissolution no more than would cholera. They would soon, indeed, acquire four-fold exasperation, and

without present restraint. How long could this continue without inflaming into war? especially as then we would have no longer any Supreme Court as common arbiter.

In this respect, the anticipated position of these States, after dissolution, contrasts fearfully with the present. The Federal Judiciary abolished, the sword alone is umpire. Might alone makes right. Our judicial process is war. Our court rooms widen to the field of battle. In each such quarrel, too, each party, aiming to strengthen itself by alliance, would draw as many neighbors as it could lay hold of, into the conflagration. And on every side animosities, grudges, antipathies and counter claims would never be wanting, along which would kindle the contagion of war.

And even if these causes are insufficient, and evil and ambitious instigators among ourselves shall be quiet, all around will be foreign powers, who may think they find their interest in our weakness and quarrels, and whose intrigue and gold would not be wanting to stir up war; till, as Philip was called in at last as President of the Hellenic Amphictyony, so we should inaugurate some Foreign Power as our Supreme Court, our Protector, our Master.

Indeed, abolish this single feature of our Constitution—a Supreme Federal Tribunal—and you open the closures of the pit. Violence, tumult, rapine, massacre, war—an infernal troupe—will enter this land through a breach in this National Union, wandering and wasting, till they devour it. And over it, and around it, as a quarry, meanwhile will wait foreign intrigues, corruption and ambition, like vultures around a field of carnage.

Such results from National Disunion are plainly prophesied by history, and indeed foreshadowed in the present condition of sentiments and affairs. Earth breeds the same race of men now as of old. If we tread their paths, we shall dash on their Ruin. The past warns us, no strifes are like those of brothers; no wars like civil wars. Community of blood and civilization seems only to work the fiercer and more cruel hate. Few wars have been so atrocious as those between Judah and Israel, after the peaceful realm of Solomon was sundered. The Peloponesian war—a war among States related to each other in many respects as we are—breaking out after an era of prosperity and glory, raged with atrocity and cruelty beyond the common measure of barbaric war; and the strife they opened blazed on unextinguishable from age to age, till it burned up the land. It became desolations; and the wilderness and wild beast returned again. The wolf and the banditti hunted together over the lands, before rich with cities of opulence and art, a dense and prosperous population, and with vineyards and olive groves. A blight seemed to have fallen on earth and air and on man. Art with nature seemed to have perished from the clime of beauty; and genius with love and honor, from the human soul. Even at the close

of the Peloponesian war—which raged on for a generation, extending its contagion to three continents and over all the seas, until it burned through the whole Greek world—at the close of this war, historians tell us, humanity seemed exhausted; all truth and brotherhood, all enthusiasm, generosity and benevolence, had perished: no freshness of life was left to men or society; no youthful look toward the future; no faith in men or God or virtue; the demoralization was dreadful. But the wound of civil strife was not staunched, when the victim seemed exhausted. It was incurable. The plague of discord had struck through the entire Hellenic race and burned on like a poison in the veins, through two-and-a-half centuries. All power of permanent confederacy, or even of peace among the Greek States, seemed gone. There was no public spirit, no mutual trust: The pulse of Hellenic life, with occasional convulsions rending the victim and ultimating in death spasm, ebbed on feebler and colder. In those sad ages, men lived on without greatness or honor, without generous aspiration and almost without interest and without hope. Civil Disunion, like a Nemesis from fraternal blood that could not be laid, wandered over the land from age to age, till it devoured it and the inhabitants thereof; that curse, which, if we now wickedly let it loose on these lands and if history follows with us her way-marks in other ages, will rage, unappeasable like a doom of God, till it has consumed them.

The Thirty Years War amid the confederated States of Germany in the seventeenth century, that burned through one entire generation till four-fifths of the entire population were devoured by it and the forest and the beast of prey returned upon the land again—this may instruct us what to dread when discord bears her torch through a system of States like ours. Entire realms were ruined and the civilization of the land beat back for a century. It has not even recovered fully to this day.

Italy may also warn us of the effects of Disunion amid small States constituting naturally one country: Italy brilliant with wealth and culture, but for centuries incapable of peace; cursed with eternal feuds, and meshed in endless intrigues and conspiracies, and varying a history of internal faction and assassination, with the calling in of foreign arms; the quarry of surrounding despotisms, convulsed within and torn from without, till after the ravages of Charles the VIIIth, as one of her own sons describes her, she resembled the dessicated skin of a victim lacerated and drained by a beast of prey.

For more than a thousand years, the curse of implacable incurable disunion, amid the petty States of her peninsula has paralysed and poisoned her.

Now, she has the sympathies and prayers of the good throughout the world, as she is heroically struggling to heal her long plague of political

division, and to extricate herself from that imbroglio of petty nationalities, that have made her, for opprobrious centuries, powerless abroad, and corrupt, wretched and enslaved at home; defeating all those gifts of nature and genius that made her once lord of the earth. Slowly, toilsomely, bloodily, through ages of sin and shame and sorrow, she now emerges from that Tartarus. Shall we now plunge our land into it? Shall we, for alleged present grievances, real or imaginary, cast away that Union vainly sought for by other nations through centuries, with sighs, and tears, and blood? Once cast away, we may for ages invoke it, but it will not return.

But what Schiller or Thucyides shall recite the last days of this North American Republic? What Macchiavelli or Tacitus, narrate its process of dissolution? When taxation, and corruption and tyranny and war shall unite to slay it? What hope shall there be for the independence of small States in these times of violence? Must they not be crushed in the collision of larger ones like a small craft between men of war? Yea, what hope shall there be for the political liberties of any, large or small? The standing force requisite to be kept up by States so situated in relation to each other, and in some of them to keep down large servile populations, surrounded by foreign States of alien institutions, and to enforce the police and censorship necessary for this purpose, upon thought and speech, could hardly consist with the liberties of the small sovereignties that must sustain them.

Unquestionably the exigencies, the very existence of such States in the circumstances, will require a strong, consolidated, centralized government. The elements may seethe for a while after the act of dissolution. It will be difficult for States or men to recombine and to trust each other in any new confederacy after such violation of the old; and a chapter of Mexican or Central American History may await us. But from the necessities of the case, this cannot last. The ruin will at length crystallize, but it will be in adamant and dungeon forms. Let us not deceive ourselves. The loss of liberty—despotism—probably military despotism—according to all indications of history and philosophy, certainly lies not far in the distance in the path of disunion, to those who shall lead in the movement. The passion and irritation required to tear down our system, give poor promise of ability to build another in its place. If directed by supposed interest, such a course is a dreadful mistake; if by resentment, it is suicide.

It is sad attempting to trace the processes of dying States—States that die on, after liberty itself is dead; to watch the progress of internal corruption and external violence—the vulture and the worm—that work the dissolution of the corpse of empires. It were sad attempting to forecast through what progressive stages, what death spasms, what convulsions and baffled

struggles for recovery, this country may go down to the sides of the pit; as the Grecian States vainly strove through Ætolian, Spartan, Achaian confederations, to arrest the destiny that dragged them down. Nor is the problem soluble to mortal prophecy. Heaven grant that it may never be solved by our experience! But argument from history seems clearly to open before disunion, a valley of death-shade, along which waits the inevitable hour—reached through what processes who shall tell!—when the Muse of History, laying her hand on the heart of our Republic, that has once beat so proud and strong, with glorious memories and hopes, and finding its convulsive throb stilled, shall pronounce it “dead;” and wretched ages beyond, like those that waited on dead empires past, shall enter to bury her.

Let us not deceive ourselves, nor think to hide things by euphemism. Call disunion whatever else you may, call it not *Peace*. Whatever it may be in theory, and should be in reason, whatever it might be in certain contingencies, whatever it may be at first and in earlier stages, to us, in our circumstances and relations, in the end its name is WAR! the war of brothers—sectional, civil, social, domestic—and a war of ages. Nor call it *Order*. It is *Anarchy* rather—dissolution, not of our National Union alone, but of sections, states, counties, municipalities, classes, interests, institutions, and whatever element of our civilization the solvent poison can enter. Nor call it *Liberty*; for a government strong enough to bind up the ruin it opens, must be no other than *Despotism*; not only political, but over speech and thought; whose iron shall not only fetter the body, but enter into the soul. Nor call it *Life*. For the pressure requisite to stifle anarchy, and coerce the loosened and maddened elements to order, must suffocate and crush life, political and social. Its name is DEATH. And Dissolution—the plague we now invoke—will work on after political death, still preying on the body of our civilization, like a worm in the grave; while a Skepticism, sneering at patriotism, honor, heroism, liberty and God, shall come forth like a Ghoul from the tomb, to disport itself with the ashes of our Great Dead, and empoison the air of the world for centuries.

But I will not look that way. I turn from the terrible picture to which I have pointed to enhance our gratitude to our God for our National Union, preserved to us, notwithstanding our unworthiness, so long, and to stimulate our prayer and effort that it may still stand between us and the abyss into which we have looked. I thank God that the hideous picture of it sketched, is yet but picture; that yet we can stretch our hands across State lines and clasp with brethren; that yet we can look from the Gulf to the Lakes, and from ocean to ocean, and say, *Our Country*. May God give us largeness of heart this day to cherish, and love, and pray for all.

In behalf of the race of man, I thank God that a Union with which is garnered up so much of hope for human liberty, has lasted so long. I say, so much, not all. For associated with my thanksgiving for National Union this day, is my gratitude to God for the assurance that its ultimate triumph is placed above the caprices and passions of this hour; indeed, far above any single National experiment. Our failure may be the failure of the present historic cycle; may drive society wide of its present course through other disastrous despotic ages. But the Goal is ultimately certain, forewritten in prophecy and in history. God's Kingdom, that of Truth, Love and Liberty, shall yet live, and shall surely triumph. High above the policies or passions of the hour, above the change of empires and systems, stands the eternal ordinance, "Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look upon the earth beneath: the heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner: but my salvation shall be forever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished." *

* Isaiah 51: 6.

The Right of the Sword.

A

THANKSGIVING DISCOURSE,

AT

THE UNION CHURCH,

WORCESTER, MASS.,

NOVEMBER 21, 1861.

BY EBENEZER CUTLER, PASTOR.

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S E R M O N .

ROMANS XIII. 3, 4.

FOR RULERS are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same : for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid ; for he beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.

Two hundred and forty-one years ago a nation was born in a day. One hundred persons, “for an undefiled conscience, and the love of pure Christianity, first left their native, pleasant land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of the tumultuous ocean, in search of some uncultivated region where they might quietly enjoy their religious liberties and transmit them to posterity.” The voyage was now over, and the Mayflower lay off the harbor of Provincetown. Their weary eyes rested upon the uncultivated region. The desolate aspect was prophetic of perils in the wilderness, hardly less formidable than the perils in the sea ; yet courage did not fail them. Prospective hardships seemed as nothing in comparison with the great objects of their enterprise. But however impatient to disembark, they were too profoundly thoughtful to do so before they had combined themselves into a body politic for the enactment of such laws as the general good should

demand, and had solemnly “promised all due submission and obedience.” Then they stepped ashore a civilized, enlightened, and Christian nation,—the first pure democracy the sun ever shone upon.

From this small beginning the development has been rapid and wonderful,—the object of spite and covetousness, envy and admiration, among the nations of the earth. Colonies grew into states, and states into the Union; and the nation has enlarged its boundaries till it stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The price of this success has been constant vigilance, severe conflicts, and great sacrifices of treasure and of blood. Against the savages of the wilderness, and invaders from foreign shores, the Pilgrims and their descendants have been obliged to arm themselves in defence of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Providence has crowned their arms with victory, and given them a national independence which has secured unparalleled tranquillity and prosperity for more than three quarters of a century. All domestic disturbances have been quickly overawed, till at last the oft-repeated threats of malcontents have ripened into actual rebellion. Loyal citizens have had imposed on them the unwelcome alternative of succumbing to usurpation, or of forcibly subduing the rebels. In the dead of the night our fellow-citizens were officially warned to hasten armed and equipped to the Capital; and in seven months a cordon of more than six hundred and fifty thousand men has been formed from the Potomac westward to the Mississippi, and southward round the coasts on the ocean and the gulf. The loyal people have well-nigh unanimously approved the enterprise, as according not only with their impulses and their interests, but also with their sense of right. In respect of the moral justification, however, of this defensive and protective warfare, while the conclusion is held with con-

siderable firmness by the popular mind, the premises are somewhat indefinite and vague. As the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, the divine authority for our arms should be the foundation of our confidence, and of our expectation of success. And as it is due to ourselves to be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason for the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear, the appointment of this day of Thanksgiving on the anniversary of "the birth of constitutional liberty" seemed to furnish an appropriate occasion for exhibiting the doctrine of the Scriptures respecting

THE RIGHT OF THE SWORD.

The points of inquiry will be,—

Whether civil government is also of divine authority;

Whether revolution is ever justifiable, and, if so, when; and

What is the moral character and proper treatment of rebellion.

I. Civil Government is of Divine ordination.

If mankind were sinless, there might be no occasion for any civil organization. But in consequence of their enmity against God, they are also extremely selfish in respect of one another. As all men have sprung from one created blood, so the natural and inalienable rights of all are the same. Yet to secure the universal enjoyment of these is exceedingly difficult, if not utterly impossible. This being the standard of attainment, every degree of approximation is an occasion for gratitude. For man is a lawless creature. The strong delight in domineering over the weak. The passion for violence is greater in some than in others. Hence, whenever a company or tribe of men undertake to dwell together, and however well-disposed towards each other they may be at the outset, there is a necessity for

law and for authority. In no other way can selfishness be restrained, or injuries redressed. There is this natural necessity for government even in the family, where the interests of all the members are so nearly coincident with those of each ; how much more in a community of families. In that little band upon the Mayflower, there was observed "some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction ;" and therefore they sought to prevent any breach of that unity and concord, by the mutual covenant which they subscribed. From the nature of man as fallen, this necessity for government is inevitable and universal.

The existence of this natural necessity for government is proof of a natural right to provide for it. In the exercise of this right, men have made many sad mistakes, and the best provision has been imperfect. A mutual covenant and compact, on the basis of just and equal laws for the general good, could hardly be expected till Christian civilization had reached a high degree of development. It was natural that the military chieftain, or the man of strongest and most subtle ambition, should generally be acknowledged, if not declared, to be the representative of justice and authority. And even the poorest government is better than none at all. Just so far as, on the whole, wrongs are less in number and enormity than they would be in a state of anarchy, government, whatever the form of it, is a public blessing.

This national necessity, and this natural right to provide for it, belong to the divine constitution of things, and have also been recognized by God in the revelation of his will. The family is a divine institution, and parental authority an inherent element. The same was true of the complex household, like that of Abram. The wider sway of kings has a similar basis. The law communicated on tables of

stone, contained the fundamental principles upon which men should govern themselves in their relations both to God and to one another. This constitution, or declaration of principles, was followed with inspired specific statutes for the administration of civil government. By natural, providential, and revealed light, God has taught men to acknowledge the authority of those bearing sway; and that the office and power of civil magistrates are not altogether of human appointment or usurpation. Divine providence is closely interwoven with human affairs; yet so as neither to sanction wrong, nor to lessen responsibility, in either rulers or their subjects. Rulers are dependent upon his providence both for their elevation and for their continuance. "For promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the south. But God is the judge: he putteth down one, and setteth up another." The agency of men, as well as the shaping of circumstances, is inseparably linked to his providence. He ordains that which is good, and permits rulers and their subjects to do evil at their peril. In the Declaration of Independence it is laid down as a self-evident truth, "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This is a mistake, and a dangerous doctrine; as it would justify any and every popular rebellion, and is equivalent to the principle, that "might makes right." It is true in part, and false in part; and therein is more dangerous than if it were wholly false. Government must have a purer and deeper basis than this, or it cannot impose any sacred obligations. It is conceivable that "the consent of the governed" might allow rulers to treat good as evil, and evil as good. The Scriptures reveal a better basis of civil government, and a security against any such contingency. In his epistle to the Romans, Paul declares, "There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of

God." By this, however, he does not mean that every thing which is done by "the powers that be" meets with divine approbation; for rulers are imperfect, as well as their subjects. But he does mean to assert the general principle, that civil government is also of divine ordination.

II. Such being the foundation of civil government, it is natural to inquire, whether Revolution is ever justifiable; and, if so, when?

There seems to be a general conviction, that there is a certain limit beyond which the subjects of a government are under no solemn obligations of allegiance. And this conviction is amply provided for in the Scriptures. In the text and context, as well as in other places, the right of revolution is recognized; by implication, however, rather than by express assertion.

Civil government has been divinely authorized for wise and beneficent purposes; purposes in which God is interested, as well as man, and which could not be accomplished without civil government. The good of the individual and of the community requires that the virtuous be protected, and the vicious restrained, and the violent controlled. Men need to be protected from the consequences of their own selfishness, and of the selfishness of others. And they need to be disciplined by formal obedience to law. Hence God has ordained civil government. He has not left civil magistrates, however, to the irresponsible exercise of authority and power, but made them responsible to himself. David declares, "The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." Ordained as God's ministers, and installed as his vicegerents, over limited and temporal spheres and for temporal purposes, magistrates are recreant to their office when they attempt to thwart those purposes

of God. They are appointed by him for the good of their subjects, and not for their own selfish gratifications. They are his representatives of justice. The laws they are called to administer are supposed to be in conformity to the universal law of rectitude inherent in man, and to the principles which God has revealed in his word. Thus magistrates are, according to Peter, "sent for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well." And Paul says, "They are God's ministers attending upon this very thing."

But who shall determine what is good and what is evil? Plainly the will of the magistrate is not the ultimate source of authority, nor the criterion by which the acts of his subjects are to be approved or condemned. In civil government, that is good which is good in the sight of God, and that is evil which is evil in the sight of God. Therefore so far as magistrates rightly distinguish between good and evil, and administer the laws for the security and encouragement of those that do well, and for the condemnation and punishment of them that do ill, they are acting in accordance with their divine ordination, and resistance against their authority is resistance against God. But when they put good for evil, and evil for good; when they approve and encourage them that do ill, and oppress and persecute them that do well; when they become a terror to good works, and offer a premium to wickedness, — they are false to their divine commission, and pervert their power to a use contrary to that for which it was delegated to them. Under such conditions, revolution would be clearly justifiable. The people would become the recipients and representatives of the divine authority which their rulers had forfeited; the divinely constituted power for the overthrow of the incorrigible magistrates, and the re-organization of the government under more worthy men. Resistance to tyrants would be obedience to God.

We must not, however, fall into the mistake of supposing that every inconsistency and perversion on the part of the civil government, constitutes the right of revolution on the part of the people. No civil government is perfect; no magistrate is perfect; human laws and administrations partake of the frailties of human nature. And it must not be forgotten, that in his government of nations God takes this into account. He sets imperfect rulers over imperfect subjects, and deals with governments, as with individuals, on the principle of forbearance. He gives to magistrates a probation, — a season for testing their allegiance to himself. As he bears long with the individual, notwithstanding many imperfections and repeated offences, and visits with retribution only when forbearance has been persistently outraged; so he does not authorize a people to inaugurate revolution for a single infringement of their welfare, nor until by patient endurance and protracted admonition they have found their rulers incorrigible not only in a few particulars but in their general administration of affairs. It is therefore only when civil government becomes *on the whole* subversive of the public welfare, that the right of revolution fairly exists. The American revolution was clearly justifiable; because of the multiplied, studied, and remorseless oppressions of the American people by the king of Great Britain; because of their long and patient endurance, their many humble protests and petitions for redress, and the necessity of defending both liberty and life; and because of the unmistakable indications that revolution was the will of Providence. They were essentially loyal; for they did not rise in revolution till they could submit to the candid world a score and a half of comprehensive facts, which proved that the object of the king was “the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States.”

But while one revolution is justifiable, ten may not be. Among the nations and tribes of Paganism, it is probable that generally existing evils would be aggravated rather than mitigated by revolution. The people could hardly be superior to their rulers, in knowledge, or prudence, or integrity. And in the nations of Christendom, the moral element in their constitutions and laws, the direct agency of Providence in the selection of rulers, and the conscious necessity of rulers to commend themselves to the enlightened approbation of their subjects, would afford presumptive proof that governments are generally worthy of far more commendation than censure. Hence, as if the exception were not worth mentioning, Paul laid down the command, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." The Scriptures require all men to respect, and conform to, the civil government, just so far as formal obedience to the magistrate would not be moral disobedience to God. Paul did not speak of magistrates as the *highest*, but only as the "higher powers." God is not inconsistent; he does not require obedience to a civil law which is contrary to his law. The apostles held that when the civil and moral laws conflicted, "they ought to obey God rather than men." But they taught also that where there is no direct conflict between the civil law and the law of God, men should submit to that civil law even though it were to their own hurt. When some of the early Christians fell into the error of supposing that their allegiance to Christ, which freed them from the ceremonial law, and from the past condemnation of the moral law, freed them also from obligation to the civil law, they incurred the reproach of evil-doers and disorganizers. Wherefore Peter was inspired to say, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake....For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence

the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." The citizens of Christ's kingdom must imitate his gentleness and submission to the temporal authorities, and thus teach the men of this world how to "lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."

It is clear, then, that revolution is sometimes justifiable, but only under a very rare combination of circumstances.

III. If civil government be also of divine ordination, and the right of revolution rarely exist, what must be the moral character and proper treatment of Rebellion?

The laws of a government express the authority of the rulers and the obligation of the subjects. In proportion to their agreement with the natural sense of rectitude, and the instructions of the word of God, the laws are just. If they do not directly conflict with these, they are just. If they are in the main wise and beneficent, they are to be regarded as just. If they are as good as the circumstances of the age and of the nation would lead wise men to expect; if on the whole they are adapted to the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well, they are to be respected as sacred and authoritative. The civil law has a moral character; so that the violation of it is a moral, as well as civil delinquency. The transgressor incurs guilt and ill-desert. He is an offender against God, in being an offender against the powers that be. "Whosoever therefore resisteth the power," said Paul, "resisteth the ordinance of God." Resistance is rebellion. Every criminal is a rebel, and his rebellion is criminal. And the moral aspect of the case is not altered, except for the worse, when rebellion becomes popular. It is the doctrine of rebels only, that resistance by the many is less criminal than by the few. Where

only a few are implicated in a crime, very little distinction is made between the ill-desert of the principal and that of his accomplices. As little should be made, when the rebels are a host. If the moral character of an act were altered by the number of the perpetrators, then the human race might be approved for doing the same thing for which Adam was condemned. Of the moral character of rebellion, whether by the few or the many, there can be but one rational and scriptural view: it is not only criminal, as being against the constituted authorities, but it is sinful as being against God.

No government can exist long without disclosing the existence of ill-disposed and disobedient subjects. What shall be done with them? How shall they be controlled? Of what use were government to any, if some could trample its laws with impunity? Is such a thing as government possible, without power to enforce the laws? Power to enforce the laws is indispensable. This power is expressed in the sanctions of the laws, and organized in the tribunals of justice. The sanctions of the laws are the rewards for obedience, and the penalties for disobedience. The rewards of obedience are promised and expected and found in that protection which secures the quiet pursuit and possession of lawful interests, and the reparation of injuries. This is vastly more than a mere compensation for the tribute paid by the citizen for the support of the government. For what consideration would any man exchange his protection from the injuries he would otherwise suffer from the lawless and disobedient? There must needs be affixed to the laws such penalties as are adapted to deter from violation, and adequately punish the guilty. Without such penalties the authority of the government cannot be maintained, and the justice and equity of the laws cannot be vindicated. The severity of the penalties must be proportioned to the degree of criminality.

Fines of greater or less amount, imprisonment of greater or less duration, and inflictions of pain of greater or less degree, — will vindicate the laws in respect of ordinary crimes. The criterion by which these should be determined is the natural sense of justice, and the principles revealed in the Mosaic code and in the Sermon on the Mount. The old laws of retaliation were modified by the New Dispensation; but punishment was not done away altogether. The just penalties of the law were not diminished in severity. The ancient and early law of capital punishment has never been abrogated or modified in the word of God. Because man is made in the image of God, the law was given to stand as long as the world stands, that, “Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.” This is the highest punishment in the power of men.

He who ordained “the powers that be” has delegated to them the power to punish. He has made it their official duty to *bear the sword*. This doctrine is abundantly taught and exemplified in the Scriptures. Peter is very particular in his expressions on this subject. “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake: whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.” How could magistrates protect the loyal, if they were not authorized to punish the rebellious? If all would obey the golden rule, there would be no need of civil government. Few, however, govern themselves by that rule; and as “the praise of them that do well” is secured mainly “by the punishment of evil-doers,” it is clear that the special province of magistrates is to be “not a terror to good works, but to the evil.” The infliction of merited punishment is the only means by which rulers can be a terror to evil works; and by their divine ordination it is made their special

business. Because some are sure to do evil, laws must be made and executed, to which all alike shall be subject; so that in an important sense, what Paul said of the law of God is applicable also in respect of civil governments; namely, "that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient." God has revealed the principles of his government, as those which should be followed as far as practicable in civil governments. All men are ill-deserving in his sight, and he might in justice punish them at once; but though he puts them on trial with a view to their reformation, he visits upon the finally incorrigible an aggravated punishment. And there is one sin which is absolutely unpardonable. So in civil governments, leniency should be exercised just so far as the good of all concerned will not thereby suffer. There are crimes, however, for which the guilty cannot be allowed to go unpunished, except at the sacrifice of the innocent. And God has ordained that the crime of murder shall not be allowed to go unpunished; he not only permits, but requires, "the powers that be" to take the life of the murderer. It is indeed a solemn thing for magistrates to launch a criminal into eternity; but when God requires it, it must be done. The lawful execution of the murderer is not itself murder; the magistrats even does God service therein. Rulers are not to shrink from using the sword because the infliction of merited punishment seems cruel, nor because the offender is not prepared to die in peace with God. It is neither sound religion nor sound morality, nor yet sound policy, to suffer crime to be committed with impunity. Terrible as the infliction of retribution may seem, it is less terrible than the exposing of the innocent to "the tender mercies of the wicked." Let one read the Sermon on the Mount with reference to this subject, and he will be convinced that the Lord Jesus Christ had none of that feeble, sickly, sentimental pity which would withhold or abate the merited punishment of the incorrigible. He talks of retri-

bution as one of the things immutably settled, and that too for the vindication of the righteous authority of God. And so in the administration of civil laws, based upon the principles of natural and revealed right, Christ would have the fear of civil magistrates second only to the fear of God. Nay, he would even have men submit to those civil laws which find no countenance in his word, just so far as such submission will not involve the transgression of the laws of God. When "the Romans had claimed for themselves the *tribute-money*, which God commanded to be paid to himself under the law of Moses, the Jews everywhere complained that it was a shameful and intolerable crime for profane men to lay claim, in this manner, to a divine prerogative;" yet Christ answered them emphatically, "Render unto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God, the things that are God's." The Jew who should refuse to pay the tribute, demanded of him as a citizen of the Roman government, would be justly exposed to the penalty of refusal; and Cæsar would be approved of God in inflicting the penalty. And so on the general principle that civil government is of divine ordination, Paul was instructed by the Spirit to declare, "Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues; tri-

bute to whom tribute is due ; custom to whom custom ; fear to whom fear ; honour to whom honour.”

We are thus brought naturally, logically, and scripturally to the very pith of our subject. Nothing is more clearly stated in the New Testament than the divine right of the sword in the hand of the civil magistrate. Magistrates are the ministers of God, elevated to civil power by his providence, and expressly appointed by his word to secure the welfare of their loyal subjects, and to bring to punishment them that resist the constituted authority. The “damnation” which, according to Paul, “they that resist shall receive,” means *judgment* ; and that judgment is twofold, embracing not only the punishment to which the civil law condemns them, but also, except they repent, divine punishment for their resistance against God in their violation of the civil law. Inspiration thus holds up civil rulers as a terror to their disobedient subjects, and civil governments as objects of profound respect, and even of solemn reverence. Law is an awful thing. God employs civil magistrates as his agents in dispensing temporal justice and judgment. The office of the civil ruler is no light and empty thing, but is invested with awe and terror. “The sword is the ensign of the potentate.” He is to be feared by all that have done, or would do, evil ; “for he beareth not the sword in vain.” The sword is the symbol not only of his dignity and honor, but also of justice and of power. Yet even this is not the emphasis of the apostle’s teaching ; for he calls the civil magistrate not only “the minister of God,” but also “a revenger” —“a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.” He is the appointed executioner not only of civil judgment, but also of the temporal wrath of God. The civil power is thus appointed by God, armed with the sword by God, and commanded by God to visit evil-doers with vengeance. The Scriptures urge subjection on the double account of wrath and of conscience ; and a prompt and

cheerful support of the civil government in the administration of its high and solemn functions.

The right of the sword, therefore, belongs to the regularly constituted authorities, and not to their subjects in opposition to them. Only when rulers act contrary to their divine commission to such extent that Providence obviously unites with the natural and enlightened sense of justice in demanding it, is revolution justifiable. The right of the sword means, not the right of one civil government to invade another, but the right and the duty of the invaded to resist and drive out the invader; not a justification of offensive war, but a justification of defensive and punitive war; not the right of civil rebellion, but the right and the obligation to crush out such rebellion and restore loyalty.

Nothing can be clearer than the application of the subject to the conflict in which this nation is now engaged. There is not a nation on the earth, in the formation and continuance of which the gracious hand of God, and the seal of his approbation, have been more clearly and extensively manifest than in this. The States that are now at war with the national government have no right to claim that they are engaged in revolution: the conditions of the rare right of revolution do not exist. They have always had the rights and privileges which were promised to them when they voluntarily accepted the conditions of admission into the Union, and solemnly swore allegiance. Instead of suffering at the hands of the government, they have always been pressing unrighteous claims upon it; and for the sake of tranquility, it has yielded to such claims, till it deserves the calamities which have fallen upon it. While the government has been sacrificing to their idol, they have plotted this insurrection. If they have any good reason for resisting the government now, they had the same for not becoming constituent parts of it. The present

administration was elevated to power by Providence and the majority of the suffrages of this great people, and in accordance with the principles contained in the civil compact of the Pilgrims and elaborated and applied by their descendants. It is not because any of their rights have been infringed, but because they have been determined to subjugate the nation to their own sectional control, that the Southern States have risen in arms against the Government. Therefore they are not engaged in legitimate revolution, but in foul rebellion. And their rebellion must be construed as unmitigated crime. The moral character of the rebellion is not altered, except for the worse, by the fact that the rebels may be counted by thousands and even hundreds of thousands ; nor by the fact that it is a rebellion of States. The principle of Secession is the principle of perjury, treachery, and anarchy. If a State may withdraw its allegiance to the Union, a town may withdraw its allegiance to the State. Were a confederacy against the Government justifiable, the rebellion of any citizen would be justifiable also ; and civil government would be a farce. But this rebellion of the Southern States is obviously what Paul would term *resistance against the ordinance of God*. The seizure of national property should be construed as theft and robbery ; and the armed attempt to destroy the Government, and to subjugate the Loyal States to the usurpation of tyrants, as treason and murder in the first degree. The Government not only has the moral right to defend itself by calling loyal citizens to arms ; but is under solemn obligations—obligations to its loyal subjects, and obligations to God who by his word and providence has ordained it—to draw the sword and smite the enemy till the extreme *wrath* of “ the ordinance of God ” has been executed, and the integrity and sacredness of the Union vindicated in a conquered peace.

And the citizen is under like solemn obligation to respond to the call of the Government, and to bear his pro-

portion of the tribute and sacrifice essential to the vigorous prosecution of this vast and terrible enterprise. In the quelling of this rebellion, the army should be regarded as the sword of our Chief Magistrate, and the people at home as his right arm, lifted and wielded by him as "the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." Not that the private citizen should take vengeance into his own hand—there is no warrant for this; but when the powers that be are called by Providence to execute wrath upon those that resist and rebel, the citizen should sink his own will into that of the ordained power, so that every bone and sinew of the body politic may be under the immediate control of the Head. The citizen soldier, who thus under military command strikes down the armed resister of the Government, is no murderer—not even though he slay a thousand; for he does it, not on a private account, nor with personal malice, but as the sheriff executes the murderer, by the order of "the higher powers", and in obedience to the solemn behests of the Law; and thus as the servant of "the ordinance of God" he doeth God service. There is no ground for any scruple against taking up arms at the command and for the defence of the Government: we should rather be anxious lest by our refusal we also "resist the ordinance of God." If our foes are our brethren, they are so much the more guilty; inasmuch as they have added to the guilt of treachery and rebellion, that also of fratricide. If we consent that the Government shall be sacrificed rather than that its enemies should be vanquished by the sword, we make ourselves deserving of that civil and divine judgment which the apostle declares "they that resist shall receive."

We have been so accustomed to the enjoyment of peace, that *the right of the sword* may have seemed, at first thought, a theme more appropriate to a day of Fasting and Humili-

ation, than to a day of Thanksgiving and Praise. But the subject presents abundant occasions for gratitude and rejoicing. We should thank and praise God for our Government. It is, and ever has been, characterized by constitutional liberty. It was sprinkled in its infancy with the spray of the ocean—that grandest symbol of perfect liberty within appointed limits—when it was solemnly christened under the name of “Just and Equal Laws for the general good.” The divine care and favor have attended it in all its perils and struggles, till it has attained such maturity of form and dimensions, and such copiousness of blessings to all who live under it, as to have been for many years the model which the fettered longings for constitutional liberty in Europe have been struggling to realize. With all its imperfections, it has triumphed over the world-wide prejudice it encountered; and it stands to-day, though besieged by intestine foes, a monument of stupendous human wisdom and of divine approbation.

We should thank and praise God for the patriotism of the loyal people. That the former generations of the Pilgrims were lovers of their country, there has been no occasion to doubt. But for a score or two of years the absorption of our citizens in the pursuit of their own private interests—so highly favored by uninterrupted peace—had become so great, that all were excused for doubting whether there was patriotism enough left to defend the Government in the emergency of an attack. The last administration evidently regarded the doubt as almost equivalent to a certainty that the love of country was extinct. And the present administration, coming in under such formidable threats and demonstrations of hostility, was obliged to feel its way to the heart of the people before it could be sure that its mountain still stood strong. But when the initiative of civil war was taken by the enemies of the Government, the sons of the Pilgrims demonstrated, as in a moment, that patriotism was not dead, but had

only been sleeping; for at the first sound of the trumpet of alarm, it rose in its freshness and its might, and girded itself for the conflict,—exemplifying as fact, what in our Governor's proclamation sounds so much like romance; namely, “the privilege of living unselfishly and of dying nobly.” But the patriotism of the nation is not confined to the descendants of the Pilgrims: it pervades, to the national surprise, almost the entire portion of those who have made this the country of their adoption. The cordial alliance of our foreign population with our native-born, in thus voluntarily perilling their lives in defence of the common cause, and in vying with them in exhibitions of patriotism, is a blessing from God for which we can hardly be too thankful and jubilant.

Devout thanksgiving and praise are due also, that the present war is on our part clearly justifiable. The cause of the Government is also the cause of God. The war was forced upon us against entreaty and against admonition, and in violation of beneficent laws and sacred oaths; so that the Government has been called, as by a voice from heaven, to unsheathe the sword, and, as “the minister of God”—nay, as “a revenger”—“to execute wrath” upon the rebellious. Our language, therefore, has been that of God's ancient servants: “In the name of our God we will set up our banners”; and, “Through thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us.” All honor, then, to the memory of those who have already fallen, in the providence of God, as the necessary price of ultimate victory. Let their names and their deeds be treasured as a precious part of our national history. “Tell ye your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation.”

Moreover, we should thank God for that correction of moral sentiment, which the present emergency seems likely to induce. Our national infidelity stands rebuked. The best-laid schemes of temporizing men have been found

inadequate to the preservation of peace. The intentions of political men, and the expectations of popular majorities, have been disappointed. God has often brought about results in the national affairs, the very opposite of those intended by the wise and crafty who have denied his superintendence and authority.

“ Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well ;
When our deep plots do pall : and that should teach us,
There’s a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.”

The rulers and the people seem to be returning to a deeper sense of their dependence upon God ; and to a more willing acknowledgment of their national ill-desert, and of the justice of his judgments. God is bringing back the minds of men to a more cordial acquiescence in the righteousness of his irrevocable law of capital punishment. He seems to be annihilating the scepticism which so many have been nursing, in respect of the justice of the retribution denounced in his word against the incorrigibly wicked ; compelling us to be consistent and acknowledge that, if rebels against the civil power are not deserving of the leniency of the Government, much less are rebels against God deserving of His leniency. In respect of our fellow-men in bondage, to strengthen whose fetters was the motive of this Southern conspiracy, the minds and hearts of the loyal people are coming to a unanimity which under our uninterrupted peace was well-nigh morally impossible. In the perplexity and short-sightedness and weakness of human wisdom, the hand of Providence is seen moving, if slowly, yet surely, towards our deliverance, and the ultimate removal of the one great and lamentable cause of our present distress. God is educating the people in regard to the great doctrines of government — of individual and popular rights, of law and loyalty, of justice and judgment, of guilt and retribution.

Let us gird ourselves, then, for the duties that are im-

posed upon us by this emergency. Let our patriotism be purer and more solemn than the mere love of country can be: though the star-spangled banner be the flag we are called to vindicate, it should be for a profounder reason than because it is the flag of our country. We should love our country, not merely nor mainly because it is ours, but because God gave it to our fathers, to be bequeathed to their children, and because he has ordained the government on the basis of just and equal laws for the general good — on the basis of natural and revealed right — and signified in so many ways and for so long a time, that he has planted this nation for a light and a model to all the nations of the earth — to exhibit a practical solution of the problem of popular sovereignty and of universal freedom. Let us accept the war as sent by God for the correction and purification of the nation, and the confirmation and perpetuation of all our civil and social and religious institutions, which have so manifestly received his sanction; for the wiping out of our great inconsistency and reproach, and for the realization and universal enjoyment of all those just and equal rights contemplated by the Constitution. Let us respond promptly and heartily, and as a religious duty, to every call of the Government, whether for men or for means; and let us remember our fellow-citizens in the army as though enlisted with them, — provide for all their necessities, and thus strengthen their courage and self-denial by the constant manifestations of our sympathies. And with constant prayer to God, that he will have a favor unto us, and send his “blessed angels” from “their silver bowers”

“Against fowle feendes to ayd us militant,”

let us bear all our responsibilities so as to demonstrate the strength of our faith, and the sincerity of our prayer, and the worthiness of our desire that our perilled liberties may be preserved.

OUR NATION'S DANGER.

A

SERMON

PREACHED IN THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, WELLFLEET,

FAST-DAY, APRIL 2, 1863,

BY GEO. F. WALKER.

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SERMON.

ISAIAH 8: 12, 13.

“SAY YE NOT, A CONFEDERACY, TO ALL THEM TO WHOM THIS PEOPLE SHALL SAY, A CONFEDERACY; NEITHER FEAR YE THEIR FEAR, NOR BE AFRAID. SANCTIFY THE LORD OF HOSTS, HIMSELF; AND LET HIM BE YOUR FEAR, AND LET HIM BE YOUR DREAD.”

The kingdom of Judah was threatened with a formidable invasion. Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, had united their forces and were marching towards Jerusalem. “And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved by the wind.” Well they might be; for either of the confederated powers was stronger than Judah, and how could they meet them united? It seemed as if there was awaiting them a certain defeat. Yet the Lord spake thus to his prophet Isaiah, and through him to the threatened and frightened people: “Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts, himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread.” It was as if the prophet had said, “It makes no difference what is the force against you; let Syria and Ephraim be joined together; what is their power, and what can they do, if God is on your side?

Has he not, aforetime, delivered your fathers who trusted in him? Fear not, then, the armies arrayed against you, but rather fear God, whose authority is over all, and whose power controls all the kings and armies of the world. Only be on his side, and you are safe. If found obedient to his commands, and doing his will, he will be your shield and defence in the day of battle: and aided by his power, a thousand shall put ten thousand to flight. 'He rules in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of earth, and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?' Fear him, then, and trust him, and he will prove your defence—your God."

We, as a nation, are to-day in the midst of one of the most cruel and most causeless civil wars that the world ever witnessed. Brother is arrayed against brother, and the earth is red with blood. The pursuits of peace are interrupted by the call to the battle-field; and the air resounds with the noisy tramp of war, the thunder of artillery, and the shouts of the living, mingling with the groans of the wounded and dying. Once quiet fields are strewn thickly with mangled corpses, trodden under the iron hoof of the war-horse, and the fires on many a hearthstone have been put out; for the husband and father returns no more. The country is clothed in mourning, and the tears of widows and orphans flow like the mighty streams of the ocean. For two years we have looked on, and hoped, and prayed; for two years we have been sending forth from our homes and our society loved ones and true, to roll back this tide of war—to put out the fires of this great rebellion. Some of them we have received back again, wrapped in the flag

for whose honor and defence they fought so bravely and fell so nobly, and they fill to-day patriots' graves; some, and not a few, are buried on the battle-fields, where they gave their lives to their country; others are among us, maimed and disabled for life with honorable wounds; and others, still, are suffering in hospitals, away from the comforts of home and the care of loving hands, yet suffering patiently and without complaint. Then, besides, we have a noble, patriotic army who are ready, if need be, to pour out their life-blood for their country, awaiting in distant fields the shock of war. How soon many of those manly forms shall be laid low in the midst of carnage and of death, God only knows. Pray for them, my hearers, and for their country, and ours, that with as little additional sacrifice as possible God may grant unto us once more the blessings of peace, and that, purified, we may come out of this furnace of trial a nation whose God is the Lord.

May we not, in these days of our sore trouble, may *we* not learn a lesson from the instructions of the prophet Isaiah to king Ahaz and the people of Judah? Let us, then, consider,

I. Some of the reasons why we need not fear the confederacy which is endeavoring to destroy this government.

(1) It had no just cause of complaint against the government. When a people are aggrieved, and every other resource fails to relieve them from oppression, then they have a right to resort to revolution. Our forefathers were justified in the course they adopted to rid themselves of the yoke of England, for they had remonstrated, they had petitioned, they had supplicated,

but all to no purpose; their remonstrances were unheeded, their petitions unanswered, and they were spurned from the foot of the throne. There was nothing before them but a tame submission to slavery, or a resort to arms; nor did they long hesitate; and over the din of battle and the clouds of war, rose the bright sun of American liberty and American independence.

But of what have the South to complain? Can they point to a single record on the national statute-book which is oppressive to them? Not one; certainly not till they had risen in rebellion against the government, and were in arms for its overthrow.* On the other hand, there is at least one law made and framed to favor their peculiar institution, which in its workings, when carried out, tramples into the dust the rights of every free citizen: I mean the Fugitive Slave Law. Why must a free citizen of a free state be liable to be compelled to convert himself into a slave-catcher for the South, or submit to

*EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS—the present Vice-President of the Confederate States—made in the Georgia Convention of January, 1861, in opposition to the then proposed act of secession.

“Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments, what reasons you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us. What reasons can you give to the nations of the earth to justify it? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case! and to what cause or *one* overt act can you point, or name, on which to rest the plea of justification? What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? and what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. * * * * *

Now for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century, in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety, while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquility, accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed, is the height of madness, folly and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote.”

a fine? Why must a free-born citizen of Massachusetts, if perchance he may be black, be liable to be siezed at his home and tried before a bribed officer as a slave? (The law gives the commissioner before whom the alleged slave is tried, ten dollars if he renders him to slavery, and only five if he declares him free.) Why must he be denied the right of trial by jury? His liberty is at stake, in comparison with which life itself is not precious. Yet to please the South this law was enacted, and written a black stain on the pages of our statute-book. Do they complain of this?

Then review the names of those who have filled the principal offices of honor and profit since the government was founded, and you will find a large majority to have been from the revolted states. Do they complain of this? Then our military schools, supported by public funds, have been well patronized by them, without any very serious inquiry whether they were receiving more than their share at the public cost; and to-day, the skill which so well conducts the affairs of the confederate army is, for the most part, the result of the education which has been received at West Point. Do they complain of this? In the representation of the states in our general government, their slaves, which they hold as property, have been allowed to count; thus giving them an advantage over the free states. Do they complain of this? The carrying of the mail in the South has never been paid for by the matter carried, and the deficit has been made up by the surplus of the North, and by the general government. Do they complain of this? In the payment of the revenues by which the government has been supported, Massachu-

setts has paid more than any four of the slave states. Do they complain of this?

Of what do they complain? What great wrong have they suffered? Northern states have enacted "personal liberty bills," providing that *its* citizens—no one else—shall not be deprived of the right of trial by jury. How does this injure South Carolina? She once was in the habit of taking our citizens, because they were not white, when they came as sailors to her shores, and putting them in prison; then, if they could not pay their jail-fees, selling them into perpetual bondage. She was not over courteous to one of our honored citizens, Judge Hoar of Concord, who was sent to them by the state of Massachusetts to secure the rights of her citizen-sailors, but compelled him, with his daughter, to leave Charleston by night for fear of mob-violence. Because she was allowed to enslave our free-born citizens when they visited her shores, did she think to be allowed to enslave them at their homes?

But we ask again, what rights of theirs have been trampled upon by the *governments* of the free states? They have been allowed to pass to and fro as they pleased, and to express their opinions freely in public and in private, and have been protected in these rights from violence. A southern congressman was allowed to say in Faneuil Hall, that the time was coming when he should be able to call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill Monnment; nor was he mobbed, or even insulted. Occasionally they may have lost a slave as they incautiously journeyed with him through the land of freemen, but the governments of these states have never taken their slaves from them. If my horse or my

dog gets away from me in any state, I have no right to complain of the laws of that state, unless they hinder my catching them again ; they are under no obligations to help me catch them.

But how does the treatment of northern men at the South compare with the treatment of southern men at the North ? Let the insults and injuries which they have received, even while they guarded their lips, answer ; yea, let the graves of murdered men speak, and the reply will be : "Free citizens of the North are free citizens of the South only so long as they repress their opinions and hold their tongues." I speak advisedly. An acquaintance of mine, who now fills an honored soldier's grave, was living in Georgia before the breaking out of the rebellion. He was an inoffensive man, an honest and industrious tradesman. One night he was called out of his store by a company of men, who shaved one half of his head, and, having stripped him, gave him a coat of tar and cotton. Of what did they accuse him ? Of nothing, only that he was from the North. He was obliged to leave the property he had accumulated by honest industry—his all on earth—and flee, for fear of greater violence ; and after the breaking out of the war, he enlisted as a soldier. In the whole history of the intercourse of the South with the North, show me one instance that will compare with this. This man was accused of nothing only of being a northerner, while hundreds of southerners have abused us, to our faces, with the most violent language, and then, when they reached their southern home, laughed at us because we didn't dare to resent it.

But what is their complaint ? The abuse of northern

abolitionists? Because, forsooth, some few radical men of the North have said things about them, almost as hard as they have often said about us, they are determined to overthrow one of the best governments the sun ever shone upon! But a northern man was elected President. How did they know that such would be the case, while they were making all preparations in their power to overthrow the authority of the government? Officers, under the most solemn oath to support the Constitution and the laws, in the highest places of trust, before they could know what would be the result of the election, bent their energies and tasked their ingenuity to weaken, in every possible way, the government, in order that they might succeed in their nefarious plan of destroying it.

Every reason they give for rebellion is only a pretext to hide up a long settled plan of theirs. For more than a score of years they have been plotting to do just what they are now trying to do; their young men have been educated in our military schools, on purpose to prepare them to be leaders in this very war; and they have talked of, and threatened secession, before the North ever thought or acted much against slavery. We need not fear *them*, then, for their cause is an unjust one, and unless there is some other reason for our defeat, we may be sure of victory.

(2) We need not fear the confederacy, because it is founded on injustice and oppression.

It is built on slavery as its corner stone. We have the authority of its Vice-President to prove this assertion, and no one can reasonably doubt it. They desire and design to perpetuate this institution; but while a just

God rules, no people can long prosper which countenances oppression ; for in itself it is an element of weakness in any government. It tends, by cultivating in the master a desire to rule, towards anarchy, and it will yet, if this war should continue, introduce division into the confederate ranks. The danger lies in placing in the hands of the master so much power over the person and life of human beings,—a power which, under many circumstances, becomes irresponsible. The holding of such power, even if it is not used, is dangerous, and tends to cultivate in its possessor a spirit that will brook opposition from no quarter. Its teachings are, “rule or ruin.” A people thus educated cannot long agree, and must soon be weakened by dissensions among themselves. Had it not been for the iron rule under which the southern people are, anarchy would have been the fruit of slavery before now, and we should have seen a divided South. Should they succeed in establishing an independent confederacy, this disintegrating power within it would, in a very few years, tear it in pieces, and build on its ruins at least as many governments as there are now states.

(3) We need not fear the confederacy, because it has not strength enough to overcome us.

If it was fighting in a just cause, and we were oppressors, we might fear lest God should give it the victory. But we have already shown that it has not justice on its side. Hence, without justice, or numbers, or resources, we may well not fear it. Had not those who sympathize with it in foreign countries sent over assistance, the confederacy would not have existed to-day. It has already in the field nearly all its available force,

while we have scarcely begun to expend ours yet. We hardly know, when we walk the thoroughfares of our towns and cities, that any have left us. If need be, we could send into the contest three times the men we have yet sent, and still have enough left at home so that our business interests would suffer but little. *We* have hardly known that there has been a war; with us, business of almost all kinds has never been better than during the last year. And our resources are ample, so that we could carry on the war for ten, or even twenty years, and not find the end of our means. But the confederacy can hold out only a little longer; they are now undergoing sacrifices we little dream of, and a few well-directed blows could but end the rebellion.

We have no need, then, to fear the confederacy. Entered upon without just cause, founded on oppression, and already with its resources nearly exhausted, it is no equal foe for a country like ours; its power, unaided, can never overthrow our government. Have we, then, anything to fear? This question leads us to consider—

II. Some of the reasons why we have cause to fear God.

Nations, as well as individuals, depend upon God for their existence. He rules over all, and controls all things. His providence governs all events, and he can make use of just such instrumentality to perpetuate or to destroy a nation as he chooses. The history of those nations which have once existed, flourished, and passed away, shows how often he has made use of the sins of a people for their own overthrow. If, then, we find ourselves, as a people, left to iniquity, we have great cause to fear that God is about to destroy us—that he has

numbered the days of our national existence, and is fast bringing us to a certain destruction. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." When God wills, the weaker prevail over the stronger; and sometimes when he punishes wicked nations by wicked nations, he seems for a time to give success to the wrong till he has accomplished his purposes, and then he visits with a miserable overthrow the instruments of his wrath. This may be the case with the southern confederacy; for we have already seen that it has within itself the seeds of destruction.

In looking at our country we have cause to fear God.

(1) On account of its infidelity.

We have the name of a Christian people. But do we deserve that name? In our political existence how much do we acknowledge God? He is the author of all legitimate authority; "The powers that be are ordained of God," and they receive their sanctions from him to rule in righteousness. Do we, as a people, acknowledge this? And if we do not, what right have we to be called a Christian nation? Many of those who are chosen to be our rulers, who are put into high places of authority to represent the power of God, are not only men destitute of religious principles, but even of moral goodness; they are openly and viciously wicked men; they are profane swearers, gamblers, drunkards, adulterers, and given to almost, if not quite, every crime; they, in their speeches on the floor of Congress, make use most freely of such profanity as would almost shame a bar-room of the Five Points at New York. I say, such are some of the men whom we, a nominally Christian people, exalt to positions of honor and trust,

and clothe with the divine right of governing. Have we not, on this account, reason to fear the displeasure of God?

Then, again, look at the party spirit which rules at our elections, and selects as candidates for office, not the best, but most available men. See the means made use of to carry these elections. What meanness is too mean to be stooped to, to secure a party issue? I stood one election day at the polls in one of our large towns, as a spectator, from the opening hour of the morning till the sun went down, to see for myself just how these things are managed. Calling the name of no party, I will lay before you the history of that day's observations. One of the political parties (the election was for United States officers) had fitted up a room just across the street from the town hall, and calling in all whom they could persuade to enter, they treated them to strong drink until they were so drunken they could not tell one vote from another. Then putting into their hands the votes of the party which furnished the rum, sent them over to the hall to deposit them. Just by the polls stood a man of the party, who watched these poor drunken fellows, to make it sure that they deposited the right vote. One of them lost the vote given him, and a young man, standing by, gave him a vote of the opposite party, differing in all respects from the one he had been furnished with at the drinking room; yet he was so drunk he didn't know the difference, and deposited it as his vote, while the man who was watching him was trying in vain to get to him through the crowd, to inform him of his mistake. These things took place some years ago, and the votes

thus deposited, under the influence of rum, were for the candidates who were successful in the election, and who have had their term of office in the highest places of trust under the government. I call no names; I do not even give you the year when I witnessed these things; but I do say, that to elect men by resort to such means, is a disgrace on civilization, to say nothing of Christianity. What right has a government to be called Christian, whose officers have been thus chosen, unless the people have repented and turned from their wickedness? And would not those same men make use of the same means again to accomplish their party ends? While it is the safeguard of a country like ours, that there are parties, strong parties, who hold opposite opinions in regard to matters of political policy, the one to act as a check upon the other, yet, when party strife runs so high as to override all considerations of truth and honesty, then we are in danger of being destroyed by what would otherwise be our safety. In this party strife we, as a people, forget God, and our dependence is placed upon the success of our party, never once considering that God increaseth the nations and destroyeth them; that he enlargeth the nations and straiteneth them again; that he leadeth counsellors away spoiled, and maketh the judges fools, and that he leadeth princes away spoiled and overthroweth the mighty. Are we not, then, in our acts, an infidel nation? and have we not, on this account, great reason to fear God?

(2) We have cause to fear lest God is about to destroy us, by leaving us to our own avarice and love of gain.

“The love of money is the root of all evil.” And how does the community seem now to be filled with this passion! Look at the vast speculations which have taken the occasion of our country’s distress to rise and flap their dark wings over the whole nation. What is at the foundation of these gigantic evils but the greed of gold? Those who are the prime movers in them would look on with composure, yea, with rejoicing, while their country sunk under the burdens of this war, if they could only increase their wealth out of the spoils. See how they rob and cheat the poor soldier! For a little gain they will not only expose him to real hardships, but to the actual danger of losing his life. Examine the shoddy garments which greedy speculators have sold to either ignorant or wicked officers, from the profits of which their coffers are filled with ill-gotten gains; while these same garments are given out to cover and protect from the cold and storm, men who have given their time, and are risking their lives, for the paltry sum of thirteen dollars a month and a bounty at the close of the war—men, patriots, any one of whom is worth more to his country than all the speculators that could be crowded and packed between here and Gibraltar. A few months since I visited one of our camps where there were several of my acquaintances as soldiers. It was about noon, the day following a rainy night. A young man came where I was, and I noticed that his clothes were literally soaked through by the rain of the night. I asked him why he was so foolish as to go out without his rubber blanket. He replied that he did wear it, but the water came through it like a sieve. He was only exposed to the rain for a short

time, while, as an officer, he went to call in the guard from duty, yet he was thoroughly drenched. Now the contractor who furnished that blanket may have saved a few pennies by making it poorly; but he exposed the life of a young man, the only son of his parents, a junior in one of our New England colleges, a candidate for the office of the gospel ministry, (if he shall escape from the hands of speculators and the deadly missiles of the enemy,) and a man in whose heart burns brightly the true fires of patriotism and loyalty. A few cents against the life of such a man! A friend of mine, in the campaign of the Peninsula, completely wore out, so that they were useless, two pairs of shoes in a march of only four days; nor was the poor man who made those shoes wholly in fault that they were so poorly made; for speculating contractors, eager to save at both ends of the bargain, while they received from government a large price for them, pinched the poor laborer in his pay till he was obliged to slight his work in order to make a living. All this is done to make a few miserable men rich—men who do not deserve the name of men—men whose room is worth more to the community than they are themselves.

The direct tendency of these speculators is to weaken the power of the government, and thus to give aid and comfort to the enemy. And I must confess that I am unable to see any reason why such men should not be treated as traitors, or, at least, sent to Fort Warren or some other safe place till the war is over, and their ill-gotten gain confiscated to the use of their country.

(3) We have cause to fear lest God may destroy us, by permitting the counsels of evil-minded men to divide

the North, and inaugurate another civil war, which could scarcely help filling the whole community with anarchy, and tumbling down in utter ruin the whole fabric of our government.

About once a week, in the city of New York, a club meets, which takes its name from a man who has, till the close of the last session of Congress, been a representative there—at whose meetings resistance to the laws of the country is inculcated, the President is hissed, and those who favor an unconditional suppression of the rebellion, are denounced as nigger-heads, fanatics, or by any other name most likely to inflame partizan hatred, in favor of Jeff. Davis and the men who are murdering our soldiers and trying to overthrow our government. At one of those meetings, recently, Mr. Voorhees, a representative in Congress, said: “When the government went outside the limits of the law, then force should be met by force.” Mr. Fernando Wood said, in a speech at Stamford, Connecticut, that “the conscription act is unconstitutional, and if he was elected Governor of Connecticut, not a man should be forced from the state without walking over his dead body.” If such men succeed in their efforts to cripple the government, what will be the result short of the absolute ruin of the country? A New York paper has well put the answer to our question. It says: “When such reckless demagogues and their confederates begin to preach the doctrine of resistance to President Lincoln, and the doctrine of submission to Jeff. Davis, it is, at least, due to the community that the tendencies of their absurd and dangerous doctrines should be exposed. They counsel resistance to laws. Let us suppose these

apostles of mob-law succeed in securing a body of adherents, resolved upon resistance to the conscription. The government undertakes to enforce the law ; a bloody collision ensues ; the contagion of resistance spreads throughout the ranks of the party infected, and civil war, with all its fearful consequences, is inaugurated at our own doors. Under such a state of things, what citizen's property, home, or life, would be secure ? What family would be safe from night to night against the intrusion of a gang of hungry ruffians, and a wholesale spoliation ? And with the loyal states in this horrible condition, how would it be possible to prevent the breaking up of our armies in the field, the occupation of the national capital by Jeff. Davis, and the absolute destruction of the government of the United States ? ”

Men who advocate such principles are to be found, not alone in New York, but all over the land, and with more or less boldness they are trying to subvert the authority of the government. Is there nothing to be feared from them ? Then, too, how full is the country of men who are weakening the hands of the government by their complainings. At heart they are loyal men, and really wish their country delivered from this great rebellion, but they think the administration all wrong ; they don't like the proclamation of the President—they think it is unconstitutional ; they can't see why this officer is relieved, and that one put in command ; the war is managed badly ; if such and such a plan had been adopted, it would have been finished long ago. In short, they are full of complaints, and wonder why the whole machinery of the government is not managed according to their plans. Now it is not the

object of these complaining patriots to hinder the authorities, but the whole tendency of their course is to do so. Their words nurture distrust, and tend to alienate the people from those whom a majority have chosen to manage the affairs of the government. Would it not be better for such men to consider that, possibly, there may be some wisdom in the world besides what they possess and to try to help on the authorities in the way they have chosen, rather than to be continually showing them a better way? The influence of this foolish (we can call it by no better name) complaining, lies on the government as a heavy weight, and has to be carried, with all its other burdens. It can do no good,—it may do much hurt. All cannot agree on every plan of action. Different eyes look on the same things differently. Hence, the true way for all loyal citizens is to help, leaving the making of plans and the responsibility therefor in the hands of those whose business it is to conduct the government and the war.

Another source of evil is found in the bestowing of public honor upon those officers who have merited and received the censure of the government, or, at least, have been relieved of their commands. An honest, victorious leader of armies deserves well of his people; and giving grand receptions to such a man can have no tendency to hurt. But when the public endeavor to reverse the decisions of government, then it throws its influence to weaken or destroy proper authority. No *loyal* officer should receive any such demonstrations at the hands of his fellow-citizens; and, unless in some way over-persuaded, no *loyal* officer would receive such demonstrations.

I might speak, did time permit, of the jealousies

among the officers of our armies ; of the drunkenness, which renders so many of them inefficient ; of the prejudice against the negro, which is, in a great measure, excluding him from aiding in this war, and of other hindering causes which tend to hold us back from success. But, from what has already been advanced, we may well tremble when we remember, that only the power of God can save this nation from destruction by its own hands, and that, as a people, we deserve so little from him.

In view of our situation, is it not well for us to fast, and, clothing ourselves in sackcloth, to sit down in the dust ? Verily, as a nation, we have sinned, and our sins are finding us out. The clouds of judgment under which we are now passing are no blacker than we deserve ; and the only light that the Christian patriot can see in the future of this great nation, is found in the hope that God will be merciful to us, and lead us to repentance, so that he can consistently bless us again with peace and prosperity. Let *us*, at least, prostrate ourselves before God, and cry for his mercy. Let us besiege his throne, day and night, with entreaties that he will deliver us from our sins as a people, and help us to acknowledge and trust in him. Happy will it be for us if we shall be thus led ; for then, not only the banner of our country will float over a free and prosperous nation, but the banner of God's love will be the joy and protection of us all. Pray that this cruel war may cease, and that the noise of battle may be followed by the quiet of peace. We trust God has in store for this people a glorious future, and that we are now in the furnace, not for destruction, but for purification.

There is much of evil, yet God can purify us from it, as silver is purified from its dross in the fire. Let us trust, then, in God, and fear him. Let us humble ourselves before him in view of our own sins and the sins of our people, and, peradventure, his right hand shall work out for us a speedy and glorious deliverance.

God save, not only the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, but the whole American Republic.

A

S E R M O N

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Executive and Legislative Departments

OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS,

AT THE

A N N U A L E L E C T I O N ,

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 6, 1864.

BY

W M. A. S T E A R N S, D. D.

B O S T O N :

W R I G H T & P O T T E R, S T A T E P R I N T E R S,

N O . 4 S P R I N G L A N E .

1 8 6 4 .

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, STATE HOUSE, }
BOSTON, January 12, 1864. }

DEAR SIR,—Pursuant to an Order, unanimously adopted, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to present to you the thanks of the House for your able and instructive Discourse, delivered before the Government of the Commonwealth on the 6th inst., and to request a copy of the same for the press.

It gives us pleasure to communicate to you the action of the House, and we trust it will be both agreeable and convenient for you to comply with the request at an early day.

Most respectfully yours,

M. S. UNDERWOOD,
JOSEPH ALLEN,
CHARLES BEECHER,

Committee.

To the Rev. Pres. STEARNS, Amherst, Mass.

AMHERST COLLEGE, January 18, 1864.

GENTLEMEN,—Your note of January 12th, requesting, in behalf of “the House of Representatives,” a copy of the Sermon recently preached “before the Government of the Commonwealth,” came duly to hand. Have the goodness to express my acknowledgments to that honorable body, and inform them that a copy of the Discourse is at their disposal.

Respectfully and truly, I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

W. A. STEARNS.

Messrs. M. S. UNDERWOOD, JOSEPH ALLEN and CHARLES BEECHER.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 23, 1864.

The Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the Order from the Special Committee on the Election Sermon of Rev. Prof. Stearns, of Amherst, providing for the printing of five thousand copies thereof, have considered the same, and report that, in their opinion, the importance of the topics so ably discussed by one who has been called by the casualties of war to endure a most painful sacrifice, the extraordinary interest felt by the people of the Commonwealth in the principles involved, and the desirableness of a wide dissemination of the patriotic sentiments inculcated therein, fully justify the printing of the extra number of copies proposed.

They therefore recommend that said Order, as reported, be adopted by the House

For the Committee,

CHAS. W. PALFRAY, *Chairman*.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 21, 1864.

ORDERED, That five thousand copies of the Discourse delivered by the Rev. Dr. STEARNS before the Executive and Legislative Departments of the State Government, on the 6th inst., be printed for the use of the Legislature.

W. S. ROBINSON, *Clerk*.

S E R M O N .

2 SAMUEL, x. 12.

BE OF GOOD COURAGE, AND LET US PLAY THE MEN FOR OUR PEOPLE, AND FOR THE CITIES OF OUR GOD: AND THE LORD DO THAT WHICH SEEMETH HIM GOOD.

Thank God we have still a country. We have a country which treason, rebellion and the opinion of foreign nations notwithstanding, gives at this moment brighter promise of perpetuity and ultimate nobleness, than it has given for a quarter of a century before; a country whose prospects, compared even with a year ago, are as the broad-breaking dawn to the dark night of tempest which preceded it. The steadily waning power of the rebellion; the remarkable contraction of the area which it dominates; the great victories which electrified the country in midsummer, and those which have recently crowned our arms; the marked progress which has been secured in the military measures of emancipation, and the improved sentiment and intelligence of the people

in reference to that much abused race who are the innocent occasion of this strife; the change which has taken place in some foreign nations, from adverse dispositions and acts towards a real neutrality, if not co-operative sympathy; the trial and growing strength of the Constitution, evincing its wisdom and power in proportion to the strains which are put upon it; the new confidence inspired in our republican governments by the calmness and strength with which they have put down domestic insubordination and executed wholesome laws; the manifestation of suppressed patriotism in seceded States, and of the returning loyalty of thousands, perhaps millions, whom the rebellion had swept into its frightful vortex; the healthful condition of our public finances and the wonderful prosperity of the loyal people generally, together with their ever-growing determination to maintain the integrity of the nation, however great may be the sacrifices, and however protracted the struggle;—all these facts and considerations are adapted to inspire us with courage, and call out our gratitude. On this early day of January, 1864, at this first assembling again of the legislature of our honored Commonwealth, it is right and becoming that we express our united thanks to Almighty God for his goodness,

and greet one another with a courageous “Happy new year.”

But though gratitude and courage are seemly, we have no time for glorying—hardly time for rejoicing. We must address ourselves to more serious thoughts and undertakings. When the life of a nation is at hazard; when political earthquake has shaken the government and its foundations are still trembling; when hundreds of thousands of peaceful citizens, summoned from their occupations, are marching everywhere in military array; when precious blood is flowing, and aceldemas spot the land, and homes are draped in mourning, and tears are dropping, and all hearts are throbbing with anxieties;—solemn thinking and earnest working demand our attention; nor can I properly select any subject for consideration on an occasion like the present, not connected with the condition of the times, and the circumstances in which we are placed.

It will be the business of the hour to reflect on some of the problems of social prosperity, and especially to inquire what we can do to defend, perpetuate, and enlarge the life of the nation.

First of all, we must prosecute this terrible war to its righteous results. The rebellion must be

put down. It must be put down, if there were no other reasons for it, because it *is* rebellion. Government is a nullity so far as it is impotent against or tolerates rebellion. Would any of the great Powers of the earth—would England, or France, or Russia, for any cause—tolerate rebellion within their dominions? And shall we for no cause? Never.

But what we call rebellion, the insurgents call secession, and justify as a right. There is no such right. Secession has no foundation to rest upon. Its assumed basis is the idea of independent sovereignty in the States. But no State ever had such sovereignty; no, not for a moment. From the beginning, and always, the States have been clusters of population, suspended from and nourished by some common vine. Originally they were British dependencies. The Declaration of Independence was not the declaration of separate colonies, but of a National Congress, which represented the colonies and expressed their unity. The “Articles of Confederation” adopted in 1781, were not the terms of an original league, so much as the principles of a union already existing. They declared, however, the unity to be *perpetual*, and they confirmed the declaration by irrevocable conditions, especially by the surrender and acceptance of territories, for

the general good. When it came to be known, through the tests of experience, that the written compact intended to express and strengthen the pre-existing union was operating rather to limit its power and hinder its usefulness, the nation set itself to the construction of a National Constitution. It was framed and adopted by "the people of the United States," and was intended not to originate a union, but to make the existing union more intelligible and more perfect. When adopted, it was adopted not merely by the States as States, but more expressly by "the people" of the States as a people. It gave, expressed and everywhere implied, all the powers requisite for its perpetuity, and none whatever for its destruction. From that day the nation's life has been a constitutional and inviolable unity. As a unity, it has not only carried on the usual operations of government, but it has purchased territory, and conquered territory, and annexed territory, and divided territory into new States, and admitted States, and been a *Body* "joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, making increase unto the edifying of itself." Nor, whatever may be said of disturbing elements always within it, is there a nation on the face of the earth whose parts have so intergrown, complicated them-

selves with each other, and compacted themselves into one as our own. Secession, then, is rebellion, and rebellion must be put down.

It is not necessary to present a further reason for overthrowing it. But it is well to keep always before us the consequences which would follow from its triumph. We should not only admit a principle of national disintegration into the body politic, and introduce years, perhaps centuries, of anarchy, shame and misery, but we should suffer a terrible and odious despotism to rise and domineer at our side. This fact has not yet been sufficiently pondered. A Southern confederacy, were it possible for such a monstrosity to exist, from the character of its population and the nature of its institutions, as well as the disposition of its leaders, would be a great war-power on our borders. It would consist chiefly of three principal estates:—an oligarchy of large slaveholders; a great working class of African bondmen, indefinitely increased by the foreign slave-trade; and a vast standing army, constituted chiefly of what are now called “poor whites.” Such an army would be necessary. It would be necessary to keep down the slaves; to defend a mighty wrong against the adverse sentiment and action of the civilized world; to make aggressions upon neighboring territory, for slavery,

like the “daughters of the horse-leech,” will forever “cry, give, give ;” and finally, as a standing menace and power of violence against any free State or nation around it. The material of the army must be what I have described ; for it is available, and adapted to the purpose, and there is no other position for it in a slaveholding confederacy. The poor whites in such a community, too proud and too indolent to labor, too ignorant and impotent to rule, without schools, without the functions of high citizenship, without the means of bettering their condition which the working classes of the North possess, would become soldiers. They would be the great *fighting* class of the South ; and the great and only great fighting class, as a class, on the continent. We are addicted to the arts of peace, and, though we *can* fight and have fought with indomitable courage and persistency, our employments and our tastes dispose us to peace. But should a Southern confederacy, by any possibility, be established, we should be compelled to fight in self-defence, and that too from generation to generation, until it should be destroyed, or we ourselves go under.

Some imagine that the rebellion needs coaxing and compromising, and that then it will subside. We coaxed it and compromised with it before it

fairly broke out. We almost gave up our manliness to appease it. But it never would down. Our alternative is submission to its extremest demands, the degradation of ourselves and our posterity, the surrender of our birthrights of freedom, or its subjection by force. What has any Northern man to expect from its success, from giving it any measure of sympathy, from withholding denunciation, from keeping back the sword? We may or may not sympathize with a particular administration, we may or may not approve of all its acts and policies, we may belong to this school of politics or to that; we may even believe that the terrible issue now upon us, by wiser counsels might have been avoided; but circumstances being as they are, what have any of us to hope for in the triumph of the rebellion, or of the principles which sustain it? We may crouch and fawn before it, but it will despise us. We may betray our country to it, as Iscariot sold his Master, but when, in remorse, we throw down the price of blood, the response will be, "What is that to us?" and we shall have no alternative but the shame and despair of him who went away and hanged himself. Apologies for treason, irresolution, half-way measures, soft words, are all just now out of place. What we need is blows, and hard blows,

and blows all the time, till rebellion submits itself. Would you have even the respect of the enemies of your country, you must conquer them. Nay, would you have a country, you must conquer its enemies.

Foreign nations may cry out against us, and profess to be shocked by the terribleness of this war, as though their own histories were immaculate, and they were not at this moment drawing the sword. But they know as well as we, that if we are not the most degenerate and the meanest of the nations, we shall prosecute this war to a righteous close. Let treason and mad ambition rend us asunder, when sacrifices and efforts might have saved us, and their own future historians would write of us, that in an age when Italy, "the land of political earthquakes and volcanoes," after desperate struggles, rose in power and bound itself into the unity of a mighty people, America, the freest, the happiest, the basest of the nations, went down ingloriously, and was buried in imbecility and shame. No, God helping us, we shall perform our terrible duty; we shall triumph; freedom fought out for man will triumph; humanity will triumph; and a multitude of the heavenly host will praise God again, and cry, "Glory to God in the highest, for on earth there is peace and good-will towards men."

We must, in the next place, take higher views of the value of a nation, and especially of our own nation, than was common among us before the war. What is a nation? It is a great community of people, held together by common bonds, under one government, and compacted into a living organic whole. It is distinguished by its unity in one body politic from other communities of people, organized and held together among themselves in a similar way. The diversity of races and interests; the number and character of populations; configuration of the earth's surface, divided as it is by seas, and continents, and mountains and rivers, with that depravity and selfishness of man which induces the larger and stronger communities to oppress the weaker,—make divisions into nations a necessity. Human necessities are Divine decrees. What natural theology thus teaches, revealed religion confirms. There is a King of kings, and an administration above administrations. “The Lord is governor among the nations.” “The Most High divideth to the nations their inheritance.” “He hath made of one blood all nations, and hath determined the bounds of their habitation.” A nation is thus a vast and divinely-quickened organism—a million-handed and million-hearted life—everywhere sensi-

tive, everywhere throbbing with vitality. It wraps up in its own being the most precious interests of the human race. It inspheres and protects great histories, examples, ideas, principles; the ashes of ancestors, monuments of by-gone days; the activities of great populations,—in cities, in towns, in villages,—thronging in masses, scattered in solitudes, covering banks of rivers, spreading up the sides of mountains and down along the shores and harbors of the ever-sounding sea; the germs, too, of coming growths and the welfare of hundreds of millions thronging upon our imagination from the future. Institutions, churches, schools, homes, souls more than can be numbered, are involved in its destiny. It comes down from the past, and is the offspring of the centuries. It looks towards the future, and is fraught with good or ill to unborn generations. It has relations to all the other organized populations of the earth. It is one of the family of great organic lives, which divide among them and possess the globe. Its prosperity throws sunshine into countless homes; its adversity blights the hopes and joys of vast communities. Millions tremble when it is agitated; millions stagger with faintness when it is heavily struck; and when it falls, its dying groans sometimes terrify all the habitations

of men. Whoever strikes at a nation strikes at an immense life, involving immense interests, and he that lifts a parricidal arm against it, commits a crime, the enormity of which can be measured only by infinities.

What greater study, then, for statesmen and patriots than the study of nations? We should study them in their rise, in their greatness, in their fall. We should study their organizations, their weaknesses, their powers; we should study their convulsions and their revolutions, their relations to contemporaries, their position in the world's progress, their special missions for mankind, and their contributions to human advancement. We should study them in their relations to Him, who, in the faith of all Christendom, is the centre of human history, and towards the glory of whose kingdom all that went before was preparing, and all that follows will contribute.

Especially should American citizens study their own nation. They should study and comprehend it. They should comprehend the nation in its history, in its institutions, in its industries, in its sections and prejudices, in its spirit and tendencies, in its resources and capacities, in its geographical conformations, in its dangers. They should compre-

hend the nation, as one among the great family of nations, and as belonging to the present period of the world's life. They should comprehend the stars in their individualities, and in their relations to each other, and in the unity of the constellation which inshrines them. They should honor the nation as one of those great public lives which cannot be destroyed or injured, without imperilling the welfare of millions. They should love the nation, not only as philanthropists and patriots, but as members of a vast fraternity, embarked in the same ship of State, with their affections, and hopes, and interests all on board. They should sacredly perform their duties to the nation as its citizens, and, by consultations, by the honest expression of opinions and reasons, by suffrage, by administration when called to it, strengthen and adorn it. They should esteem it honorable to live for the nation—more honorable, if necessary, to die for the nation.

We must also take higher views of civil government, especially of the importance of our own government as adapted to us. Government is the principle of order, so enforced that the movements of the many shall be harmonized, and the best good of the individual and of the whole secured.

In this respect, it resembles gravitation, by which Deity directs the onrushing spheres through their myriad orbits, prevents collisions and saves creation from the return of chaos.

Government has its foundation in the perfections of God—especially in those eternal laws of right by which He would direct the conduct of men in their relations to each other, and in that goodness of the common Father, which seeks the welfare of all. Government is made necessary to men by the circumstances in which they are placed. Necessities are divine. Government is therefore of divine origin, and a divine ordinance. The old dogma, “the divine right of kings,” is only a perversion of the divine right, or rather, the divine duty of government. God ordained it. Order is alike the law of His being, and a condition of human happiness. In the lofty language of Milton, “He that hath read with judgment of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will agree that the flourishing and decaying of all human societies, all the moments and turning of human occasions are moved to and fro upon the axle of discipline. Yea, the angels themselves, in whom no discord is feared, as the apostle who saw them in his rapture

describes, are distinguished and quarternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven."

Government, then, is not designed for the advantage of one or a few over others, but for the good of all. It was not only ordained by Him who is alike the Father of all, but for men who are alike His offspring, and brethren of each other. Nor is there any reason why, in this great family of children, one should assume to crowd down another and exalt himself. I would not say that if the one or the few were pre-eminent in wisdom and goodness, and would wield power for the benefit of all, it might not be desirable to place it in their hands. Nor would I say that all men are in all respects equal; they are not. But it is the right of all alike that government should be wielded for their benefit, and that each should have equal privileges with others, modified only by the necessity of the circumstances in which they are placed.

What, then, is that *form* of government which God has ordained for man? Some will expect me to say at once—the democratic or republican form. That is not my answer. I believe in republics, but it follows from the principles laid down, that the

normal form of government for a given people is that which is best adapted to promote most impartially the highest good of the individual and the whole. It may be a patriarchate, autocracy, oligarchy, limited monarchy, or limited democracy, or some mixed form; if it is best adapted to the good of a people, and been established, it is the form divinely ordained for them. Why need we, as Americans, contend with England, France or Russia as to their modes of government, till we have settled the question that democracy would make them each a better, happier, wiser nation? What is best for one community might not be for another. It is not certain that any of the great nations of Europe are yet capable of self-government. Besides, existing governments can rarely be changed without revolutions. Revolutions are evils, though in exceptional cases they may ultimate in good. Hence that principle of international law as well as Christianity, that "the powers that be are ordained of God;" and hence the apostle's exhortation "to pray for kings and for all that are in authority, that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in godliness and honesty."

And yet I hesitate not to say, that for communities which are capable of it, a republican or representative government is the divinely ordered form. The

rational natures of men, their common paternity, their brotherhood, make it evident.

But the logical consequence of this position, some will say, is democracy, not republicanism. By no means. If all were absolutely equal, convenience would still demand representation. But when, as matter of fact, there are diversities of ability and adaptation to govern, should not a wise people appoint its best qualified men to the management of its affairs? And what is this but delegated self-government? and what is delegated self-government but republicanism?

Consider now our government as approximating the best standard. It is representative throughout. It derives all its powers in all its departments, directly or indirectly from the people, and restores those powers, after limited periods, to the people again. The completeness with which the representative principle is carried out distinguishes our American constitutions both from the ancient democracies and the freest monarchies of modern times. Nothing can be better in *theory*, if the people are equal to it in practice.

Our republicanism, also, is the result of intelligence and virtue, illumined by thousands of years of political experiment. The course of progress

among the historical nations has always been from the Orient westward. The civilization of Europe is far higher than the civilization of Asia. And the advance nations of Europe, at this day, are those which approach nearest in locality to America. It was not till antiquity had perished, and mediæval centuries had rolled away, that our western continent was revealed. Meanwhile, He who appoints the bounds of human habitations, was preparing a people to settle it. In the new world, every thing was new. The germ of its institutions was started under providential necessities, in the Mayflower, as she ploughed her perilous way through the Atlantic towards unpromising landing-places on this side the deep. Very early in New England, and to some extent at the South, the two great problems of our civilization offered themselves for discussion;—the proper forms of government for the Church, and the proper forms of government for the State. These questions were investigated by free and superior minds, in communities untrammelled by the past, and under circumstances most favorable to their solution. The question of the Church was settled first; the question of the State, illumined by that of the Church, hastened on to a similar conclusion. The result was civil and religious liberty.

When the British yoke was broken, the spirit, habits and necessities of the people determined the method of their local institutions, while a Divine Providence, signally manifested, in a course of overruling events, constrained the formation of a national government. The Convention which constructed the Constitution was composed of remarkable men. They were selected from the peerage of the race. Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, Randolph and their associates, constituted an assemblage which for wisdom and patriotism was never equalled. In high appreciation of their difficulties and responsibilities, they bowed reverently before the Father of lights, praying daily that He would "illuminate their understandings," confessing that "God governs in the affairs of men, and that if a sparrow cannot fall without his notice, an empire cannot rise without his aid." The political fabric they erected, its approval by the people, and the peaceful revolution which established its supremacy, can be regarded by the Christian statesman familiar with those perilous times, only with adoring wonder and gratitude. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it was a stupendous, not to say miraculous success. Not that the Constitution was perfect; perfection does not belong to the finite. But it is difficult even now to see

how so many and such conflicting interests could have been harmonized on any principles or compromises essentially different. Nor can I doubt that on the whole, it had the Divine sanction. God is eminently practical in His administrations. In His management of great communities, the best conceivable gives place to the best practicable. As human activities enter into His plans, He seems to consider circumstances, opinions, customs and prejudices even, as facts, and to deal with them accordingly. Hence He often tolerates and regulates what, in the abstract, He never approves. On this principle, I believe our Constitution the best which the whole nation could bear, and had it been administered always in its spirit and design, the nation, as such, would have escaped the judgments of Heaven, though some of the States might have suffered for great evils embodied in them. As it is, though corruption has bred civil pestilence, though political depravity has outrun horsemen, though a monstrous ambition has defied the heavens, and hands black with perjury have grasped the pillars of the State to overthrow it, I believe that no government on the globe is better fitted, not only for the happiness of its subjects generally, but to put down rebellion and work out

those terrible problems which are rocking the nation.

Let us, then, accept our own government and sustain it. Constructed by men who knew how to avail themselves of the experience of all ages, formed in the vast and free spaces of a new country where no antiquated corruptions had grown into it, adopted by a population which had struggled up into freedom against hereditary prestige and oppression, and, outgrowing the period of colonial pupilage, had achieved independence, it was a government for the people. If any of the chief fathers of the Revolution had the smallest leaning towards monarchy, every one of them agreed that nothing but republicanism was desirable, was possible for America. The republican spirit has been gaining strength for generations. The masses will die for it. Let no man suggest a monarchy for us. An extreme democracy is an American possibility; so, perhaps, is a military despotism; but not a constitutional monarchy. The materials for it are wanting. We have neither the great wealth of an aristocratic clergy, nor the "immense interests of a secular nobility" to sustain it. The British constitution for England, the emperor for France, if you please, but Europe should know, above all we ourselves should

know, that republican institutions are not only the highest forms of government, but to us they are necessities.

Let the American people, as well as statesmen, study the government. We should study it in our colleges and common schools, and by our firesides, as well as in Congress and our legislatures. We should study government in its broadest principles, and its application to nations, but most of all the government under which, as free citizens, we are sheltered.

There is one lesson respecting government which we need most of all to learn, and that is *obedience*. Obedience to government because it *is* government. The proper ground of obedience to law is not ordinarily its reasonableness, or its equity, but its imposition by rightful authority. This doctrine had always been accepted in the army, in the navy, and to some extent in our merchant ships; the nature of the service in these cases made the necessity of it obvious. But in our pulpits, our schools, our homes, and our political teachings, the ideas of rightful authority and unquestioning obedience were becoming obsolete. Men were learning to reason about laws, as though the question of obedience should turn, not on the fact of their being laws, but on their

propriety. A doctrine of nullification, according to private judgment, was surreptitiously creeping in. It was undermining the foundations of our civil government, North as well as South, and the idea of government as government was passing away.

The times demand a higher teaching. Insist on abstract right, as eloquently as you will, but let government be paramount in its sphere. A constitutional government should be absolute within the limits of the constitution, and the extent of those limits is not a question for private judgment, but for the public tribunals. The quality of badness in laws is a reason for changing, not for disobeying them. All laws are to be obeyed while they are laws. Governments take the moral as well as the political responsibilities of administration upon themselves. Private responsibility is satisfied, when the individual, by his suffrage and the full power of his influence, has done his duty as a citizen. If there are extreme cases which justify rebellion,—and I do not deny that there may be,—they are only such extremes as strengthen the rule, and are to be dealt with as extremes and exceptions, and not elevated into principles. Conscience, to be sure, must have supremacy; but the supremacy of an enlightened conscience requires obedience to the laws. An

enlightened conscience will teach that it is right to do some things in obedience to law which it would not be right to do, if there were no law. Let extraordinary cases, like that of Daniel when idolatry was law, like the old martyrs when blasphemy was law, be excepted; but any general setting up of private judgments against authorized tribunals would destroy law, and introduce anarchy and destruction. Our human instincts, if unperversed, recognize and demand the supremacy of government. Men fly from anarchy to despotism for the sake of it. We ourselves, when for a time it seemed as if we had no government, began to estimate aright the miseries into which we were plunging. And when, at length, the voice of legitimate *authority* came thundering forth from the Capitol, nineteen millions recognized it *as* authority, and sent up a great shout of exultation. From that moment, the entire people began to have new conceptions of government. Obedience was accepted as a duty, and loyalty became a virtue. From this vantage-ground, we must re-establish the authority of government. While we sacredly guard all the liberties of the people, we must show them that liberty is not license—that in human as well as in the Divine government, perfect liberty is found only in the line of obedience to rightful authority.

And the rising as well as the risen generation must be made to understand the meaning of that almost obsolete imperative, OBEY.

We must take higher views than heretofore of the office and importance of military organizations in sustaining free governments, and that not only during the present war but in coming years. We have made great mistakes both in theory and practice on this subject. Our custom of business, our peace-loving dispositions, our geographical position at a distance from the warlike nations, our sentiment and habit of protest against military ambition and despotic violence, our philanthropy, our Christianity wrongly interpreted, all helped to lead us astray. Force, constraint, punishment were put at discount. The idea of justice went down before that of a mistaken benevolence. The soldier belonged to history or to foreign tyrannies, or to some national gala-day, or vanity fair. Love, persuasion, moral influences were the motive powers to lift society. I have no word against peace. I believe in peace. I believe in the apostolic exhortation, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you live peaceably with all men." Infinitely beautiful is the sentiment of mercy. But the attribute of justice, if it should seem less

amiable to any, is no less to be revered. Justice is at the foundation of the moral order of the universe. Practical truth is often the resultant of extreme, conflicting theoretical principles. It is found, in this case, not in justice alone, nor in mercy alone, but where "mercy and truth meet together, and righteousness and peace embrace each other."

Let us applaud the disposition for peace. Persuasion is admirable, but the moral universe is not constructed on that principle alone. As in nature, so it is in revelation. He who wept over Jerusalem, denounced desolation upon it, and the gospel which records, "Blessed are the peacemakers," commends civil government "as the terror of evil doers."

So far had our peace principles carried us, that when the war broke out we were almost as defenceless as children. And even now, I suppose, that out of our great cities, there is scarcely a community in Massachusetts which could protect itself from an insurrection. God forbid that any necessity should make of us a military, much more, a war-loving nation. But we must have a different practice and a different teaching on the questions of self-defence. Innocence is not sufficient for protection. Imbecility invites aggression. Christians must be men, citizens must be soldiers, magistrates must bear the sword,

and bear it not in vain. Let the schools, let the churches teach justice, then, as well as benevolence,—nay, teach justice as the highest form of benevolence. Let the young men be taught, let the government arm and train them, to uphold justice. Law, order must be sustained. Rebellion, anarchy, violence put down. Let the soldier look upon himself not as his country's mercenary; not as the mere circumstance and ornament of authority; not, most of all, as a great public murderer; but as an officer of justice called by God and his country to the high duty of sustaining government, and by his own strong heart and hand, protecting the welfare of the people—his mission that of a destroying angel, who, though destroying, is an angel still.

We must also gather up the lessons of the times, and forward the purposes of Providence as revealed in them. We read the lessons and learn the purposes in results already attained or foretokened, and in the necessities brought clearly to view. What has the war done for us? It has developed in all our free States an intense and almost universal patriotism. It has set forth the idea and stimulated the sentiment of loyalty. It has brought up the notion of government as such, and begun to

enthroned it again on the hearts of the people. It has put appropriate honor upon the eternal attribute of justice and shown the importance of penalty, both human and divine. It has given a death-blow to that mawkish philanthropy which expended its unhealthful sympathies, not in punishing crime and protecting innocence, but in sheltering criminals from retribution, and which was emasculating the people of all manliness and moral power. It has settled the question of the great strength of republican governments. It has given the people an unbounded confidence in free institutions. It has taught self-sacrifice, and that there is something to live for outside of *self*. It has taught patience, moderation, persistency in the right under discouragements, and self-possession under calumny. It has taught self-knowledge, and helped to remove something of an immense conceit from the popular head. It has taught humility, and impressed the old belief that God governs the nations. It has taught one doctrine, partially, and but partially, understood before—the Divine abhorrence of slavery. While it was practiced as a necessity; while it was allowed as an evil and a wrong, as soon as possible to be corrected,—the Judge of all men looked on with forbearance, and seemed to require us to do

the same. But when it came to be accepted as “the fundamental doctrine of civilization,” the normal basis of free institutions ; when ministers of the gospel had come to declare it right, and good and desirable—a God-blessed arrangement, revealed in the sacred Scriptures, and to be defended by them ; when Christian men joined in the shout, slavery everywhere and slavery forever ;—then the heavens began to thunder. From that day it was manifest, as Mr. Jefferson said, that “there is no attribute in the character of God which can take sides with it ;” from that day it began to be apparent that the time of visitation had come. The war also has taught respecting slavery, that never again must this great republican government be wielded for its extension and perpetuity. Never again must its unchristianizing and uncivilizing influences be allowed to predominate on this continent. The war is terrible. But the war has taught us—waged as it is on one part to crush the slaveholders’ conspiracy and to put down the slaveholders’ rebellion, a conspiracy and a rebellion started and carried on against any limitation of that accursed institution which has been the cause of all our troubles from the beginning—never to ask, never to suffer a peace, till slavery has received a blow which will insure its destruction,

in time. That dark spirit of evil—it has breathed moral pestilence over the land, and plotted the destruction of all freedom in it. Not satisfied with perverting justice, corrupting the people, making us ashamed before the world, it struck at the government, it rent the nation, it insulted our flag, it slaughtered our sons, and as God is true, it *shall never be forgiven*. Let it go down, peacefully if it may, in blood and fire if it must.

Meanwhile, you have no call to rashness. I would be the last man to encourage that reckless spirit which overrides compacts and violates oaths of office. Though regarding slavery with abhorrence, and always praying for its overthrow, I have been accustomed to feel that its continued existence was not the special responsibility of the free States; that it could not be directly assailed by our government without violation of the Constitution, and such rivers of blood as are now flowing among us. And still I say, let the pledges of the Constitution, whether expressed or implied, be maintained till they are constitutionally amended. All that ought to be done, can be done, is doing by the civil or the military power which the Constitution affords. God is in the heavens. “He that believeth shall not make haste.” When His time comes, we shall

know it. Opinions, inspirations of the public heart, circumstances which no mortal man can bend, will reveal it. Meanwhile, events are disclosing the Divine intentions. Eighteen months ago, in a public discourse, I had the honor to say: "We can see the hands on the horologe of the centuries passing up to the hour when the doom of slavery is to be struck." Since these words were uttered, from the great clock of human history has the awful peal rung out, and while the sound echoes and re-echoes over the country and reverberates among the nations, the angels of destiny have put down the record—the death-blow of slavery and rebellion, in the year of time, January 1st, 1863.

I was intending to speak also of a duty which now is, and soon will be more strongly upon us, viz.: the duty of our statesmen and citizens to assist in forming the character of the nation. We live in an age of the world when there is opportunity for a new kind of national eminence and power. Whichever of the great nations would distinguish itself before the world, for magnanimity and justice in all its foreign relations, so as deservedly to secure the confidence of mankind, might not only obtain the smiles of Providence, and become the noblest of

nations in itself, but have a real though moral supremacy over them all. If any here may have been predestined to a higher statesmanship than that to which most of us have yet attained, I would ask them to remember this among the observations of the hour, and do something to lift the government they may help to administer out of the miserable duplicities and circumventions of diplomacy; out of that spirit of quick resentment and imperious, not to say insulting demand, which provokes and predisposes to war, and bring it to conduct like an open, honorable, fair-minded man. Why should not an intelligent republic, conscious of greatness, stand more on its dignity? Why should we be so easily exasperated by opprobrium from abroad? Let the jealous or the ill-natured say what they will, self-possession and repose become a people who understand their position. Call not these ideas chimerical. If virtue and moderation are elements of greatness in individuals, so they are in nations. If it is difficult to quarrel with a strong, magnanimous, just and kindly man, so it would be difficult for any hostile power to quarrel or officiously intermeddle with a nation of such characteristics. Look at our own condition. There is a power in this land hardly second to that of an immense army. It is the wis-

dom and honesty, and the reputation of it inspiring confidence at home and abroad, which belong to the character of ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

I hasten to one remaining topic. It will be our special duty as republican patriots, to educate the people. The importance of education is confessed. But public sentiment, on this subject, is still incommensurate with the urgencies of the case. Whoever observes the ignorance, obscenity, profaneness which the drag-net of a popular enrolment sometimes collects, has materials enough for political despair. But still lower down, if possible, are those terrible populations which in periods of insurrectionary excitement sometimes rise to view. The remedy is not despotism, but education. Mere utilitarianism demands it. Education excites to enterprise. Enterprise furnishes bread, and bread helps contentment. We boast of our culture ; and many a poor man is a nobleman. But can you not find voters in almost every town, and sometimes by the hundred, whose ignorance and passion fit them better for the violences of the mob than for the responsibilities of citizens ? Not natural disposition so much as lack of advantages has been their bane. Let them, at least let their children, be educated. Compulsory education, where

compulsion is needed, is alike a charity and a law of liberty. Let them be taught the rudiments in schools, always remembering, however, that reading and writing are not all. Knowledge is well, but wisdom is better. Right motives must be inculcated, and right feelings inspired. Our youth must be habituated to reflection, self-control, and the exercise of judgment. The virtues of industry, frugality, public spirit and justice ; the sentiments of honor, self-respect and kindness ; the duties of loyalty to government and obedience to the laws, and the greatness of living and dying for country,—should be enforced upon them. They should be taught reverence—in which democracies are proverbially deficient—and that true dignity which is an attribute of good character, in the humblest as well as in the highest. The moral nature should be specially cultivated, conscientiousness should be developed, and a regard for truth and honesty made laws of life.

I am proud for what the old Bay State has been doing for her youth, from the beginning. I am proud of a Commonwealth which inserted in her Bill of Rights, almost a century ago, such a sentence as this: “A constant adherence to the principles of piety, justice, moderation, temperance, industry

and frugality, are absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty, and to maintain a free government ;” and which recognizes all these virtues in her Constitution, and requires the elected rulers to bestow them, through education, upon the people. I am proud to be the citizen of a State which expends money so liberally upon her schools, which appreciates her university and her colleges as fountains of liberty and fortresses of defence. I would gladly speak with honor of those truly great men among us,—benefactors of the race,—who, uniting high character with property, have so liberally cultivated good learning, and established endowments for the promotion of knowledge and virtue in the present and coming generations. But we have no time for commendations. There is work to be done. The grandeur of Massachusetts will never rest on the extent of her domains. If knowledge is power, her influence will increase in proportion as she educates her people.

This education must be given to the *country*. It must be given not only in schools and colleges, but through every possible way of influence ; through wise and liberal legislation ; by sermons, lectures, addresses, speeches ; by newspaper articles, reviews, and the varied powers of the press ; by home

